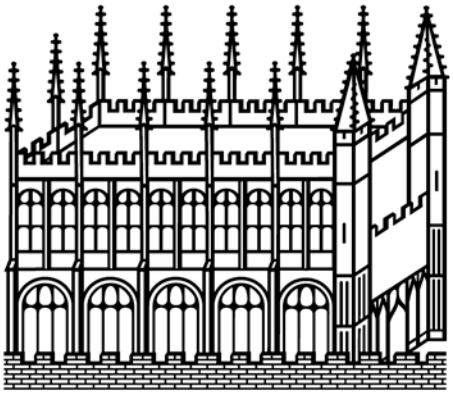

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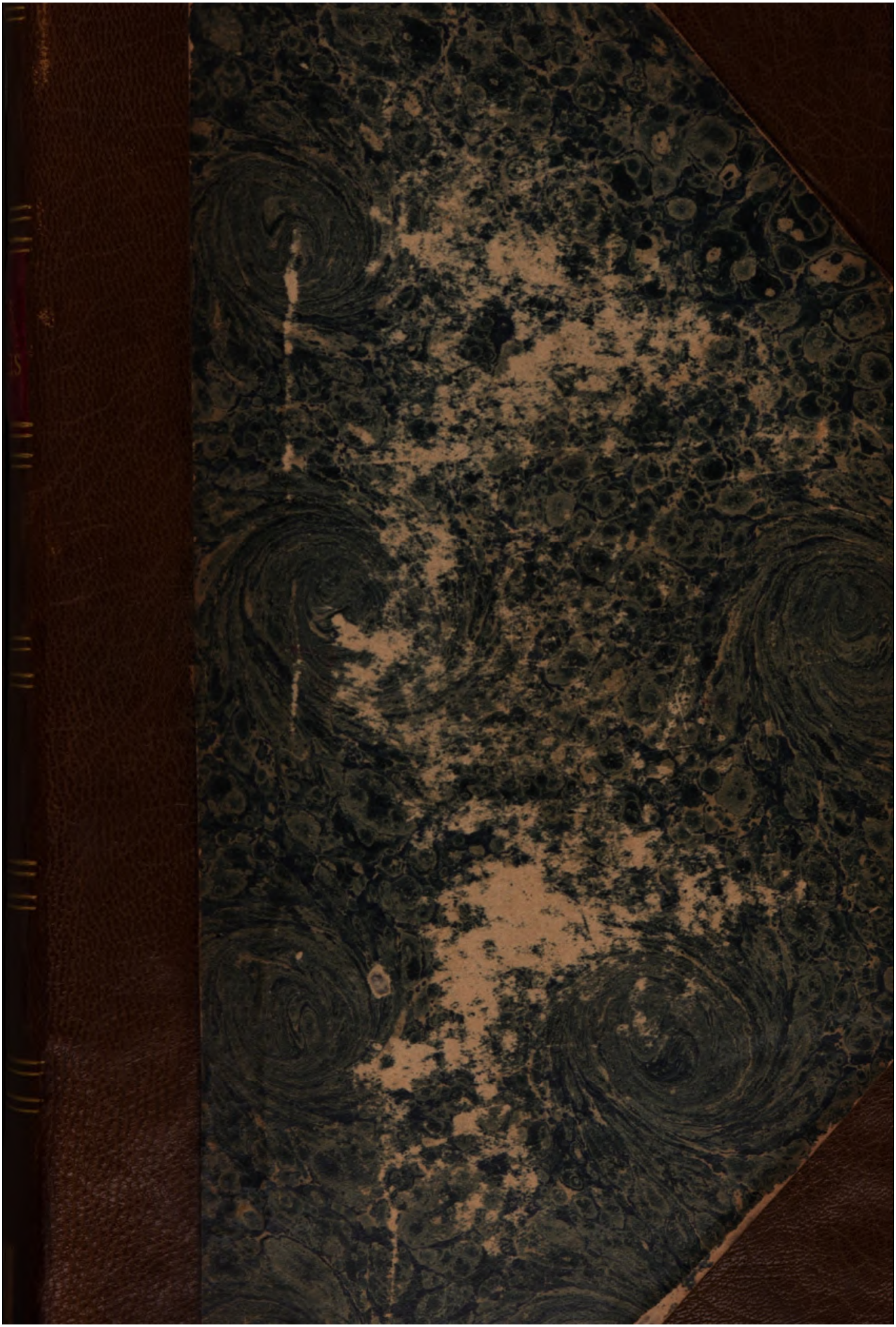

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Painted by Holbein.

Engraved by Edwd Finden.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Published by John Murray London, 1829

S.H. 1829

Sir Thomas More:

OR,

COLLOQUIES

ON

THE PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS

OF

SOCIETY.

BY

ROBERT SOUTHEY, Esq. LL.D.

POET LAUREATE,

HONORARY MEMBER OF THE ROYAL SPANISH ACADEMY, OF THE ROYAL SPANISH ACADEMY OF HISTORY, OF THE ROYAL INSTITUTE OF THE NETHERLANDS, OF THE CYMMRODORION, OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY, OF THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, OF THE ROYAL IRISH ACADEMY, OF THE BRISTOL PHILOSOPHICAL AND LITERARY SOCIETY, OF THE METROPOLITAN INSTITUTION, OF THE PHILOMATHIC INSTITUTION, &c.

RESPICE, ASPICE, PROSPICE.—*St. Bernard.*

WITH PLATES.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.

MDCCCXXIX.

697.

Of More the mild, the learned and the good;
Traced in that better stage of human life,
When vain imaginations, troublous thoughts,
And hopes and fears have had their course, and left
The intellect composed, the heart at rest,
Nor yet decay hath touch'd our mortal frame.
Such was the man whom Henry, of desert
Appreciant alway, chose for highest trust;
Whom England in that eminence approved;
Whom Europe honoured, and Erasmus loved.
Such he was ere heart-hardening bigotry
Obscured his spirit, made him with himself
Discordant, and, contracting then his brow,
With sour defeature marr'd his countenance.
What he was, in his best and happiest time,
Even such wert thou, dear Uncle! such thy look
Benign and thoughtful; such thy placid mien;
Thine eye serene, significant and strong,
Bright in its quietness, yet brightening oft
With quick emotion of benevolence,
Or flash of active fancy, and that mirth
Which aye with sober wisdom well accords.
Nor ever did true Nature, with more nice
Exactitude, fit to the inner man
The fleshly mould, than when she stampt on thine
Her best credentials, and bestowed on thee

An aspect, to whose sure benignity
Beasts with instinctive confidence could trust,
Which at a glance obtained respect from men,
And won at once good will from all the good.

Such as in semblance, such in word and deed
Lisbon beheld him, when for many a year
The even tenour of his spotless life
Adorn'd the English Church,..her minister
In that strong hold of Rome's idolatry,
To God and man approved. What Englishman,
Who in those peaceful days of Portugal
Resorted thither, curious to observe
Her cities, and the works and ways of men,
But sought him, and from his abundant stores
Of knowledge profited? What stricken one,
Sent thither to protract a living death,
Forlorn perhaps, and friendless else, but found
A friend in him? What mourners,..who had seen
The object of their agonizing hopes
In that sad cypress ground deposited,
Wherein so many a flower of British growth,
Untimely faded and cut down, is laid,
In foreign earth compress'd,..but bore away
A life-long sense of his compassionate care,
His Christian goodness? Faithful shepherd he,

And vigilant against the wolves, who there,
If entrance might be won, would straight beset
The dying stranger, and with merciless zeal
Bay the death-bed! In every family
Throughout his fold was he the welcome guest,
Alike to every generation dear,
The children's favourite, and the grandsire's friend,
Tried, trusted and beloved. So liberal too
In secret alms, even to his utmost means,
That they who served him, and who saw in part
The channels where his constant bounty ran,
Maugre their own uncharitable faith,
Believed him, for his works, secure of Heaven.

It would have been a grief for me to think
The features, which so perfectly express'd
That excellent mind, should irretrievably
From earth have past away, existing now
Only in some few faithful memories
Insoul'd, and not by any limner's skill
To be imbodied thence. A blessing then
On him, in whose prophetic counterfeit
Preserved, the children now, who were the crown
Of his old age, may see their father's face,
Here to the very life pourtray'd, as when
Spain's mountain passes, and her ilex woods,

And fragrant wildernesses, side by side,
With him I traversed, in my morn of youth.
And gathered knowledge from his full discourse.
Often in former years I pointed out,
Well-pleased, the casual portrait, which so well
Assorted in all points; and haply since,
While lingering o'er this meditative work,
Sometimes that likeness, not unconsciously,
Hath tinged the strain; and therefore, for the sake
Of this resemblance, are these volumes now
Thus to his memory properly inscribed.

O friend! O more than father! whom I found
Forbearing alway, alway kind; to whom
No gratitude can speak the debt I owe;
Far on their earthly pilgrimage advanced
Are they who knew thee when we drew the breath
Of that delicious clime! The most are gone;
And whoso yet survive of those who then
Were in their summer season, on the tree
Of life hang here and there like wintry leaves,
Which the first breeze will from the bough bring down.
I, too, am in the sear, the yellow leaf.
And yet, (no wish is nearer to my heart;)
One arduous labour more, as unto thee
In duty bound, full fain would I compleat,

(So Heaven permit,) recording faithfully
The heroic rise, the glories, the decline,
Of that fallen country, dear to us, wherein
The better portion of thy days was past;
And where, in fruitful intercourse with thee,
My intellectual life received betimes
The bias it hath kept. Poor Portugal,
In us thou harbouredst no ungrateful guests!
We loved thee well; mother magnanimous
Of mighty intellects and faithful hearts,..
For such in other times thou wert, nor yet
To be despair'd of, for not yet, methinks,
Degenerate wholly,..yes, we loved thee well!
And in thy moving story, (so but life
Be given me to mature the gathered store
Of thirty years,) poet, and politick,
And Christian sage (only philosopher
Who from the Well of living water drinks
Never to thirst again), shall find, I ween,
For fancy, and for profitable thought,
Abundant food.
Alas! should this be given,
Such consummation of my work will now
Be but a mournful close, the one being gone,
Whom to have satisfied was still to me
A pure reward, outweighing far all breath

Of public praise. O friend revered, O guide
And fellow-labourer in this ample field,
How large a portion of myself hath past
With thee, from earth to Heaven!..Thus they who reach
Grey hairs, die piecemeal. But in good old age
Thou hast departed;..not to be bewailed,..
Oh no! The promise on the Mount vouchsafed,
Nor abrogate by any later law
Reveal'd to man,..that promise, as by thee
Full piously deserved, was faithfully
In thee fulfill'd, and in the land thy days
Were long. I would not, as I saw thee last,
For a king's ransom have detain'd thee here,..
Bent, like the antique sculptor's limbless trunk,
By chronic pain, yet with thine eye unquench'd,
The ear undimm'd, the mind retentive still,
The heart unchanged, the intellectual lamp
Burning in its corporeal sepulchre!
No; not if human wishes had had power
To have suspended Nature's constant work,
Would they who loved thee have detained thee thus,
Waiting for death.
That trance is over. Thou
Art entered on thy heavenly heritage;
And I, whose dial of mortality
Points to the eleventh hour, shall follow soon.

Meantime, with dutiful and patient hope,
I labour that our names conjoin'd may long
Survive, in honour one day to be held
Where old Lisboa from her hills o'erlooks
Expanded Tagus, with its populous shores
And pine woods, to Palmella's crested height:
Nor there alone; but in those rising realms
Where now the offsets of the Lusian tree
Push forth their vigorous shoots,..from central plains,
Whence rivers flow divergent, to the gulph
Southward where wild Parana desembogues,
A sea-like stream; and northward in a world
Of forests, where huge Orellana clips
His thousand islands with his thousand arms.

ROBERT SOUTHEY.

PREFACE.

THIS book originated in the train of thought described in the introductory pages, and was begun at the time there specified. For the form which it has taken I am indebted to Boethius; an obligation which perhaps few readers would have suspected, but which I am not the less bound to acknowledge. Farther than this it is only necessary to say, that recent circumstances have produced no change in the author concerning the Roman Catholic Question; no one however can more sincerely wish that timid counsels may be proved by the event to have been wise ones; that government may gain strength by yielding to menaces;

and that the Protestant Constitution of these kingdoms may be secured by abandoning the principles upon which it was established.

And here this Preface would have ended, if a certain Rev. Mr. Shannon, who was three or four times in company with me, three or four and twenty years ago, had not thought proper to affirm in a recent pamphlet, that Mr. Southey expressed to him at that time, "ardent wishes" for the restoration of what he calls "the Catholic rights;" and to assert that such wishes could not possibly have been changed, except from "causes that are liable to suspicion." It is so utterly insignificant what opinions any individual may have advanced upon such a topic, long ago, in the freedom of conversation, at a private table, that I should not think it worth while to bestow any public notice upon such a statement, still less upon the insinuation which accompanies

it, were there not persons in whom party spirit has so far destroyed the sense of honour and of justice, that any authority however futile is sufficient for them, when the purpose of detraction is to be served by it. But these "ardent wishes," and the energy of language in which Mr. Shannon pretends to remember that they were expressed, never had, or could have had any existence, except in the dreams of his own imagination. For it is well known to every one of my early friends, (and few men, as they pass through life, have dropt fewer of their friendships on the way,) that my opinions respecting the Roman Catholic claims to seats in Parliament and certain offices in the state have always been the same. I have ever maintained that the Romanists ought to be admitted to every office of trust, honour, or emolument, which is not connected with legislative power; but that it is against the plainest rules of

policy to entrust men with power in the State whose bounden religious duty it is to subvert, if they can, the Church. These opinions I have uniformly held since the question was brought forward in the first year of the present century; and in these (with leave of Sir James Graham) I expect to continue for the short remainder of my life;..unless that honourable and courteous Baronet, who represents the county of Cumberland, and mis-represents me, should lay before the world such arguments, deduced from his own researches and experience, that I must be enforced in reason and in conscience to submit to them and acknowledge my conviction accordingly... Of the wrongs and sufferings of the Irish people, (which is altogether a different question,) of the condition to which their landlords, their middlemen and their priests have reduced them, and the state of barbarism in which the British

Government, by the grossest neglect of its paramount duty, has suffered them to remain, I have at all times felt, and spoken, as a man who abhors oppression, and earnestly wishes for every possible improvement in the spiritual and temporal condition of his fellow creatures.

Having thus given the most direct contradiction to Mr. Shannon's assertions, I leave him to reconcile his conduct on this occasion with the principles by which our intercourse in society is usually supposed to be regulated, and his insinuations with the charity which as a minister of the Gospel he ought better to have understood and to have practised.

KESWICK, *9th March*, 1829.

ERRATA.

VOL I.

Page 125, line 14, *for* then..... *read* that.
126, .. 7, .. learn..... yearn.
153, .. 20, .. professes..... possesses.
211, .. 11, .. movement..... movements.
240, last line .. Began..... Begun.

VOL. II.

16, .. 11, .. According..... Accordingly.
185, .. 1, .. contumacious..... contumelious.
261, .. 19, .. they..... and they.

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ON THE

PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS

OF

SOCIETY.

COLLOQUY I.

THE INTRODUCTION.

Posso aver certezza, e non paura,
Che raccontando quel che m' è accaduto,
Il ver dirò, nè mi sarà creduto.
Orlando Innamorato, c. 5. st. 53.

It was during that melancholy November, when the death of the Princess Charlotte had diffused throughout Great Britain a more general sorrow than had ever before been known in these kingdoms; I was sitting alone, at evening, in my library, and my thoughts had wandered, from the book before me, to the circumstances which made this national calamity be felt almost like a private affliction. While I was thus musing, the post-woman arrived. My letters

told me there was nothing exaggerated in the public accounts of the impression which this sudden loss had produced: that wherever you went, you found the women of the family weeping, and that men could scarcely speak of the event without tears: that in all the better parts of the metropolis, there was a sort of palsied feeling which seemed to affect the whole current of active life; and that for several days there prevailed in the streets a stillness like that of the Sabbath, but without its repose. I opened the newspaper; it was still bordered with broad mourning lines, and was filled with details concerning the deceased Princess. Her coffin and the ceremonies at her funeral were described as minutely as the order of her nuptials and her bridal dress had been, in the same journal, scarce eighteen months before. "Man," says Sir Thomas Brown, "is a noble animal, splendid in ashes, and pompous in the grave; solemnizing nativities and deaths with equal lustre, nor omitting ceremonies of bravery in the infamy of his nature." These things led me in spirit to the vault, and I thought of the memorable dead among whom her mortal remains were now deposited. Possessed with such imaginations, I leaned back upon the sofa and closed my eyes.

Ere long I was awakened from that conscious state of slumber in which the stream of fancy floweth as it listeth, by the entrance of an elderly personage, of grave and dignified appearance. His countenance and manner were remarkably benign, and announced a high degree of intellectual rank, and he accosted me in a voice of uncommon sweetness, saying, Montesinos, a stranger from a distant country may intrude upon you without those credentials which in other cases you have a right to require. From America? I replied, rising to salute him. Some of the most gratifying visits which I have ever received, have been from that part of the world. It gives me indeed more pleasure than I can express, to welcome such travellers as have sometimes found their way from New England to these lakes and mountains; men who have not forgotten what they owe to their ancient mother; whose principles, and talents, and attainments would render them an ornament to any country, and might almost lead me to hope that their republican constitution may be more permanent, than all other considerations would induce me either to suppose or wish.

You judge of me, he made answer, by my

speech. I am, however, English by birth, and come now from a more distant country than America, wherein I have long been naturalized. Without explaining himself further, or allowing me time to make the inquiry which would naturally have followed, he asked me, if I were not thinking of the Princess Charlotte, when he disturbed me. That, said I, may easily be divined. All persons whose hearts are not filled with their own grief, are thinking of her at this time. It had just occurred to me, that on two former occasions, when the heir apparent of England was cut off in the prime of life, the nation was on the eve of a religious revolution in the first instance, and of a political one in the second.

Prince Arthur and Prince Henry, he replied. Do you notice this as ominous, or merely as remarkable?

Merely as remarkable, was my answer. Yet there are certain moods of mind, in which we can scarcely help ascribing an ominous importance to any remarkable coincidence, wherein things of moment are concerned.

Are you superstitious? said he. Understand

me as using the word, for want of a more appropriate one; not in its ordinary and contemptuous acceptation.

I smiled at the question, and replied, many persons would apply the epithet to me without qualifying it. This, you know, is the age of reason, and during the last hundred and fifty years, men have been reasoning themselves out of every thing that they ought to believe and feel. Among a certain miserable class who are more numerous than is commonly supposed, he who believes in a First Cause, and a future state, is regarded with contempt as a superstitionist. The religious Naturalist in his turn despises the feeble mind of the Socinian; and the Socinian looks with astonishment or pity at the weakness of those, who, having by conscientious inquiry satisfied themselves of the authenticity of the Scriptures, are contented to believe what is written, and acknowledge humility to be the foundation of wisdom as well as of virtue. But for myself, many, if not most of those even who agree with me in all essential points, would be inclined to think me superstitious, because I am not ashamed to avow my persuasion that there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamt of in their philosophy.

You believe then in apparitions, said my visitor.

MONTESINOS.

Even so, Sir. That such things should be, is probable *à priori;* and I cannot refuse assent to the strong evidence that such* things are, nor to the common consent which has prevailed among all people, every where, in all ages; a belief indeed which is truly catholic, in the widest acceptation of the word. I am, by in-

* Concerning one of these stories, Boswell relates the following conversation. Johnson had been saying, that Wesley could talk well on any subject. BOSWELL. Pray, Sir, what has he made of his story of a ghost? JOHNSON. Why, Sir, he believes it, but not on sufficient evidence. He did not take time enough to examine the girl. It was at Newcastle, where the ghost was said to have appeared to a young woman several times, mentioning something about the right to an old house, advising application to be made to an attorney, which was done; and at the same time saying the attorney would do nothing, which proved to be the fact. This, says John, is a proof that a ghost knows our thoughts. Now (laughing) it is not necessary to know our thoughts to tell that an attorney will sometimes do nothing. Charles Wesley, who is a more stationary man, does not believe the story. I am sorry that John did not take more pains to inquire into the evidence for it. MISS SEWARD (with an incredulous smile). What, Sir! about a ghost? JOHNSON (with solemn vehemence). Yes, Madam: this is a question which, after five thousand years, is yet undecided; a question, whether in theology or philosophy, one of the most important that can come before the human understanding.

quiry and conviction, as well as by inclination and feeling, a Christian; life would be intolerable to me if I were not so. But, says Saint-Evremont, "the most devout cannot always command their belief, nor the most impious their incredulity." I acknowledge with Sir Thomas Brown, that "as in philosophy, so in divinity, there are sturdy doubts and boisterous objections, wherewith the unhappiness of our knowledge too nearly acquainteth us;" and I confess with him that these are to be conquered, "not in a martial posture, but on our knees." If then there are moments wherein I, who have satisfied my reason, and possess a firm and assured faith, feel that I have in this opinion a strong hold,..I cannot but perceive that they who have endeavoured to dispossess the people of their old instinctive belief in such things, have done little service to individuals, and much injury to the community.

STRANGER.

Do you extend this to a belief in witchcraft?

MONTESINOS.

The common stories of witchcraft confute themselves, as may be seen in all the trials for that offence. Upon this subject I would say with my old friend Charles Lamb,

> I do not love to credit tales of magic!
> Heaven's music, which is order, seems unstrung,
> And this brave world
> (The mystery of God) unbeautified,
> Disordered, marr'd, where such strange things
> are acted.

The only inference which can be drawn from the confession of some of the poor wretches who have suffered upon such charges, is, that they had attempted to commit the crime, and thereby incurred the guilt and deserved the punishment.* Of this indeed there have been recent instances; and in one atrocious case, the criminal escaped, because the statute against the imaginary offence is obsolete, and there exists no law which could reach the real one.

STRANGER.

He who may wish to show with what absurd perversion the forms and technicalities of law are applied to obstruct the purposes of justice, which they were designed to further, may find excellent examples in England. But leaving this, allow me to ask whether you think all the stories which are related of an intercourse be-

* Our witches are justly hanged, says Dryden, because they think themselves to be such; and suffer deservedly for believing they did mischief, because they meant it.—*Essay of Dramatic Poesy.*

tween men and beings of a superior order, good or evil, are to be disbelieved like the vulgar tales of witchcraft?

MONTESINOS.

If you happen, Sir, to have read some of those ballads which I threw off in the high spirits of youth, you may judge what my opinion then was of the grotesque demonology of the monks and middle ages, by the use there made of it. But in the scale of existences there may be as many orders above us, as below. We know there are creatures so minute, that without the aid of our glasses they could never have been discovered; and this fact, if it were not notorious as well as certain, would appear not less incredible to sceptical minds than that there should be beings which are invisible to us because of their subtlety. That there are such, I am as little able to doubt, as I am to affirm any thing concerning them; but if there are such, why not evil spirits, as well as wicked men? Many travellers who have been conversant with savages have been fully persuaded that their jugglers actually possessed some means of communication with the invisible world, and exercised a supernatural power which they derived from it. And not missionaries only have believed this, and old travellers who lived in ages

of credulity, but more recent observers, such as Carver and Bruce, whose testimony is of great weight, and who were neither ignorant, nor weak, nor credulous men. What I have read concerning ordeals, also staggers me; and I am sometimes inclined to think it more possible, that when there has been full faith on all sides, these appeals to divine justice may have been answered by Him who sees the secrets of all hearts, than that modes of trial should have prevailed so long and so generally, from some of which no person could ever have escaped without an interposition of *Providence. Thus it has appeared to me in my calm and unbiassed judgement. Yet I confess I should want faith to make the trial. May it not be, that by such means in dark ages, and among blind nations, the purpose is effected of preserving conscience and the belief of our immortality, without which the life of our life would be extinct? And with regard to the conjurers of the African and

* The Rocking Stone placed the decision entirely in the power of the priests; but the ordeal of boiling water, or boiling oil, and some of those in which red hot iron was used, left no means of escape by contrivance, and no possibility of escaping by chance. I think it is Forbes (in his Oriental Memoirs) who mentions a remarkable case at which he was present himself, and where there could have been no collusion.

American savages, would it be unreasonable to suppose that, as the most elevated devotion brings us into fellowship with the Holy Spirit, a correspondent degree of wickedness may effect a communion with evil Intelligences? These are mere speculations, which I advance for as little as they are worth. My serious belief amounts to this, that preternatural impressions are sometimes communicated to us for wise purposes: and that departed spirits are sometimes permitted to manifest themselves.

STRANGER.

If a Ghost then were disposed to pay you a visit, you would be in a proper state of mind for receiving such a visitor?

MONTESINOS.

I should not credit my senses lightly; neither should I obstinately distrust them, after I had put the reality of the appearance to the proof, as far as that were possible.

STRANGER.

Should you like to have an opportunity afforded you?

MONTESINOS.

Heaven forbid! I have suffered so much in dreams from conversing with those whom even in sleep I knew to be departed, that an actual

presence might perhaps be more than I could bear.

STRANGER.

But if it were the spirit of one with whom you had no near ties of relationship, or love, how then would it affect you?

MONTESINOS.

That would of course be according to the circumstances on both sides. But I entreat you not to imagine that I am any way desirous of enduring the experiment.

STRANGER.

Suppose, for example, he were to present himself as I have done; the purport of his coming friendly; the place and opportunity suiting, as at present; the time also considerately chosen... after dinner; and the spirit not more abrupt in his appearance, nor more formidable in aspect than the being who now addresses you?

MONTESINOS.

Why, Sir, to so substantial a ghost, and of such respectable appearance, I might, perhaps, have courage enough to say with Hamlet,

> Thou comest in such a questionable shape,
> That I will speak to thee!

STRANGER.

Then, Sir, let me introduce myself in that

character, now that our conversation has conducted us so happily to the point. I told you truly that I was English by birth, but that I came from a more distant country than America, and had long been naturalized there. The country whence I come is not the New World, but the other one: and I now declare myself in sober earnest to be a Ghost.

MONTESINOS.

A Ghost!

STRANGER.

A veritable Ghost, and an honest one, who went out of the world with so good a character that he will hardly escape canonization if ever you get a Roman Catholic king upon the throne. And now what test do you require?

MONTESINOS.

I can detect no smell of brimstone; and the candle burns as it did before, without the slightest tinge of blue in its flame. You look, indeed, like a spirit of health, and I might be disposed to give entire belief to that countenance, if it were not for the tongue that belongs to it. But you are a queer spirit, whether good or evil!

STRANGER.

The headsman thought so, when he made a ghost of me almost three hundred years ago.

I had the character through life of loving a jest, and did not belie it at the last. But I had also as general a reputation for sincerity, and of that also conclusive proof was given at the same time. In serious truth, then, I am a disembodied spirit, and the form in which I now manifest myself is subject to none of the accidents of matter... You are still incredulous!.. Feel, then, and be convinced!

My incomprehensible guest extended his hand toward me as he spake. I held forth mine to accept it, not, indeed, believing him, and yet not altogether without some apprehensive emotion, as if I were about to receive an electrical shock. The effect was more startling than electricity would have produced. His hand had neither weight nor substance; my fingers, when they would have closed upon it, found nothing that they could grasp: it was intangible, though it had all the reality of form.

In the name of God, I exclaimed, who are you, and wherefore are you come?

Be not alarmed, he replied. Your reason, which has shown you the possibility of such an appearance as you now witness, must have con-

vinced you also that it would never be permitted for an evil end. Examine my features well, and see if you do not recognize them. Hans Holbein was excellent at a likeness.

I had now, for the first time in my life, a distinct sense of that sort of porcupinish motion over the whole scalp which is so frequently described by the Latin poets. It was considerably allayed by the benignity of his countenance and the manner of his speech, and after looking him steadily in the face I ventured to say, for the likeness had previously struck me, Is it Sir Thomas More? The same: he made answer; and lifting up his chin, displayed a circle round the neck brighter in colour than the ruby. The marks of martyrdom, he continued, are our insignia of honour. Fisher and I have the purple collar, as Friar Forrest and Cranmer have the robe of fire.

A mingled feeling of fear and veneration kept me silent, till I perceived by his look that he expected and encouraged me to speak: and collecting my spirits as well as I could, I asked him wherefore he had thought proper to appear, and why to me rather than to any other person?

He replied, we reap as we have sown. Men bear with them from this world into the intermediate state their habits of mind and stores of knowledge, their dispositions and affections and desires; and these become a part of our punishment, or of our reward, according to their kind. Those persons, therefore, in whom the virtue of patriotism has predominated, continue to regard with interest their native land, unless it be so utterly sunk in degradation that the moral relationship between them is dissolved. Epaminondas can have no sympathy at this time with Thebes, nor Cicero with Rome, nor Belisarius with the imperial city of the East. But the worthies of England retain their affection for their noble country, behold its advancement with joy, and when serious danger appears to threaten the goodly structure of its institutions, they feel as much anxiety as is compatible with their state of beatitude.

MONTESINOS.

What, then, may doubt and anxiety consist with the happiness of heaven?

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Heaven and hell may be said to begin on your side the grave. In the intermediate state conscience anticipates with unerring certainty

the result of judgement. We, therefore, who have done well, can have no fear for ourselves. But inasmuch as the world has any hold upon our affections, we are liable to that anxiety which is inseparable from terrestrial hopes. And as parents who are in bliss regard still with parental love the children whom they have left on earth, we, in like manner, though with a feeling different in kind and inferior in degree, look with apprehension upon the perils of our country.

——————————— *sub pectore forti*
Vivit adhuc patriæ pietas; stimulatque sepultum
Libertatis amor: pondus mortale necari
Si potuit, veteres animo post funera vires
Mansere, et prisci vivit non immemor ævi.

They are the words of old Mantuan.

MONTESINOS.

I am to understand then that you cannot see into the ways of futurity.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Enlarged as our faculties are, you must not suppose that we partake of prescience. For human actions are free, and we exist in time. The future is to us therefore as uncertain as to you; except, only, that having a clearer and more comprehensive knowledge of the past, we are enabled to reason better from causes to

consequences, and by what has been, to judge of what is likely to be. We have this advantage also, that we are divested of all those passions which cloud the intellects and warp the understandings of men... You are thinking, I perceive, how much you have to learn, and what you should first inquire of me. But expect no revelations! Enough was revealed when man was assured of judgement after death, and the means of salvation were afforded him. I neither come to discover secret things nor hidden treasures; but to discourse with you concerning these portentous and monster-breeding times; for it is your lot, as it was mine, to live during one of the grand climacterics of the world. And I come to you, rather than to any other person, because you have been led to meditate upon the corresponding changes whereby your age and mine are distinguished; and because, notwithstanding many discrepancies and some dispathies between us, (speaking of myself as I was, and as you know me,) there are certain points of sympathy and resemblance which bring us into contact, and enable us at once to understand each other.

MONTESINOS.

Et in Utopiâ ego.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

You apprehend me. We have both speculated in the joy and freedom of our youth upon the possible improvement of society; and both in like manner have lived to dread with reason the effects of that restless spirit, which, like the Titaness Mutability described by your immortal master, insults Heaven and disturbs the earth. By comparing the great operating causes in the age of the Reformation, and in this age of revolutions, going back to the former age, looking at things as I then beheld them, perceiving wherein I judged rightly, and wherein I erred, and tracing the progress of those causes which are now developing their whole tremendous power, you will derive instruction, which you are a fit person to receive and communicate; for without being solicitous concerning present effect, you are contented to cast your bread upon the waters. You are now acquainted with me and my intention. To-morrow you will see me again; and I shall continue to visit you occasionally as opportunity may serve. Meantime say nothing of what has passed,..not even to your wife. She might not like the thoughts of a ghostly visitor; and the reputation of conversing with the dead might be almost as inconvenient as that of deal-

ing with the Devil. For the present then, farewell! I will never startle you with too sudden an apparition; but you may learn to behold my disappearance without alarm.

I was not able to behold it without emotion, although he had thus prepared me: for the sentence was no sooner completed than he was gone. Instead of rising from the chair, he vanished from it. I know not to what the instantaneous disappearance can be likened. Not to the dissolution of a rainbow, because the colours of the rainbow fade gradually till they are lost; not to the flash of cannon, or to lightning, for these things are gone as soon as they are come, and it is known that the instant of their appearance must be that of their departure; not to a bubble upon the water, for you see it burst; not to the sudden extinction of a light, for that is either succeeded by darkness, or leaves a different hue upon the surrounding objects. In the same indivisible point of time when I beheld the distinct, individual, and, to all sense of sight, substantial form,..the living, moving, reasonable image,... in that self-same instant it was gone, as if exemplifying the difference between *to be* and *not to be*. It was no dream, of this I was well as-

sured: realities are never mistaken for dreams, though dreams may be mistaken for realities. Moreover I had long been accustomed in sleep to question my perceptions with a wakeful faculty of reason, and to detect their fallacy. But, as well may be supposed, my thoughts that night, sleeping as well as waking, were filled with this extraordinary interview; and when I arose the next morning, it was not till I had called to mind every circumstance of time and place that I was convinced the apparition was real, and that I might again expect it.

COLLOQUY II.

THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE WORLD.

On the following evening, when my spiritual visitor entered the room, that volume of Dr. Wordsworth's Ecclesiastical Biography, which contains his life, was lying on the table beside me. "I perceive," said he, glancing at the book, "you have been gathering all you can concerning me from my good gossiping chronicler, who tells you that I loved milk and fruit and eggs, preferred beef to young meats, and brown bread to white; was fond of seeing strange birds and beasts, and kept an ape, a fox, a weasel, and a ferret."

I am not one of those fastidious readers, I replied, who quarrel with a writer for telling them too much. But these things were worth telling: they show that you retained a youthful palate as well as a youthful heart; and I like you the better both for your diet and your

menagerie. The old biographer, indeed, with the best intentions, has been far from understanding the character which he desired to honour. He seems, however, to have been a faithful reporter, and has done as well as his capacity permitted. I observe that he gives you credit for "a deep foresight and judgement of the times," and for speaking in a prophetic spirit of the evils which soon afterwards were "full heavily felt."

There could be little need for a spirit of prophecy, Sir Thomas made answer, to foresee troubles which were the sure effect of the causes then in operation, and which were actually close at hand. When the rain is gathering from the south or west, and those flowers and herbs which serve as natural hygrometers, close their leaves, men have no occasion to consult the stars for what the clouds and the earth are telling them... You were thinking of Prince Arthur when I introduced myself yesterday, as if musing upon the great events which seem to have received their bias from the apparent accident of his premature death.

MONTESINOS.

I had fallen into one of those idle reveries in which we speculate upon what might have been. Lord Bacon describes him as "very studious,

and learned beyond his years, and beyond the custom of great princes." As this indicates a calm and thoughtful mind, it seems to show that he inherited the Tudor character. His brother took after the Plantagenets; but it was not of their nobler qualities that he partook. He had the popular manners of his grandfather, Edward IV., and, like him, was lustful, cruel, and unfeeling.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The blood of the Plantagenets, as your friends the Spaniards would say, was a strong blood. That temper of mind which (in some of his predecessors) thought so little of fratricide, might perhaps have involved him in the guilt of a parricidal war, if his father had not been fortunate enough to escape such an affliction by a timely death. We might otherwise be allowed to wish that the life of Henry VII. had been prolonged to a good old age. For if ever there was a prince who could so have directed the Reformation as to have averted the evils wherewith that tremendous event was accompanied, and yet to have secured its advantages, he was the man. Cool, wary, farsighted, rapacious, politic, and religious,..or superstitious if you will, (for his religion had its root rather in fear than in hope,) he was peculiarly adapted for such a crisis both by his good

and evil qualities. For the sake of increasing his treasures and his power, he would have promoted the Reformation; but his cautious temper, his sagacity, and his fear of divine justice would have taught him where to stop.

MONTESINOS.

A generation of politic sovereigns succeeded to the race of warlike ones, just in that age of society when policy became of more importance in their station than military talents. Ferdinand of Spain, Joam II. whom the Portugueze called the Perfect Prince, Louis XI. and Henry VII. were all of this class. Their individual characters were sufficiently distinct; but the circumstances of their situation stampt them with a marked resemblance, and they were of a metal to take and retain the strong, sharp impress of the age.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The age required such characters; and it is worthy of notice how surely in the order of Providence such men as are wanted are raised up. One generation of these Princes sufficed. In Spain, indeed, there was an exception; for Ferdinand had two successors who pursued the same course of conduct. In the other kingdoms the character ceased with the necessity for it. Crimes enough were committed by suc-

ceeding sovereigns, but they were no longer the acts of systematic and reflecting policy. This too is worthy of remark, that the sovereigns whom you have named, and who scrupled at no means for securing themselves on the throne, for enlarging their dominions and consolidating their power, were each severally made to feel the vanity of human ambition, being punished either in or by the children who were to reap the advantage of their crimes. "Verily there is a God that judgeth the earth!"

MONTESINOS.

An excellent friend of mine, one of the wisest, best, and happiest men whom I have ever known, delights in this manner to trace the moral order of Providence through the revolutions of the world; and in his historical writings keeps it in view as the pole-star of his course. I wish he were present, that he might have the satisfaction of hearing his favourite opinion confirmed by one from the dead.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

His opinion requires no other confirmation than what he finds for it in observation and scripture, and in his own calm judgement. I should differ little from that friend of yours concerning the past; but his hopes for the future appear to me like early buds which are

in danger of March winds. He believes the world to be in a rapid state of sure improvement; and in the ferment which exists every where he beholds only a purifying process; not considering that there is an acetous as well as a vinous fermentation; and that in the one case the liquor may be spilt, in the other it must be spoilt.

MONTESINOS.

Surely you would not rob us of our hopes for the human race! If I apprehended that your discourse tended to this end, I should suspect you, notwithstanding your appearance, and be ready to exclaim, Avaunt, Tempter! For there is no opinion from which I should so hardly be driven, and so reluctantly part, as the belief that the world will continue to improve, even as it has hitherto continually been improving; and that the progress of knowledge and the diffusion of Christianity will bring about at last, when men become Christians in reality, as well as in name, something like that Utopian state of which philosophers have loved to dream, ... like that millennium in which Saints as well as enthusiasts have trusted.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Do you hold that this consummation must of necessity come to pass; or that it depends in

any degree upon the course of events, that is to say, upon human actions? The former of these propositions you would be as unwilling to admit as your friend Wesley, or the old Welshman Pelagius himself. The latter leaves you little other foundation for your opinion than a desire, which, from its very benevolence, is the more likely to be delusive... You are in a dilemma.

MONTESINOS.

Not so, Sir Thomas. Impossible as it may be for us to reconcile the free will of man with the foreknowledge of God, I nevertheless believe in both with the most full conviction. When the human mind plunges into time and space in its speculations, it adventures beyond its sphere; no wonder, therefore, that its powers fail, and it is lost. But that my will is free, I know feelingly: it is proved to me by my conscience. And that God provideth all things, I know by his own word, and by that instinct which he hath implanted in me to assure me of his being. My answer to your question then is this: I believe that the happy consummation which I desire is appointed, and must come to pass; but that when it is to come depends upon the obedience of man to the will of God, that is, upon human actions.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

You hold then that the human race will one day attain the utmost degree of general virtue, and thereby general happiness, of which humanity is capable. Upon what do you found this belief?

MONTESINOS.

The opinion is stated more broadly than I should chuse to advance it. But this is ever the manner of argumentative discourse: the opponent endeavours to draw from you conclusions which you are not prepared to defend, and which perhaps you have never before acknowledged even to yourself. I will put the proposition in a less disputable form. A happier condition of society is possible than that in which any nation is existing at this time, or has at any time existed. The sum both of moral and physical evil may be greatly diminished by good laws, good institutions, and good governments. Moral evil cannot indeed be removed, unless the nature of man were changed; and that renovation is only to be effected in individuals, and in them only by the special grace of God. Physical evil must always, to a certain degree, be inseparable from mortality. But both are so much within the reach of human institutions that a state of society is

conceivable almost as superior to that of England in these days, as that itself is superior to the condition of the tattooed Britons, or of the Northern Pirates from whom we are descended. Surely this belief rests upon a reasonable foundation, and is supported by that general improvement (always going on if it be regarded upon the great scale) to which all history bears witness.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

I dispute not this: but to render it a reasonable ground of immediate hope, the predominance of good principles must be supposed. Do you believe that good or evil principles predominate at this time?

MONTESINOS.

If I were to judge by that expression of popular opinion which the press pretends to convey, I should reply without hesitation that never in any other known age of the world have such pernicious principles been so prevalent.

Qua terra patet, fera regnat Erinnys;
In facinus jurasse putes.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Is there not a danger that these principles may bear down every thing before them? and is not that danger obvious,..palpable,..imminent? Is there a considerate man who can look at the

signs of the times without apprehension, or a scoundrel connected with what is called the public press, who does not speculate upon them, and join with the anarchists as the strongest party? Deceive not yourself by the fallacious notion that truth is mightier than falsehood, and that good must prevail over evil! Good principles enable men to suffer, rather than to act. Think how the dog, fond and faithful creature as he is, from being the most docile and obedient of all animals, is made the most dangerous, if he becomes mad; so men acquire a frightful and not less monstrous power when they are in a state of moral insanity, and break loose from their social and religious obligations. Remember too how rapidly the plague of diseased opinions is communicated, and that if it once gain head, it is as difficult to be stopt as a conflagration or a flood. The prevailing opinions of this age go to the destruction of every thing which has hitherto been held sacred. They tend to arm the poor against the rich; the many against the few: worse than this,..for it will also be a war of hope and enterprize against timidity, of youth against age.

MONTESINOS.

Sir Ghost, you are almost as dreadful an alarmist as our Cumberland cow, who is be-

lieved to have lately uttered this prophecy, delivering it with oracular propriety in verse:

Two winters, a wet spring,
A bloody summer, and no king.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

That prophecy speaks the wishes of the man, whoever he may have been, by whom it was invented: and you who talk of the progress of knowledge, and the improvement of society, and upon that improvement build your hope of its progressive melioration, you know that even so gross and palpable an imposture as this is swallowed by many of the vulgar, and contributes in its sphere to the mischief which it was designed to promote. I admit that such an improved condition of society as you contemplate is possible, and that it ought always to be kept in view: but the error of supposing it too near, of fancying that there is a short road to it, is, of all the errors of these times, the most pernicious, because it seduces the young and generous, and betrays them imperceptibly into an alliance with whatever is flagitious and detestable. The fact is undeniable that the worst principles in religion, in morals, and in politics, are at this time more prevalent than they ever were known to be in any former age. You need not be told in what manner revolutions in opinion bring

about the fate of empires; and upon this ground you ought to regard the state of the world, both at home and abroad, with fear, rather than with hope.

MONTESINOS.

When I have followed such speculations as may allowably be indulged, respecting what is hidden in the darkness of time and of eternity, I have sometimes thought that the moral and physical order of the world may be so appointed as to coincide; and that the revolutions of this planet may correspond with the condition of its inhabitants; so that the convulsions and changes whereto it is destined should occur, when the existing race of men had either become so corrupt, as to be unworthy of the place which they hold in the universe, or were so truly regenerate by the will and word of God, as to be qualified for a higher station in it. Our globe may have gone through many such revolutions. We know the history of the last; the measure of its wickedness was then filled up. For the future we are taught to expect a happier consummation.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

It is important that you should distinctly understand the nature and extent of your expectations on that head. Is it upon the Apocalypse that you rest them?

MONTESINOS.

If you had not forbidden me to expect from this intercourse any communication which might come with the authority of revealed knowledge, I should ask in reply, whether that dark book is indeed to be received for authentic scripture? My hopes are derived from the Prophets and the Evangelists. Believing in them with a calm and settled faith, with that consent of the will and heart and understanding which constitutes religious belief, I find in them the clear annunciation of that kingdom of God upon earth, for the coming of which Christ himself has taught and commanded us to pray.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Remember that the Evangelists, in predicting that kingdom, announce a dreadful Advent! And that, according to the received opinion of the Church, wars, persecutions and calamities of every kind, the triumph of evil, and the coming of Antichrist are to be looked for, before the promises made by the Prophets shall be fulfilled. Consider this also, that the speedy fulfilment of those promises has been the ruling fancy of the most dangerous of all madmen, from John of Leyden and his frantic followers, down to the Saints of Cromwell's army, Venner and his Fifth-Monarchy men, the fanatics of

the Cevennes, and the blockheads of your own days, who beheld with complacency the crimes of the French Revolutionists, and the progress of Buonaparte towards the subjugation of Europe, as events tending to bring about the prophecies; and, under the same besotted persuasion, are ready at this time to co-operate with the miscreants who trade in blasphemy and treason! But you who neither seek to deceive others nor yourself,..you who are neither insane nor insincere,..you surely do not expect that the Millennium is to be brought about by the triumph of what are called liberal opinions; nor by enabling the whole of the lower classes to read the incentives to vice, impiety and rebellion, which are prepared for them by an unlicensed press; nor by Sunday Schools, and Religious Tract Societies; nor by the portentous bibliolatry of the age! And if you adhere to the letter of the Scriptures, methinks the thought of that consummation for which you look, might serve rather for consolation under the prospect of impending evils, than for a hope upon which the mind can rest in security with a calm and contented delight.

MONTESINOS.

To this I must reply, that the fulfilment of those calamitous events predicted in the Gos-

pels may safely be referred,* as it usually is, and by the best biblical scholars, to the destruction of Jerusalem. Concerning the visions of the Apocalypse, sublime as they are, I speak with less hesitation, and dismiss them from my thoughts, as more congenial to the fanatics of whom you have spoken than to me. And for the coming of Antichrist, it is no longer a received opinion in these days, whatever it may have been in yours. Your reasoning applies to the enthusiastic Millenarians who discover the number of the Beast, and calculate the year when a Vial is to be poured out, with as much precision as the day and hour of an eclipse. But it leaves my hope unshaken and untouched. I know that the world has improved; I see that it is improving; and I believe that it will continue to improve in natural and certain progress. Good and evil principles are widely at work: a crisis is evidently approaching; it may be dreadful, but I can have no doubts concerning the result. Black and ominous as the aspects may appear, I regard them without dismay.

* Matthew xxiv. Luke xxi. There is no difficulty in the passage, if we bear in mind that two questions were asked by the disciples; that our Lord answered both, and that they, according to their Jewish prepossessions, supposed a connection between them in point of time.

The common exclamation of the poor and helpless, when they feel themselves oppressed, conveys to my mind the sum of the surest and safest philosophy. I say with them, "God is above," and trust Him for the event.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

God is above,..but the devil is below. Evil principles are, in their nature, more active than good. The harvest is precarious, and must be prepared with labour, and cost, and care; weeds spring up of themselves, and flourish and seed whatever may be the season. Disease, vice, folly and madness are contagious; while health and understanding are incommunicable, and wisdom and virtue hardly to be communicated! ...We have come however to some conclusion in our discourse. Your notion of the improvement of the world has appeared to be a mere speculation, altogether inapplicable in practice; and as dangerous to weak heads and heated imaginations as it is congenial to benevolent hearts. Perhaps that improvement is neither so general, nor so certain as you suppose. Perhaps, even in this country there may be more knowledge than there was in former times, and less wisdom,..more wealth and less happiness, ...more display and less virtue. This must be the subject of future conversation. I will

only remind you now, that the French had persuaded themselves this was the most enlightened age of the world, and they the most enlightened people in it,..the politest, the most amiable, the most humane of nations,.. and that a new era of philosophy, philanthropy and peace was about to commence under their auspices,..when they were upon the eve of a revolution which, for its complicated monstrosities, absurdities and horrors, is more disgraceful to human nature than any other series of events in history. Chew the cud upon this, and farewell!

COLLOQUY III.

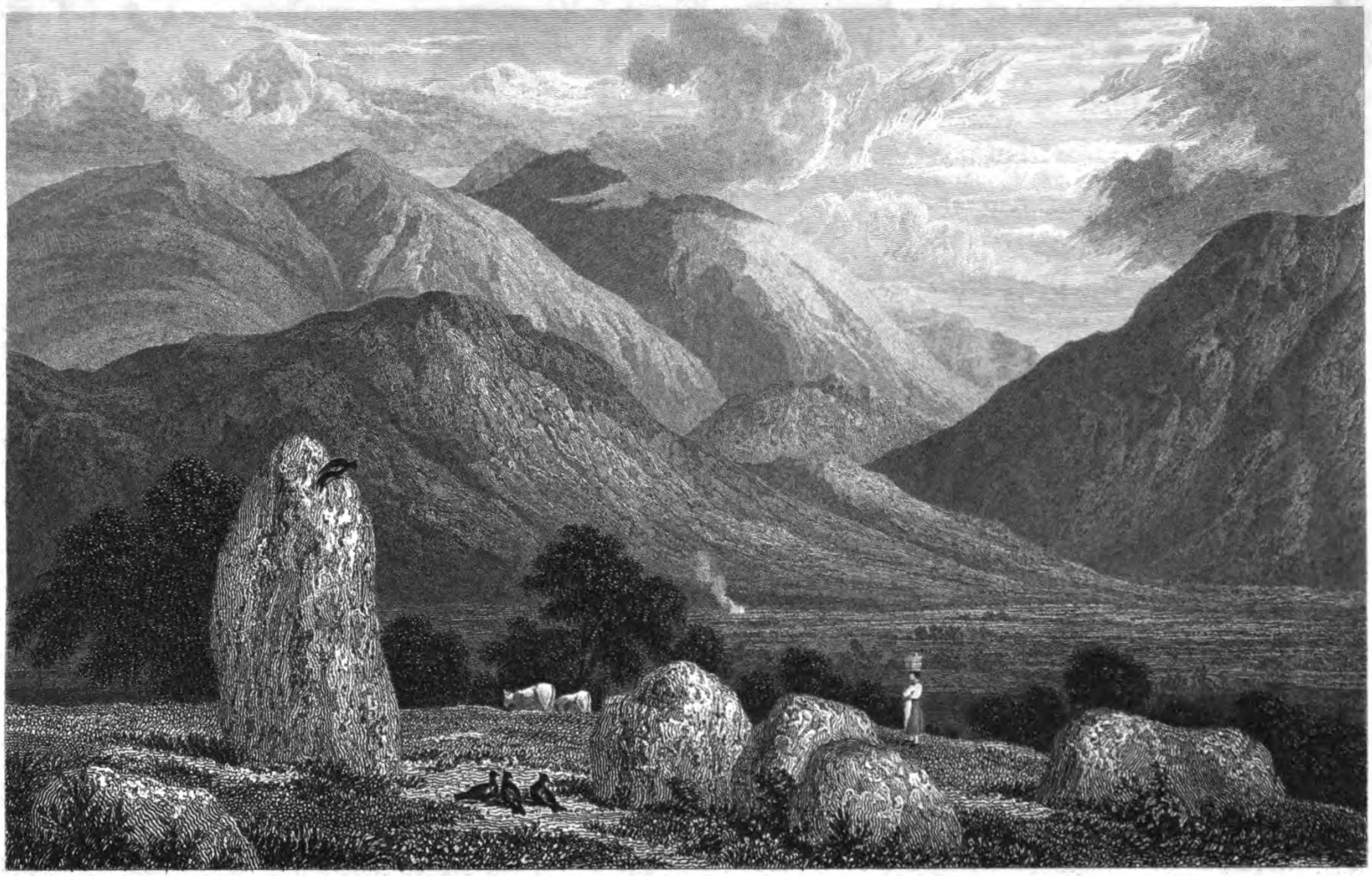
THE DRUIDICAL STONES.—VISITATIONS OF PESTILENCE.

INCLINATION would lead me to hibernate during half the year in this uncomfortable climate of Great Britain, where few men who have tasted the enjoyments of a better would willingly take up their abode, if it were not for the habits, and still more for the ties and duties which root us to our native soil. I envy the Turks for their sedentary constitutions, which seem no more to require exercise than an oyster does, or a toad in a stone. In this respect, I am by disposition as true a Turk as the Grand Seignior himself; and approach much nearer to one in the habit of inaction, than any person of my acquaintance. Willing however as I should be to believe, that any thing which is habitually necessary for a sound body, would be unerringly indicated by an habitual disposition for it, and that if exercise were as needful

as food for the preservation of the animal economy, the desire of motion would recur not less regularly than hunger and thirst, it is a theory which will not bear the test; and this I know by experience.

On a grey sober day, therefore, and in a tone of mind quite accordant with the season, I went out unwillingly to take the air, though if taking physic would have answered the same purpose, the dose would have been preferred as the shortest, and for that reason the least unpleasant remedy. Even on such occasions as this, it is desirable to propose to oneself some object for the satisfaction of accomplishing it, and to set out with the intention of reaching some fixed point, though it should be nothing better than a mile-stone, or a directing post. So I walked to the Circle of Stones upon the Penrith road, because there is a long hill upon the way which would give the muscles some work to perform; and because the sight of this rude monument which has stood during so many centuries, and is likely, if left to itself, to outlast any edifice that man could have erected, gives me always a feeling, which, however often it may be repeated, loses nothing of its force.

The circle is of the rudest kind, consisting of single stones, unhewn and chosen without any



Drawn by W. Westall A.R.A.

Engraved by Robert Wallis.

DRUIDICAL STONES, NEAR KESWICK.

regard to shape or magnitude, being of all sizes, from seven or eight feet in height, to three or four. The circle however is complete, and is thirty-three paces in diameter. Concerning this, like all similar monuments in Great Britain, the popular superstition prevails, that no two persons can number the stones alike, and that no person will ever find a second counting confirm the first. My children have often disappointed their natural inclination to believe this wonder, by putting it to the test and disproving it. The number of the stones which compose the circle, is thirty-eight, and besides these there are ten which form three sides of a little square within, on the eastern side, three stones of the circle itself forming the fourth; this being evidently the place where the Druids who presided had their station; or where the more sacred and important part of the rites and ceremonies (whatever they may have been) were performed. All this is as perfect at this day, as when the Cambrian Bards, according to the custom of their ancient order, described by my old acquaintances, the living members of the Chair of Glamorgan, met there for the last time,

> On the green turf and under the blue sky,
> Their heads in reverence bare, and bare of foot.

The site also precisely accords with the description which Edward Williams and William Owen give of the situation required for such meeting places:

> ——————————a high hill top,
> Nor bowered with trees, nor broken by the plough:
> Remote from human dwellings and the stir
> Of human life, and open to the breath
> And to the eye of Heaven.

The high hill is now inclosed and cultivated; and a clump of larches has been planted within the circle, for the purpose of protecting an oak in the centre, the owner of the field having wished to rear one there with a commendable feeling, because that tree was held sacred by the Druids, and therefore, he supposed, might be appropriately placed there. The whole plantation however has been so miserably storm-stricken that the poor stunted trees are not even worth the trouble of cutting them down for fuel, and so they continue to disfigure the spot. In all other respects this impressive monument of former times is carefully preserved; the soil within the inclosure is not broken, a path from the road is left, and in latter times a stepping-stile has been placed to accommodate Lakers with an easier access, than by striding over the gate beside it.

The spot itself is the most commanding which could be chosen in this part of the country, without climbing a mountain. Derwent-water and the Vale of Keswick are not seen from it, only the mountains which inclose them on the south and west. Lattrigg and the huge side of Skiddaw are on the north; to the east is the open country toward Penrith, expanding from the Vale of St. John's, and extending for many miles, with Mell-fell in the distance, where it rises alone like a huge tumulus on the right, and Blencathra on the left, rent into deep ravines. On the south-east is the range of Helvellin, from its termination at Wanthwaite Crags to its loftiest summits, and to Dunmailrais. The lower range of Nathdale-fells lies nearer, in a parallel line with Helvellin; and the dale itself, with its little streamlet immediately below. The heights above Leatheswater, with the Borrowdale mountains complete the panorama.

While I was musing upon the days of the Bards and Druids, and thinking that Llywarc Hen himself had probably stood within this very circle at a time when its history was known, and the rites for which it was erected still in use, I saw a person approaching, and started a little at perceiving that it was my new acquaintance from the world of spirits. I am

come, said he, to join company with you in your walk: you may as well converse with a Ghost, as stand dreaming of the dead. I dare say you have been wishing that these stones could speak and tell their tale: or that some record were sculptured upon them, though it were as unintelligible as the hieroglyphics, or as an Ogham inscription.

My ghostly friend, I replied, they tell me something to the purport of our last discourse. Here upon ground where the Druids have certainly held their assemblies, and where, not improbably, human sacrifices have been offered up, you will find it difficult to maintain that the improvement of the world has not been unequivocal, and very great.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Make the most of your vantage ground! My position is, that this improvement is not general; that while some parts of the earth are progressive in civilization, others have been retrograde; and that even where improvement appears the greatest, it is partial. For example; with all the meliorations which have taken place in England, since these stones were set up, (and you will not suppose that I who laid down my life for a religious principle, would undervalue

the most important of all advantages,)...do you believe that they have extended to all classes? Look at the question well. Consider your fellow-countrymen, both in their physical and intellectual relations; and tell me whether a large portion of the community are in a happier or more hopeful condition at this time, than their forefathers were when Cæsar set foot upon the island?

MONTESINOS.

If it be your aim to prove that the savage state is preferable to the social, I am perhaps the very last person upon whom any arguments to that end could produce the slightest effect. That notion never for a moment deluded me: not even in the ignorance and presumptuousness of youth, when first I perused Rousseau, and was unwilling to feel that a writer whose passionate eloquence I felt and admired so truly, could be erroneous in any of his opinions. But now, in the evening of life, when I know upon what foundation my principles rest, and when the direction of one peculiar course of study has made it necessary for me to learn every thing which books could teach concerning savage life, the proposition appears to me one of the most untenable that ever was advanced by a perverse or a paradoxical intellect.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

I advanced no such paradox, and you have answered me too hastily. The Britons were not savages when the Romans invaded and improved them. They were already far advanced in the barbarous stage of society, having the use of metals, domestic cattle, wheeled carriages, and money, a settled government, and a regular priesthood, who were connected with their fellow Druids on the continent, and who were not ignorant of letters. ...Understand me! I admit that improvements of the utmost value have been made, in the most important concerns: but I deny that the melioration has been general; and insist, on the contrary, that a considerable portion of the people are in a state, which, as relates to their physical condition, is greatly worsened, and, as touching their intellectual nature, is assuredly not improved. Look, for example, at the great mass of your populace in town and country,..a tremendous proportion of the whole community! Are their bodily wants better, or more easily supplied? Are they subject to fewer calamities? Are they happier in childhood, youth and manhood, and more comfortably or carefully provided for in old age, than when the land was uninclosed, and half covered with woods? With regard to their

moral and intellectual capacity, you well know how little of the light of knowledge and of revelation has reached them. They are still in darkness, and in the shadow of death!

MONTESINOS.

I perceive your drift; and perceive also that when we understand each other, there is likely to be little difference between us. And I beseech you, do not suppose that I am disputing for the sake of disputation; with that pernicious habit I was never infected, and I have seen too many mournful proofs of its perilous consequences. Toward any person it is injudicious and offensive; toward you it would be irreverent. Your position is undeniable. Were society to be stationary at its present point, the bulk of the people would, on the whole, have lost rather than gained by the alterations which have taken place during the last thousand years. Yet this must be remembered, that in common with all ranks they are exempted from those dreadful visitations of war, pestilence, and famine, by which these kingdoms were so frequently afflicted of old.

The countenance of my companion changed upon this, to an expression of judicial severity which struck me with awe. Exempted from

these visitations! he exclaimed; Mortal man! creature of a day, what art thou, that thou shouldst presume upon any such exemption? Is it from a trust in your own deserts, or a reliance upon the forbearance and long-suffering of the Almighty, that this vain confidence arises?

I was silent.

My friend, he resumed, in a milder tone, but with a melancholy manner, your own individual health and happiness are scarcely more precarious than this fancied security. By the mercy of God, twice during the short space of your life, England has been spared from the horrors of invasion, which might with ease have been effected during the American war, when the enemy's fleet swept the channel, and insulted your very ports, and which was more than once seriously intended during the late long contest. The invaders would indeed have found their graves in that soil which they came to subdue: but before they could have been overcome, the atrocious threat of Buonaparte's General might have been in great part realized, that though he could not answer for effecting the conquest of England, he would engage to destroy its prosperity for a century to come. You have

been spared from that chastisement. You have escaped also from the imminent danger of peace with a military Tyrant, which would inevitably have led to invasion, when he should have been ready to undertake and accomplish that great object of his ambition, and you must have been least prepared and least able to resist him. But if the seeds of civil war should at this time be quickening among you,...if your soil is every where sown with the dragon's teeth, and the fatal crop be at this hour ready to spring up,..the impending evil will be an hundred fold more terrible than those which have been averted; and you will have cause to perceive and acknowledge, that the wrath has been suspended only that it may fall the heavier!

May God avert this also! I exclaimed.

As for famine, he pursued, that curse will always follow in the train of war: and even now the public tranquillity of England is fearfully dependent upon the seasons. And touching pestilence, you fancy yourselves secure, because the plague has not appeared among you for the last hundred and fifty years; a portion of time, which long as it may seem when compared with the brief term of mortal exist-

ence, is as nothing in the physical history of the globe. The importation of that scourge is as possible now as it was in former times: and were it once imported, do you suppose it would rage with less violence among the crowded population of your metropolis, than it did before the Fire, or that it would not reach parts of the country which were never infected in any former visitation? On the contrary, its ravages would be more general and more tremendous, for it would inevitably be carried every where. Your provincial cities have doubled and trebled in size; and in London itself, great part of the population is as much crowded now as it was then, and the space which is covered with houses is increased at least fourfold. What if the sweating-sickness, emphatically called the English disease, were to show itself again? Can any cause be assigned why it is not as likely to break out in the nineteenth century as in the fifteenth? What if your manufactures, according to the ominous opinion which your greatest physiologist has expressed, were to generate for you new physical plagues, as they have already produced a moral pestilence unknown to all preceding ages? What if the small-pox, which you vainly believed to be subdued, should have assumed a new and more

formidable character; and (as there seems no trifling grounds for apprehending) instead of being protected by vaccination from its danger, you should ascertain that inoculation itself affords no certain security?...Visitations of this kind are in the order of nature and of Providence. Physically considered, the likelihood of their recurrence becomes every year more probable than the last; and looking to the moral government of the world, was there ever a time when the sins of this kingdom called more cryingly for chastisement?

MONTESINOS.

Μάντι κακῶν!

SIR THOMAS MORE.

I denounce no judgements. But I am reminding you that there is as much cause for the prayer in your Litany against plague, pestilence, and famine, as for that which intreats God to deliver you from all sedition, privy conspiracy and rebellion; from all false doctrine, heresy and schism. In this, as in all things, it behoves the Christian to live in a humble and grateful sense of his continual dependence upon the Almighty,..not to rest in a presumptuous confidence upon the improved state of human knowledge, or the altered course of natural visitations.

MONTESINOS.

Oh how wholesome it is to receive instruction with a willing and a humble mind! In attending to your discourse I feel myself in the healthy state of a pupil, when, without one hostile or contrarient prepossession, he listens to a teacher in whom he has entire confidence. And I feel also how much better it is that the authority of elder and wiser intellects should pass even for more than it is worth, than that it should be undervalued as in these days, and set at nought. When any person boasts that he is

Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri,

the reason of that boast may easily be perceived; it is because he thinks, like Jupiter, that it would be disparaging his own all-wiseness to swear by any thing but himself. But wisdom will as little enter into a proud, or a conceited mind as into a malicious one. In this sense also it may be said, that he who humbleth himself shall be exalted.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

It is not implicit assent that I require, but reasonable conviction after calm and sufficient consideration. David was permitted to chuse between the three severest dispensations of God's displeasure, and he made choice of pesti-

lence as the least dreadful. Ought a reflecting and religious man to be surprized, if some such punishment were dispensed to this country, not less in mercy than in judgement, as the means of averting a more terrible and abiding scourge? An endemic malady, as destructive as the plague, has naturalized itself among your American brethren, and in Spain. You have hitherto escaped it, speaking with reference to secondary causes, merely because it has not yet been imported. But any season may bring it to your own shores; or at any hour it may appear among you home-bred.

MONTESINOS.

We should have little reason then to boast of our improvements in the science of medicine; for our practitioners at Gibraltar found themselves as unable to stop its progress, or mitigate its symptoms, as the most ignorant empirics in the peninsula.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

You were at one time near enough that pestilence to feel as if you were within its reach?

MONTESINOS.

It was in 1800, the year when it first appeared in Andalusia. That summer I fell in at Cintra with a young German, on the way from his own country to his brothers at Cadiz, where they

were established as merchants. Many days had not elapsed after his arrival in that city when a ship which was consigned to their firm brought with it the infection; and the first news which reached us of our poor acquaintance was that the yellow fever had broken out in his brother's house, and that he, they, and the greater part of the household were dead. There was every reason to fear that the pestilence would extend into Portugal, both governments being, as usual, slow in providing any measures of precaution, and those measures being nugatory when taken. I was at Faro in the ensuing spring, at the house of Mr. Lempriere, the British Consul. Enquiring of him upon the subject, the old man lifted up his hands, and replied in a passionate manner which I shall never forget, "O Sir, we escaped by the mercy of God,..only by the mercy of God!" The Governor of Algarve, even when the danger was known and acknowledged, would not venture to prohibit the communication with Spain till he received orders from Lisbon; and then the prohibition was so enforced as to be useless. The crew of a boat from the infected province were seized and marched through the country to Tavira: they were then sent to perform quarantine upon a little insulated ground, and

the guards who were set over them, lived with them, and were regularly relieved. When such were the precautionary measures, well indeed might it be said, that Portugal escaped only by the mercy of God! I have often reflected upon the little effect which this imminent danger appeared to produce upon those persons with whom I associated. The young, with that hilarity which belongs to thoughtless youth, used to converse about the places whither they should retire, and the course of life and expedients to which they should be driven in case it were necessary for them to fly from Lisbon. A few elder and more considerate persons said little upon the subject, but that little denoted a deep sense of the danger, and more anxiety than they thought proper to express. The great majority seemed to be altogether unconcerned; neither their business, nor their amusements were interrupted; they feasted, they danced, they met at the card-table as usual; and the plague (for so it was called at that time, before its nature was clearly understood) was as regular a topic of conversation, as the news brought by the last packet.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

And, what was your own state of mind?

MONTESINOS.

Very much what it has long been with regard to the moral pestilence of this unhappy age, and the condition of this country more especially. I saw the danger in its whole extent, and relied on the mercy of God.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

In all cases that is the surest reliance: but when human means are available, it becomes a Mahommedan rather than a Christian to rely upon Providence or Fate alone, and make no effort for his own preservation. Individuals never fall into this error among you, drink as deeply as they may of fatalism; that narcotic will sometimes paralyse the moral sense, but it leaves the faculty of worldly prudence unimpaired. Far otherwise is it with your government; for such are the notions of liberty in England, that evils of every kind, physical, moral, and political, are allowed their free range. As relates to infectious diseases, for example, this kingdom is now in a less civilized state than it was in my days, three centuries ago, when the leper was separated from general society; and when, although the science of medicine was at once barbarous and phantastical, the existence of pest-houses showed at least some approaches towards a medical police.

MONTESINOS.

They order these things better in Utopia.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

In this, as well as in some other points upon which we shall touch hereafter, the difference between you and the Utopians is as great as between the existing generation and the race by whom yonder circle was set up. With regard to diseases and remedies in general, the real state of the case may be consolatory, but it is not comfortable. Great and certain progress has been made in chirurgery; and if the improvements in the other branch of medical science have not been so certain and so great, it is because the physician works in the dark, and has to deal with what is hidden and mysterious. But the evils for which these sciences are the palliatives, have increased in a proportion that heavily overweighs the benefit of improved therapeutics. For as the intercourse between nations has become greater, the evils of one have been communicated to another. Pigs, Spanish dollars, and Norway rats are not the only commodities and incommodities which have performed the circumnavigation, and are to be found wherever European ships have touched. Diseases also find their way from one part of the inhabited globe to another,

wherever it is possible for them to exist. The most formidable endemic or contagious maladies in your nosology are not indigenous; and as far as regards health therefore, the ancient Britons, with no other remedies than their fields and woods afforded them, and no other medical practitioners than their deceitful priests, were in a better condition than their descendants, with all the instruction which is derived from Sydenham and Heberden and Hunter, and with all the powers which chemistry has put into their hands.

MONTESINOS.

You have well said that there is nothing comfortable in this view of the case: but what is there consolatory in it?

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The consolation is upon your principle of expectant hope. Whenever improved morals, wiser habits, more practical religion, and more efficient institutions shall have diminished the moral and material causes of disease, a thoroughly scientific practice, the result of long experience and accumulated observations, will then exist, to remedy all that is within the power of human art, and to alleviate what is irremediable. To existing individuals this consolation is something like the satisfaction you

might feel in learning that a fine estate was entailed upon your family at the expiration of a lease of ninety-nine years from the present time. But I had forgotten to whom I am talking. A poet always looks onward to some such distant inheritance. His hopes are usually *in nubibus,* and his expectations in the *paulo post futurum* tense.

MONTESINOS.

His state is the more gracious then, because his enjoyment is always to come. It is however a real satisfaction to me, that there is some sunshine in your prospect.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

More in mine than in yours, because I command a wider horizon; but I see also the storms which are blackening, and may close over the sky. Our discourse began concerning that portion of the community who form the base of the pyramid; we have unawares taken a more general view, but it has not led us out of the way. Returning to the most numerous class of society, it is apparent that in the particular point of which we have been conversing, their condition is greatly worsened: they remain liable to the same indigenous diseases as their forefathers, and are exposed moreover to all which have been imported. Nor will the esti-

mate of their condition be improved upon farther inquiry. They are worse fed than when they were hunters, fishers, and herdsmen; their clothing and habitations are little better, and, in comparison with those of the higher classes, immeasurably worse. Except in the immediate vicinity of the collieries, they suffer more from cold than when the woods and turbaries were open. They are less religious than in the days of the Romish faith; and if we consider them in relation to their immediate superiors, we shall find reason to confess that the independence which has been gained since the total decay of the feudal system, has been dearly purchased by the loss of kindly feelings and ennobling attachments. They are less contented, and in no respect more happy. ...That look implies hesitation of judgement, and an unwillingness to be convinced. Consider the point; go to your books and your thoughts; and when next we meet, you will feel little inclination to dispute the irrefragable statement.

COLLOQUY IV.

FEUDAL SLAVERY.—GROWTH OF PAUPERISM.

THE last conversation had left a weight upon me, which was not lessened when I contemplated the question in solitude. I called to mind the melancholy view which Young has taken of the world in his unhappy poem:

> A part how small of the terraqueous globe
> Is tenanted by man! the rest a waste,
> Rocks, deserts, frozen seas and burning sands,
> Wild haunts of monsters, poisons, stings and death.
> Such is earth's melancholy map! But, far
> More sad, this earth is a true map of man.

Sad as this representation is, I could not but acknowledge that the moral and intellectual view is not more consolatory than the poet felt it to be; and it was a less sorrowful consideration to think how large a portion of the habitable earth is possessed by savages, or by nations whom inhuman despotisms and monstrous superstitions have degraded in some respects

below the savage state, than to observe how small a part of what is called the civilized world is truly civilized; and in the most civilized parts to how small a portion of the inhabitants the real blessings of civilization are confined. In this mood how heartily should I have accorded with Owen of Lanark, if I could have agreed with that happiest and most beneficent and most practical of all enthusiasts, as well concerning the remedy as the disease!

Well, Montesinos, said the Spirit, when he visited me next, have you recollected or found any solid arguments for maintaining that the labouring classes, who form the great bulk of the population, are in a happier condition, physical, moral, or intellectual, in these times, than they were in mine?

MONTESINOS.

Perhaps, Sir Thomas, their condition was better precisely during your age, than it ever has been either before or since. The feudal system had well nigh lost all its inhuman parts, and the worse inhumanity of the commercial system had not yet shown itself.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

It was, indeed, a most important age in English history, and till the Reformation so

fearfully disturbed it, in many respects a happy and an enviable one. But the process was then beginning, which is not yet completed. As the feudal system relaxed and tended to dissolution, the condition of the multitude was changed. Let us trace it from earlier times! In what state do you suppose the people of this island to have been, when they were invaded by the Romans?

MONTESINOS.

Something worse than the Greeks of the Homeric age: something better than the Sandwich or Tonga islanders when they were visited by Captain Cook. Inferior to the former in arts, in polity, and, above all, in their domestic institutions: superior to the latter as having the use of cattle and being under a superstition in which, amid many abominations, some patriarchal truths were preserved. Less fortunate in physical circumstances than either, because of the climate.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

A viler state of morals than their polyandrian system must have produced, can scarcely be imagined; and the ferocity of their manners, little as is otherwise known of them, is sufficiently shown by their scythed war-chariots, and the fact that in the open country the path

from one town to another was by a covered-way.* But in what condition were the labouring classes?

MONTESINOS.

In slavery, I suppose. When the Romans first attacked the island, it was believed at Rome, that slaves were the only booty which Britain could afford; and slaves, no doubt, must have been the staple commodity for which its ports were visited. Different tribes had at different times established themselves here by conquest, and wherever settlements are thus made, slavery is the natural consequence. It was a part of the Roman economy; and when

* It is to Sir Richard Hoare that we are indebted for this curious fact. In the course of those researches, which he has pursued so zealously and successfully, with the aid of that remarkable person, Mr. Cunnington, he ascertained the existence of "covered-ways or lines of communication from one British town to another. Their formation is totally different from that of the ramparts constructed for boundaries, and evidently has not been raised for barriers of defence; the bank being of an equal height on each side, and the area of the ditch broader in proportion and flatter. The frequent occurrence of these on our downs has opened a wide field for reflection and conjecture; much time was spent in doubt and uncertainty; till at length their connexion with the British towns became apparent, and ascertained most clearly the original cause of their formation and destination."—*Ancient Wiltshire*, 19.

the Saxons carved out their kingdoms with the sword, the slaves, and their masters too, if any survived, became the property of the new lords of the land,* like the cattle who pastured upon it. It is not likely even that the Saxons should have brought artificers of any kind with them, smiths perhaps alone excepted. Trades of every description† must have been practised by the

* Canciani supposes that the *Liberi Barones* were the old freemen of the barbarous nations, who thus distinguished themselves from those who were newly incorporated or manumitted, and this he thinks is the origin of nobility; for the Adelings were of princely blood. It was the policy of the Lombards‡ in particular, to augment their numbers by taking in slaves and making them free.—*Præf. ad Barb. Leges. Ant.* xii.

† Fuller observes, that, though there is no mention of tradesmen in the Roll of Battle Abbey, such persons nevertheless came over with the Normans. "For," he says, "soon would the head of the best Mounsieur ake without a capper; hands be tanned without a glover; feet be foundred without a tanner, currier, shoemaker; whole body be starved, cold, without weaver, fuller, tailor; hungry, without baker, brewer, cook; harbourless without mason, smith and carpenter. Say not, it was beneath the French gallantry to stoop to such mean employments, who found all these trades here amongst the English their vassals. For besides that nothing is base which is honest, and necessary for human society, such as are acquainted with the French, both ancient and modern, finicall humour, know they account our tailors, butchers, shoemakers, coblers, cooks,

‡ Paul. Diac. lib. i. cap. 13.

slaves whom they found. The same sort of transfer ensued upon the Norman conquest. After that event, there could have been no fresh supply of domestic slaves, unless they were imported from Ireland, as well as carried thither for sale. That trade did not continue long. Emancipation was promoted by the clergy, and slavery was exchanged for vassalage, which in like manner gradually disappeared as the condition of the people improved.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

You are hurrying too fast to that conclusion. Hitherto more has been lost than gained in morals by the transition; and you will not maintain that any thing which is morally injurious,

slovens, compared to the exactness of their fancy and palate; so that certainly such trades came over with them.

"But hear what our great antiquary* saith herein. In that most authenticall register, Doomsday book in the Exchequer, ye shall have *Cocus, Aurifaber, Pictor, Pistor, Accipitrarius, Camerarius, Venator, Piscator, Medicus;* Cook, Goldsmith, Painter, Baker, Falconer, Chamberlain, Huntsman, Fisher, Leach, Marshall, Porter, and others, which then held land *in capite,* and without doubt left these names to their posterity; albeit haply they are not mentioned in those tables of Battle Abbey, of such as came in at the conquest."—*Church History,* 171.

* Camden's Remains, p. 234.

can be politically advantageous. Vassalage I know is a word which bears no favourable acceptation in this liberal age; and slavery is in worse repute. But we must remember that slavery implies a very different state in different ages of the world, and in different stages of society.

MONTESINOS.

In many parts of the east, and of the Mahommedan world, as in the patriarchal times, it is scarcely an evil. Among savages it is as little so. In a luxurious state more vices are called into action, the condition of the slave depends more upon the temper of the owner, and the evil then predominates. But slavery is nowhere so bad as in commercial colonies, where the desire of gain hardens the heart: the basest appetites have free scope there; and the worst passions are under little restraint from law, less from religion, and none from public opinion.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

You have omitted in this enumeration, that kind of slavery which existed in England.

MONTESINOS.

The slavery of the feudal ages may perhaps be classed midway between the best description of that state and the worst. I suppose it to have been less humane than it generally is in

Turkey, less severe than it generally was in Rome and Greece. In too many respects the slaves were at the mercy of their lords. They might be put in irons and punished with stripes; they were sometimes branded; and there is proof that it has been the custom to yoke them in teams like cattle.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Are you then, Montesinos, so much the dupe of words as to account among their grievances a mere practice of convenience?

MONTESINOS.

The reproof was merited. But I was about to say, that there is no reason to think their treatment was generally rigorous. We do not hear of any such office among them as that of the Roman *Lorarii*, whose office appears by the dramatists to have been no sinecure. And it is certain that they possessed in the laws, in the religion, and probably in the manners of the country, a greater degree of protection than existed to alleviate the lot of the Grecian and Roman slaves.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The practical difference between the condition of the feudal slave,* and of the labouring

* The *Villani* were not slaves, but copyholders, who paid rent in labour chiefly, as appears from Domesday Book, where

husbandman, who succeeded to the business of his station, was mainly this, that the former had neither the feeling nor the insecurity of independence. He served one master as long as he lived; and being at all times sure of the same sufficient subsistence, if he belonged to the estate like the cattle, and was accounted with them as part of the live stock, he resembled them also in the exemption which he enjoyed from all cares concerning his own maintenance and that of his family. The feudal slaves, indeed, were subject to none of those vicissitudes which brought so many of the proudest and most powerful barons to a disastrous end. They had nothing to lose, and they had liberty to hope for; frequently as the reward of their own faithful services, and not seldom from the piety or kindness of their lords. This was a steady hope depending so little upon contingency, that it excited no disquietude or restlessness. They were therefore in general satisfied with the lot to which they were born, as the Greenlander is with his climate, the Bedouin with his deserts, and the Hottentot and the Calmuck with their

the slaves (*servi*) are nearly as numerous. There was an intermediate grade called *Cottarii*. Adam Smith describes Cottars as existing in Scotland in his time.

filthy and odious customs; and going on in their regular and unvaried course of duty, generation after generation, they were content.

MONTESINOS.

"Fish, Fish, are you in your duty?" said the young lady in the Arabian Tales, who came out of the kitchen wall, clad in flowered satin and with a rod in her hand. The Fish lifted up their heads and replied, "Yes, yes; if you reckon, we reckon; if you pay your debts, we pay ours; if you fly, we overcome, and are content." The Fish who were thus content and in their duty, had been gutted, and were in the frying-pan. ..I do not seek, however, to escape from the force of your argument, by catching at the words. On the other hand, I am sure it is not your intention to represent slavery otherwise than as an evil, under any modification.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

That which is a great evil in itself, becomes relatively a good, when it prevents or removes a greater evil; for instance, loss of a limb when life is preserved by the sacrifice; or the acute pain of a remedy by which a chronic disease is cured. Such was slavery in its origin; a commutation for death, gladly accepted as mercy under the arm of a conqueror in battle, or as the mitigation of a judicial sentence. But it led

immediately to nefarious abuses; and the earliest records which tell us of its existence, show us also that men were kidnapped for sale. With the principles of Christianity,..the principles of religious philosophy,..the only true policy,.. to which mankind must come at last, by which alone all the remediable ills of humanity are to be remedied, and for which you are taught to pray when you entreat that your Father's kingdom may come,..with those principles slavery is inconsistent, and therefore not to be tolerated, even in speculation.

MONTESINOS.

Yet its fitness, as a commutation for other punishments, is admitted by Michaelis, (though he decides against it,) to be one of the most difficult questions connected with the existing state of society. And in the age of the Revolution, one of the sturdiest Scotch republicans proposed the re-establishment of slavery, as the best or only means for correcting the vices and removing the miseries of the poor.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The proposal of such a remedy must be admitted as full proof of the malignity of the disease. And in further excuse of Andrew Fletcher, it should be remembered, that he belonged to a country where many of the

feudal virtues (as well as most of the feudal vices) were at that time in full vigour. But let us return to our historical view of the subject. In feudal servitude there was no motive for cruelty, scarcely any for oppression. There were no needy slave-owners, as there are in commercial colonies; and though slaves might sometimes suffer from a wicked, or even a passionate master, there is no reason to believe that they were habitually overtasked, or subjected to systematic ill treatment; for that indeed can only arise from avarice, and avarice is not the vice of feudal times. Still, however, slavery is intolerable upon Christian principles; and to the influence of those principles it yielded here in England. It had ceased, so as even to be forgotten in my youth; and villenage was advancing fast towards its natural extinction. The courts decided that a tenant having a lease, could not be a villein during its term, for if his labour were at the command of another, how could he undertake to pay rent? Landholders had thus to chuse between rent and villenage, and scarcely wanted the Field of the Cloth of Gold at Ardres to show them which they stood most in need of. And as villenage disappeared, free labourers of various descriptions multiplied; of whom the more industrious and fortunate

rose in society, and became tradesmen and merchants; the unlucky and the reprobate became vagabonds.

MONTESINOS.

The latter class appears to have been far more numerous in your age than in mine.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Waiving for the present the question whether they really were so, they appear to have been so partly in consequence of the desperate wars between the houses of York and Lancaster, partly because of the great change in society which succeeded to that contest. During those wars, both parties exerted themselves to bring into the field all the force they could muster. Villeins in great numbers were then emancipated, when they were embodied in arms; and great numbers emancipated themselves, flying to London and other cities for protection from the immediate evils of war, or taking advantage of the frequent changes of property, and the precarious tenure by which it was held, to exchange their own servile condition for a station of freedom with all its hopes and chances. This took place to a great extent, and the probabilities of success were greatly in their favour; for whatever may have been practised in earlier and ruder times, in that age they certainly

were not branded like cattle, according to the usage of your sugar islands.

MONTESINOS.

A planter,* who, notwithstanding this curious specimen of his taste and sensibility, was a man of humane studies and humane feelings, describes the refined and elegant manner in which the operation is performed, by way of mitigating the indignation which such an usage ought to excite. He assures us that the stamp is not a branding iron, but a silver instrument; and that it is heated not in the fire, but over the flame of spirits of wine.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Excellent planter! worthy to have been flogged at a gilt whipping-post with a scourge of gold thread! ..The practice of marking slaves had fallen into disuse: probably it was only used at first with captives, or with those who were newly-purchased from a distant country, never with those born upon the soil. And there was no means of raising a hue and cry after a runaway slave so effectually as is done by your colonial gazettes, ..the only productions of the British colonial press!

MONTESINOS.

Include, I pray you, in the former part of

* Bryan Edwards.

your censure, the journals of the United States, ...the land of democracy and equal rights.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

How much more honourable was the tendency of our laws, and of national feeling in those days, which you perhaps as well as your trans-Atlantic brethren have been accustomed to think barbarous, when compared with this your own age of reason and liberality! The master who killed his slave was as liable to punishment as if he had killed a freeman. Instead of impeding enfranchisement, the laws, as well as the public feeling, encouraged it. If a villein who had fled from his lord remained a year and a day unclaimed upon the King's demesne lands, or in any privileged town, he became free. All doubtful cases were decided *in favorem libertatis*. Even the established maxim in law, *partus sequitur ventrem*, was set aside in favour of liberty; the child of a neif was free if the father were a freeman, or if it were illegitimate, in which case it was settled that the free condition of the father should always be presumed.

MONTESINOS.

Such a principle must surely have tended to increase the illegitimate population.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

That inference is drawn from the morals of

your own age, and the pernicious effect of your poor laws as they are now thoroughly understood, and deliberately acted upon by a race who are thinking always of their imaginary rights, and never of their duties. You forget the efficacy of ecclesiastical discipline; and that the old Church was more vigilant and therefore more efficient than that which rose upon its ruins. And you suppose that personal liberty was more valued by persons in a state of servitude, than was actually the case. For if in earlier ages emancipation was an act of piety and benevolence, afterwards when the great crisis of society came on, it proceeded more frequently from avarice than from any worthier motive; and the slave who was set free, sometimes found himself much in the situation of a household dog that is turned into the streets.

MONTESINOS.

Are you alluding to the progress of inclosures, which from the accession of the Tudors to the age of the Stuarts* were complained of as the great and crying evil of the times?

* The evil is thus noticed by a writer of James the First's reign, who is less known than he deserves to be for his oddity and his merit: "This island of ours, within these late days, hath bred a great number of these *field-briars*, which unnaturally turn their mother into barrenness. Oppressors, In-

SIR THOMAS MORE.

That process originated as soon as rents began to be of more importance than personal

closers, Depopulators, Deportators, Depravators, that turn the land to ruin for a private benefit; and work out a particular gain from a public and general loss.

"Again, said I, where is it? I will speak boldly, I never knew great man grow greater by his depopulations, and I hope no man will say, he hath grown better by them. Corn-fields are turned to sheep-walks; once-inhabited towns feede oxen; and Churches are made shepherds cottages; and yet the doers of all this never the richer. They keep less hospitality, for a few rooms in *London* serve their turns; they extort sorer rents, and yet they have never the more money.

"It cannot bee denyed but the main end of these courses was profit, and enhansing their estates, and lo! in this very end God crosseth them. Speak what you will of their pride, of turning the alms they should give to the poor into feasts for the rich, of their infrugal courses: I say confidently, *hìc digitus Dei*, here is the very hand of God striking them. Man, though he hath authority, will not look to these *field-bryars*, but let them waste and forage, and play the *Abimelechs;* but God will. But if wee doe not looke to it, let me say to you, as *Jotham* to the *Shechemites* of that aspiring *bramble, Judg.* 9. *If fire come not out of Shechem to devour Abimelech; fire will come from Abimelech to devour Shechem.* If you undoe not the oppressions of the *field-bryars*, their oppressions will undoe us all."—*Adamer's Divine Herball, p.* 128.

1635. The Lord Keeper Coventry says in his Charge to the Judges, "I do require you, that you make a strict inquiry after depopulations and inclosures; a crime of a crying nature, that

services, and money more convenient to the landlords than payments in kind.

MONTESINOS.

And this I suppose began to be the case under Edward III. The splendour of his court, and the foreign wars in which he was engaged, must have made money more necessary to the knights and nobles than it had ever been before, except during the Crusades.

barreth God of his honour, and the King of his subjects. Churches and Houses go down together. His Majesty knoweth and taketh notice, that according to former directions given to you in this place, you have given it in charge to the grand Inquests to inquire, but to little effect: and without doubt the Freeholders of England do hate and detest them. Depopulation is an oppression of a high nature, and commonly done by the greatest persons, that keep the juries under and in awe; and this is the cause there are no more presented and brought in question. But howsoever your charge and inquiry touching this point hath not taken effect worthy his Majesty's care and your pains, yet his Majesty willeth that you do not cease, but inquire on still. For it is his resolution, against all opposition, to make all men see that he hath a care of this overspreading evil, and of the means of his people, to have Churches and Towns demolished, and his people eaten up like bread, to satisfy the greedy desires of a few, who do waste as profusely as they do gather together unconscionably, and bring unto their posterity that woe which is pronounced to those that lay house to house and field to field, to dwell alone in the midst of the earth."—*Rushworth*, ii. 295.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The wars of York and Lancaster retarded the process; but immediately after the termination of that fierce struggle, it was accelerated by the rapid growth of commerce, and by the great influx of wealth from the new found world. Under a settled and strong and vigilant government, men became of less value as vassals and retainers, because the boldest barons no longer dared contemplate the possibility of trying their strength against the crown, or attempting to disturb the succession. Four-legged animals therefore were wanted for slaughter more than two-legged ones: and moreover, sheep* could be shorn,..whereas the art of fleecing the tenantry was in its infancy, and could not always be practised with the same certain success. A trading spirit thus gradually superseded the rude but kindlier principle of the feudal system: profit and loss became the rule of conduct; in came calculation, and out went feeling.

* "If the King's honour, as some men say, standeth in the great multitude of people, then these grasiers, inclosers, and rent-rearers are hinderers of the King's honour. For where as have been a great many householders and inhabitants, there is now but a shepherd and his dog."—*Latimer.*

MONTESINOS.

I remember your description* (for indeed who can forget it?) how sheep, more destructive

* *Oves vestræ, quæ tam mites esse, tamque exiguo solent ali, nunc (uti fertur) tam edaces atque indomitæ esse cæperunt, ut homines devorent ipsos, agros, domos, oppida vastent ac depopulentur. Nempe quibuscunque regni partibus nascitur lana tenuior, atque ideo pretiosior, ibi nobiles et generosi, atque adeo Abbates aliquot sancti viri, non his contenti reditibus fructibusque annuis, qui majoribus suis solebant ex prædiis crescere, nec habentes satis, quod otiosè ac lautè viventes, nihil in publicum prosint, nisi etiam obsint, arvo nihil relinquunt, omnia claudunt pascuis, demoliuntur domos, diruunt oppida, templo duntaxat stabulandis ovibus relicto. Et tanquam parum soli perderent apud vos ferarum saltus ac vivaria, illi boni viri habitationes omnes, et quicquid usquam est culti, vertunt in solitudinem. Ergo ut unus helluo inexplebilis ac dira pestis patriæ, continuatis agris, aliquot millia jugerum uno circundet septo, ejiciuntur coloni quidam; suis etiam aut circumscripti fraude, aut vi oppressi exuuntur, aut fatigati injuriis adiguntur ad venditionem. Itaque quoquo pacto emigrant miseri, viri, mulieres, mariti, uxores, orbi, viduæ, parentes cum parvis liberis, et numerosâ magis quàm divite familiâ, ut multis opus habet manibus res rustica; emigrant, inquam, e notis atque assuetis laribus, nec inveniant quò se recipiant; supellectilem omnem haud magno vendibilem, etiam si manere possit emptorem, quum extrudi necesse est, minimo venundant: id quum brevi errando insumpserent, quid restat aliud denique, quam uti furentur, et pendeant juste scilicet, aut vagentur atque mendicent? quanquam tum quoque velut errones conjiciuntur in carcerem, quod otiosi obambulent, quorum operam nemo est qui conducat, quum illi cupidissime offerant. Nam rusticæ rei cui assueverunt, nihil est quod agatur, ubi nihil seritur.*—Utopia, l. i. pp. 63—5. Ed. 1629.

than the Dragon of Wantley in those days, began to devour men and fields and houses. The same process is at this day going on in the Highlands, though under different circumstances; some which palliate the evil, and some which aggravate the injustice.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The real nature of the evil was misunderstood by my contemporaries, and for some generations afterward. A decrease of population was the effect complained of; whereas the greater grievance was that a different and worse population was produced.

MONTESINOS.

I comprehend you. The same effect followed which has been caused in these days by the extinction of small farms.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The same in kind, but greater in degree; or at least if not greater, or so general in extent, it was more directly felt. When that ruinous fashion prevailed in your age, there were many resources for the class of people who were thus thrown out of their natural and proper place in the social system. Your fleets and armies at that time required as many hands as could be supplied; and women and children were consumed with proportionate rapidity by your

manufactures. Moreover there was the wholesome drain of emigration open;

facta est immensi copia mundi.

But under the Tudors there existed no such means for disposing of the ejected population; and except the few who could obtain places as domestic servants, or employment as labourers and handicraftsmen, (classes, it must be remembered, for all which the employ was diminished by the very ejectment in question,) they who were turned adrift soon found themselves houseless and hopeless, and were reduced to prey upon that society which had so unwisely as well as inhumanly discarded them.

MONTESINOS.

Thus it is that men collectively as well as individually create for themselves so large a part of the evils they endure.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Enforce upon your contemporaries that truth which is as important in politics as in ethics, and you will not have lived in vain! Scatter that seed upon the waters, and doubt not of the harvest! Vindicate always the system of nature,..in other and sounder words, the ways of God,..while you point out with all faithfulness,

what ills
Remediable and yet unremedied
Afflict man's wretched race,

and the approbation of your own heart will be sufficient reward on earth.

MONTESINOS.

The will has not been wanting.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

There are cases in which the will carries with it the power: and this is of them. No man was ever yet deeply convinced of any momentous truth, without feeling in himself the power as well as the desire of communicating it.

MONTESINOS.

True, Sir Thomas: but the perilous abuse of that feeling by enthusiasts and fanatics leads to an error in the opposite extreme. We sacrifice too much to prudence; and, in fear of incurring the danger or the reproach of enthusiasm, too often we stifle the holiest impulses of the understanding and the heart.

Our doubts are traitors,
And make us lose the good we oft might win,
By fearing to attempt.

... But, I pray you, resume your discourse. The monasteries were probably he chief palliatives of this great evil while they existed.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Their power of palliating it was not great, for the expenditure of those establishments kept a just pace with their revenues. They accumulated no treasures, and never were any incomes more beneficially* employed. The great abbies vied with each other in architectural magnificence, in this more especially, but likewise in every branch of liberal expenditure, giving employment to great numbers, which was better than giving unearned food. They provided, as it became them, for the old and helpless also. That they prevented the necessity of raising rates for the poor, by the copious alms which they distributed, and by indiscriminately feeding the indigent, has been inferred, because those rates became necessary immediately after the suppression of the religious houses. But this is one of those hasty inferences which have no other foundation than a mere coincidence of time in the supposed cause and effect.

* *Assi como el estomago lo que digiere, no lo quiere para solo el, sino para repartilo por todos los miembros, desta suerte los Monasterios ricos de Ingalaterra, y Alemania, y otras Provincias, eran estomagos de la republica; que de tal manera fueron poderosissimos, que hazian bien a infinitas personas.*—Yepes, Cor. Gen de S. Benito, t. iii. p. 41.

MONTESINOS.

...For which you have furnished a proverbial illustration in your excellent story of Tenterden Steeple, and Goodwin Sands.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

That illustration would have been buried in the dust, if it had not been repeated by Hugh Latimer at St. Paul's Cross. It was the only thing in my writings by which he profited. If he had learnt more from them, he might have died in his bed, with less satisfaction to himself, and less honour from posterity. We went different ways, but we came to the same end, and met where we had little expectation of meeting. I must do him the justice to say, that when he forwarded the work of destruction, it was with the hope and intention of employing the materials in a better edifice; and that no man opposed the sacrilegious temper of the age more bravely. The monasteries, in the dissolution of which he rejoiced as much as he regretted the infamous disposal of their spoils, delayed the growth of pauperism, by the corrodies with which they were charged; the effect of these reservations on the part of the founders and benefactors being, that a comfortable and respectable support was provided for those who grew old in the service of their respective families; and

there existed no great family, and perhaps no wealthy one, which had not entitled itself thus to dispose of some of its aged dependents. And the extent of the depopulating system was limited while those houses endured; because, though some of the great abbots were not less rapacious than the lay lords, and more criminal, the heads in general could not be led, like the nobles, into a prodigal expenditure, the burthen of which fell always upon the tenants; and rents in kind were to them more convenient than in money, their whole economy being founded upon that system, and adapted to it.

MONTESINOS.

Both facts and arguments were indeed strongly on your side when you wrote against the Supplication of Beggars: but the form in which you embodied them gave the adversary an advantage, for it was connected with one of the greatest abuses and absurdities of the Romish Church.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Montesinos, I allow you to call it an abuse; but if you think any of the abuses of that church were in their origin so unreasonable as to deserve the appellation of absurdities, you must have studied its history with less consideration and a less equitable spirit than I have given

you credit for. Both Master Fish and I had each our prejudices and errors. We were both sincere: Master Fish would undoubtedly have gone to the stake in defence of his opinions, as cheerfully as I laid down my neck upon the block; like his namesake in the tale which you have quoted, he too when in Nix's frying-pan, would have said that he was in his duty, and content. But withal he cannot be called an honest man, unless in that sort of liberal signification by which, in these days, good words are so detorted from their original and genuine meaning as to express precisely the reverse of what was formerly intended by them. More gross exaggerations, and more rascally mis-statements could hardly be made by one of your own thorough-paced revolutionists, than those upon which the whole argument of his Supplication is built.

MONTESINOS.

If he had fallen into your hands, you would have made a stock-fish of him.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Perhaps so. I had not then learnt, that laying men by the heels is not the best way of curing them of an error in the head. But the King protected him. Henry had too much sagacity not to perceive the consequences which such a book was likely to produce, and he said

after perusing it, "If a man should pull down an old stone wall, and begin at the bottom, the upper part thereof might chance to fall upon his head." But he saw also that it tended to serve his immediate purpose.

MONTESINOS.

I marvel that good old John Fox, upright, downright man as he was, should have inserted in his Acts and Monuments a libel like this, which contains no arguments except such as were adapted to ignorance, cupidity, and malice.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Old John Fox ought to have known that, however advantageous the dissolution of the monastic houses might be to the views of the Reformers, it was every way injurious to the labouring classes. As far as they were concerned, the transfer of property was always to worse hands. The tenantry were deprived of their best *landlords, artificers of their best employers,

* The raising of rents is thus complained of by the excellent old Bishop Latimer in his homely and lively manner. "I doubt most rich men have too much, for without *too much* we can get nothing. As, for example, the physician,--if the poor man be diseased, he can have no help without *too much*; and of the lawyer the poor man can get no counsel, expedition, nor help in his matter, except he give him *too much*. At merchants'

the poor and miserable of their best and surest friends. There would have been no insurrections in behalf of the old religion, if the zeal of the peasantry had not been inflamed by a sore feeling of the injury which they suffered in the change. A great increase of the vagabond population was the direct and immediate consequence. They who were ejected from their tenements, or deprived of their accustomed employment, were turned loose upon society; and the greater number, of course and of necessity, ran wild.

MONTESINOS.

Wild, indeed! The *old chroniclers give a

hands no kind of ware can be had, except we give for it *too much*. You landlords, you rent-raisers—I may say you step lords, you unnatural lords, you have for your possessions yearly *too much!* For that here before went for 20 or 60 pound by year, which is an honest portion to be had *gratis* in one lordship, of another man's sweat and labour, now is let for 50 or 100 pound by year. Of this *too much* cometh this monstrous and portentous dearth made by man, notwithstanding God doth send us plentifully the fruits of the earth, mercifully, contrary unto our deserts. Notwithstanding, *too much* which these rich men have causeth such dearth, that poor men which live of their labour cannot with the sweat of their face have a living, all kind of victuals is so dear; pigs, geese, capons, chickens, eggs, &c. these things, with others, are so unreasonably enhaunced. And I think verily that if it thus continue, we shall at length be constrained to pay for a pig a pound."

* See Harrison's Description of England, where they are

dreadful picture of their numbers and of their wickedness, which called forth and deserved the utmost severity of the law. They lived like savages in the woods and wastes, committing the most atrocious actions, stealing children, and burning, breaking, or otherwise disfiguring their limbs for the purpose of exciting compassion, and obtaining alms by this most flagitious of all imaginable crimes. Surely we have nothing so bad as this.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The crime of stealing children for such purposes is rendered exceedingly difficult by the ease and rapidity with which a hue and cry can now be raised throughout the land, and the eagerness and detestation with which the criminal would be pursued; still, however, it is sometimes practised. In other respects the professional beggars of the nineteenth century are not a whit better than their predecessors of the sixteenth: and your gipsies and travelling potters, who, gipsy-like, pitch their tents upon the common, or by the way side, retain with as much fidelity the manners and morals of the

described as "chiefly keeping the champaine soils in summer to avoid the scorching heat, and the woodland grounds in winter to eschew the blustering winds."

old vagabonds, as they do the *cant*, or pedlar's French, which this class of people are said to have *invented in the age whereof we are now speaking.

MONTESINOS.

But the number of our vagabonds has greatly diminished. In your Henry's reign it is affirmed that no fewer than 72,000† criminals were

* "In counterfeiting the Egyptian rogues they have devised a language among themselves, which they name canting, but others Pedlar's French, a speech compact thirty years since of English and a great number of odd words of their own devising, without all order or reason: and yet such is it as none but themselves are able to understand. The first deviser thereof was hanged by the neck, a just reward no doubt for his deserts, and a common end to all of that profession."—*Harrison in Holinshed*, vol. i. p. 309. Ed. 1807.

† "There is not one year commonly wherein three hundred or four hundred of them are not devoured and eaten up by the gallows in one place or other. It appeareth by Cardan (who writeth it upon the report of the Bishop of Lexovia), in the geniture of King Edward the Sixth, how Henry the Eighth, executing his laws very severely against such idle persons, I mean great thieves, petty thieves and rogues, did hang up three-score and twelve thousand of them in his time. He seemed for a while greatly to have terrified the rest; but since his death the number of them is so increased, yea although we have had no wars, which are a great occasion of their breed, (for it is the custom of the more idle sort, having once served, or but seen the other side of the sea under colour of service, to shake hand with labour for ever, thinking it a disgrace for himself to

hanged; you have yourself described them as strung up by scores upon a gibbet all over the country. Even in the golden days of good Queen Bess, the executions were from three to four hundred annually. A large allowance must be made for the increased humanity of the nation, and the humaner temper with which the laws are administered: but the new crimes which increased wealth and a system of credit on one hand, and increased ingenuity, and new means of mischief on the part of the depredators have produced, must also be taken into the account. And the result will show a diminution in the number of those who prey upon society either by open war or secret wiles.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Add your paupers to the list; and you will then have added to it not less than an eighth of your whole population. But looking at the depredators alone, perhaps it will be found that the evil is at this time more widely extended, more intimately connected with the constitution of society, like a chronic and organic disease,

return unto his former trade), that, except some better order be taken, or the laws already made be better executed, such as dwell in uplandish towns and little villages shall live but in small safety and rest."—*Harrison, ut supra,* p. 315. Ed. 1807.

and therefore more difficult of cure. Like other vermin they are numerous in proportion as they find shelter; and for this species of noxious beast, large towns and manufacturing districts afford better cover than the forest or the waste. The fault lies in your institutions, which in the time of the Saxons were better adapted to maintain security and order, than they are now. No man in those days could prey upon society, unless he were at war with it as an outlaw, a proclaimed and open enemy. Rude as the laws were, the purposes of law had not then been perverted: it had not been made a craft; it served to deter men from committing crimes, or to punish them for the commission; never to shield notorious, acknowledged, impudent guilt from condign punishment. And in the fabric of society, imperfect as it was, the outline and rudiments of what it ought to be were distinctly marked in some main parts, where they are now well-nigh utterly effaced. Every person had his place. There was a system of superintendence every where, civil as well as religious. They who were born in villenage, were born to an inheritance of labour, but not of inevitable depravity and wretchedness. If one class were regarded in some respects as cattle, they were at least taken care

of; they were trained, fed, sheltered and protected; and there was an eye upon them when they strayed. None were wild, unless they ran wild wilfully, and in defiance of controul. None were beneath the notice of the priest, nor placed out of the possible reach of his instruction and his care. But how large a part of your population are like the dogs at Lisbon and Constantinople, unowned, unbroken to any useful purpose, subsisting by chance or by prey, living in filth, mischief and wretchedness; a nuisance to the community while they live, and dying miserably at last! This evil had its beginning in my days; it is now approaching fast to its consummation.

COLLOQUY V.

DECAY OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.—EDWARD VI. —ALFRED.

I HAD retired to my library, as usual, after dinner, and while I was wishing for the appearance of my ghostly visitor, he became visible. Behold me to your wish! said he. Thank you, I replied, for those precious words.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Wherefore precious?

MONTESINOS.

Because they show that spirits who are in bliss perceive our thoughts;...that that communion with the departed for which the heart yearns in its moods of intensest feeling, is in reality attained when it is desired.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

You deduce a large inference from scanty premises. As if it were not easy to know without any super-human intuition that you would wish for the arrival of one whose com-

pany you like, at a time when you were expecting it.

MONTESINOS.

And is this all!

SIR THOMAS MORE.

All that the words necessarily imply. For the rest, *crede quod habeas et habes*, according to the scurvy tale which makes my friend Erasmus a horse-stealer, and fathers Latin rhymes upon him. But let us take up the thread of our discourse; or, as we used to say in old times, "begin it again and mend it, for it is neither mass nor matins."

MONTESINOS.

You were saying that the evil of a vagrant and brutalized population began in your days,* and is approaching to its consummation at this time.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The decay of the feudal system produced it. When armies were no longer raised upon that system, soldiers were disbanded at the end of a war, as they are now; that is to say, they were turned adrift to fare as they could,...to

* Harrison says, "it is not yet full threescore years since this trade began; but how it hath prospered since that time it is easy to judge, for they are now supposed, of one sex and another, to amount not above 10,000 persons."—*Holinshed*, i. 309.

work if they could find employment; otherwise to beg, starve, live upon the alms of their neighbours, or prey upon a wider community in a manner more congenial to the habits and temper of their old vocation. In consequence of the gains which were to be obtained by inclosures and sheep-farming, families were unhoused and driven loose upon the country. These persons, and they who were emancipated from villanage, or who had in a more summary manner emancipated themselves, multiplied in poverty and wretchedness. Lastly, owing to the fashion for large households of retainers, great numbers of men were trained up in an idle and dissolute way of life, liable at any time to be cast off when age or accident invalided them, or when the master of the family died; and then if not ashamed to beg, too lewd to work, and ready for any kind of mischief. Owing to these co-operating causes, a huge population of outcasts was produced, numerous enough seriously to infest society, yet not so large as to threaten its subversion.

MONTESINOS.

A derangement of the existing system produced them then; they are a constituent part of the system now. With you they were, as you have called them, outcasts: with us, to borrow an

illustration from foreign institutions, they have become a cast. But during two centuries the evil appears to have decreased. Why was this?

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Because it was perceived to be an evil, and could never at any time be mistaken for a healthful symptom. And because circumstances tended to suspend its progress. The habits of these unhappy persons being at first wholly predatory, the laws proclaimed a sort of crusade against them, and great and inhuman riddance was made by the executioner. Foreign service opened a drain in the succeeding reigns: many also were drawn off by the spirit of maritime adventure, preferring the high seas to the high way, as a safer course of plundering. Then came an age of civil war, with its large demand for human life. Meanwhile as the old arrangements of society crumbled and decayed, new ones were formed. The ancient fabric was repaired in some parts and modernized in others. And from the time of the Restoration the people supposed their institutions to be stable, because after long and violent convulsions they found themselves at rest, and the transition which was then going on, was slow, silent, and unperceived. The process of converting slaves and villeins into servants and free peasantry had

ended; that of raising a manufacturing populace and converting peasantry into poor was but begun; and it proceeded slowly for a full hundred years.

MONTESINOS.

Those hundred years were the happiest which England has ever known.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Perhaps so: καρπὸς μέγιστος ἀταραξία.

MONTESINOS.

With the exception of the efforts which were made for restoring the exiled family of the Stuarts, they were years of quiet uniform prosperity and advancement. The morals of the country recovered from the contagion which Charles II. imported from France, and for which Puritanism had prepared the people. Visitations of pestilence were suspended. Sectarians enjoyed full toleration, and were contented. The Church proved itself worthy of the victory which it had obtained. The Constitution, after one great but short struggle, was well balanced and defined; and if the progress of art, science, and literature was not brilliant, it was steady, and the way for a brighter career was prepared.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The way was prepared meantime for evil as well as for good. You were retrograde in sound

policy, sound philosophy and sound learning. Our business at present is wholly with the first. Because your policy, defective as it was at the best, had been retrograde, discoveries in physics, and advances in mechanical science which would have produced nothing but good in Utopia, became as injurious to the weal of the nation, as they were instrumental to its wealth. But such had your system imperceptibly become, and such were your statesmen, that the wealth of nations was considered as the sole measure of their prosperity.

MONTESINOS.

In feudal ages the object of those monarchs who had any determinate object in view, was either to extend their dominions by conquest from their neighbours, or to increase their authority at home by breaking the power of a turbulent nobility. In commercial ages the great and sole object of government when not engaged in war, was to augment its revenues, for the purpose of supporting the charges which former wars had induced, or which the apprehension of fresh ones rendered necessary. And thus it has been, that of the two main ends of government, which are the security of the subjects, and the improvement of the nation, the latter has never been seriously attempted,

scarcely indeed taken into consideration; and the former imperfectly attained.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Fail not, however, I entreat you, to bear in mind that this has not been the fault of your rulers at any time. It has been their misfortune, ..an original sin in the constitution of the society wherein they were born. Circumstances, which they did not make and could not controul, have impelled them onward in ways which neither for themselves nor the nation were ways of pleasantness and peace.

MONTESINOS.

There is one beautiful exception,..Edward VI.

> That blessed Prince whose saintly name might move
> The understanding heart to tears of reverent love.

He would have struck into the right course.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

You have a catholic feeling concerning Saints, Montesinos, though you look for them in the protestant kalendar. Edward deserves to be remembered with that feeling. But had his life been prolonged to the full age of man, it would not have been in his power to remedy the evil which had been done in his father's reign, and during his own minority. To have effected that would have required a strength

and obduracy of character incompatible with his meek and innocent nature. In intellect and attainments he kept pace with his age, a more stirring and intellectual one than any which had gone before it: but in the wisdom of the heart he was far beyond that age, or indeed any that has succeeded it. It cannot be said of him as of Henry of Windsor, that he was fitter for a cloister than a throne, but he was fitter for an heavenly crown than a terrestrial one. This country was not worthy of him,..scarcely this earth!

MONTESINOS.

There is a homely verse common in village churchyards, the truth of which has been felt by many a heart, as some consolation in its keenest afflictions:

God calls them first whom he loves best.

But surely no Prince ever more sedulously employed himself to learn his office. His views in some respects were not in accord with the more enlarged principles of trade, which experience has taught us. But on the other hand he judged rightly what "the medicines were by which the sores of the commonwealth might be healed." His prescriptions are as applicable now as they were then, and in most points as

needful: they were "good education, good example, good laws, and the just execution of those laws: punishing the vagabond and idle, encouraging the good, ordering well the customers, and engendering friendship in all parts of the commonwealth." In these, and more especially in the first of these, he hoped and purposed to have "shown his device." But it was not permitted. Nevertheless he has his reward. It has been more wittily than charitably said that Hell is paved with good intentions: they have their place in Heaven also. Evil thoughts and desires are justly accounted to us for sin; assuredly therefore the sincere good-will will be accepted for the deed, when means and opportunity have been wanting to bring it to effect.* There are feelings and purposes as well as "thoughts,

> . . . . . whose very sweetness yieldeth proof
> That they were born for immortality."

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Those great legislative measures whereby the

* The converse of this would be a fearful opinion. Galterius (whoever that personage may have been) considers the question, which it seems had been proposed to him, and says *credo neminem damnari pro futuris operibus malis quæ non fecit, quamvis ea facturus esset, si in vitâ diutius remanerat.*—Marteue et Durand. Vet. Mon. &c. Amplis. Col. t. i. 845.

character of a nation is changed and stamped, are more practicable in a barbarous age, than in one so far advanced as that of the Tudors; under a despotic government, than under a free one; and among an ignorant, rather than an inquiring people. Obedience is then either yielded to a power which is too strong to be resisted; or willingly given to the acknowledged superiority of some commanding mind, carrying with it, as in such ages it does, an appearance of divinity. Our incomparable Alfred was a Prince in many respects favourably circumstanced for accomplishing a great work like this, if his victory over the Danes had been so complete as to have secured the country against any further evils from that tremendous enemy. And had England remained free from the scourge of their invasions under his successors, it is more than likely that his institutions would at this day have been the groundwork of your polity.

MONTESINOS.

If you allude to that part of the Saxon law, which required that all the people should be placed under *borh*, I must observe that even those writers who regard the name of Alfred with the greatest reverence always condemn this part of his system of government.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

It is a question of degree. The just medium between too much superintendance and too little,..the mystery whereby the free will of the subject is preserved, while it is directed by the fore purpose of the state, (which is the secret of true polity)...is yet to be found out. But this is certain, that whatever be the origin of government, its duties are patriarchal, that is to say, parental: superintendance is one of those duties, and is capable of being exercised to any extent by delegation and subdelegation.

MONTESINOS.

The Madras system, my excellent friend Dr. Bell would exclaim if he were here. That which, as he says, gives in a school to the master, the hundred eyes of Argus, and the hundred hands of Briareus, might in a state give omnipresence to law, and omnipotence to order. This is indeed the fair ideal of a commonwealth.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

And it was this at which *Alfred aimed. His

* Alfred's sense of the necessity of discipline is strongly expressed in the terms of his agreement with the Danish King Guthrun. "*In primis est, quod statuerunt, ut unum Deum diligere velint, et omnem gentilismum sedulo rejicere; et constituerunt etiam secularem disciplinam, pro eo quod sciebant, quod non possent multos aliter gubernare; et multi nollent ad Ecclesiasticam emendationem aliter flectere, sicuti debebant.*"

means were violent, because the age was barbarous: experience would have shown wherein they required amendment, and as manners improved the laws would have been softened with them. But they disappeared altogether during the years of internal warfare and turbulence which ensued. The feudal order which was established with the Norman conquest, or at least methodized after it, was in this part of its scheme less complete: still it had the same bearing. When that also went to decay, municipal police did not supply its place. Church discipline then fell into disuse; clerical influence was lost; and the consequence now is, that in a country where one part of the community enjoys the highest advantages of civilization with which any people upon this globe have ever in any age been favoured, there is among the lower classes a mass of ignorance, vice and wretchedness, which no generous heart can contemplate without grief; and which, when the other signs of the times are considered, may reasonably excite alarm for the fabric of society that rests upon such a base. It resembles the Tower in your own Vision, its beautiful summit elevated above all other buildings, the foundations placed upon the sand and mouldering.

MONTESINOS.

Rising so high, and built so insecure,
Ill may such perishable work endure!

You will not, I hope, come to that conclusion! You will not, I hope, say with the evil Prophet,

The fabric of her power is undermined;
The Earthquake underneath it will have way,
And all that glorious structure, as the wind
Scatters a summer cloud, be swept away!

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Look at the populace of London, and ask yourself what security there is that the same blind fury which broke out in your childhood against the Roman Catholics may not be excited against the government, in one of those opportunities which accident is perpetually offering to the desperate villains, whom your laws serve rather to protect than to punish!

MONTESINOS.

It is an observation of Mercier's that despotism loves large cities. The remark was made with reference to Paris, only a little while before the French Revolution! But even if he had looked no farther than the history of his own country and of that very metropolis, he might have found sufficient proof that insubordination and anarchy like them quite as well.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

London is the heart of your commercial system, but it is also the hot-bed of corruption. It is at once the centre of wealth and the sink of misery; the seat of intellect and empire,.. and yet a wilderness wherein they, who live like wild beasts upon their fellow creatures, find prey and cover. Other wild beasts have long since been extirpated: even in the wilds of Scotland, and of barbarous, or worse than barbarous Ireland, the wolf is no longer to be found; a degree of civilization this to which no other country has attained. Man, and man alone, is permitted to run wild. You plough your fields and harrow them; you have your scarifiers to make the ground clean; and if after all this weeds should spring up, the careful cultivator roots them out, by hand. But ignorance and misery and vice are allowed to grow, and blossom and seed, not on the waste alone, but in the very garden and pleasure ground of society and civilization. Old Thomas Tusser's coarse remedy is the only one which legislators have yet thought of applying!

MONTESINOS.

What remedy is that?

SIR THOMAS MORE.

'Twas the husbandman's practice in his days and mine:

Where plots full of nettles annoyeth the eye,
Sow hempseed among them, and nettles will die.

MONTESINOS.

The use of hemp indeed has not been spared. But with so little avail has it been used,..or rather to such ill effect, that every public execution, instead of deterring villains from guilt, serves only to afford them opportunity for it. Perhaps the very risk of the gallows operates upon many a man among the inducements to commit the crime whereto he is tempted; for with your true gamester the excitement seems to be in proportion to the value of the stake. Yet I hold as little with the humanity-mongers, who deny the necessity and lawfulness of inflicting capital punishment in any case, as with the shallow moralists, who exclaim against vindictive justice, when punishment would cease to be just, if it were not vindictive.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

And yet the inefficacious punishment of guilt is less to be deplored and less to be condemned than the total omission of all means for preventing it. Many thousands in your metropolis rise every morning without knowing how they are to subsist during the day; or, many of them, where they are to lay their heads at night. All men, even the vicious themselves, know

that wickedness leads to misery; but many, even among the good and the wise, have yet to learn that misery is almost as often the cause of wickedness.

MONTESINOS.

There are many who know this, but believe that it is not in the power of human institutions to prevent this misery. They see the effect, but regard the causes as inseparable from the condition of human nature.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

As surely as God is good, so surely there is no such thing as necessary evil. For by the religious mind sickness and pain and death are not to be accounted evils. Moral evils are of your own making; and undoubtedly the greater part of them may be prevented; though it is only in Paraguay (the most imperfect of Utopias) that any attempt at prevention has been carried into effect. Deformities of mind, as of body, will sometimes occur. Some voluntary cast-aways there will always be, whom no fostering kindness and no parental care can preserve from self-destruction; but if any are lost for want of care and culture, there is a sin of omission in the society to which they belong.

MONTESINOS.

The practicability of forming such a system

of prevention may easily be allowed, where, as in Paraguay, institutions are foreplanned, and not, as everywhere in Europe, the slow and varying growth of circumstances. But to introduce it into an old society, *hic labor, hoc opus est!* The Augean stable might have been kept clean by ordinary labour, if from the first the filth had been removed every day;..when it had accumulated for years, it became a task for Hercules to cleanse it. Alas, the age of Heroes and Demigods is over!

SIR THOMAS MORE.

There lies your error! As no General will ever defeat an enemy whom he believes to be invincible, so no difficulty can be overcome by those who fancy themselves unable to overcome it. Statesmen in this point are, like physicians, afraid, lest their own reputation should suffer, to try new remedies in cases where the old routine of practice is known and proved to be ineffectual. Ask yourself whether the wretched creatures of whom we are discoursing are not abandoned to their fate without the slightest attempt to rescue them from it? The utmost which your laws profess is, that under their administration no human being shall perish for want: this is all! To effect this you draw from the wealthy, the industrious, and the

frugal, a revenue exceeding tenfold the whole expenses of government under Charles I., and yet even with this enormous expenditure upon the poor it is not effected. I say nothing of those who perish for want of sufficient food and necessary comforts, the victims of slow suffering and obscure disease; nor of those who, having crept to some brick-kiln at night, in hope of preserving life by its warmth, are found there dead in the morning. Not a winter passes in which some poor wretch does not actually die of cold and hunger in the streets of London! With all your public and private eleemosynary establishments, with your eight million of poor-rates, with your numerous benevolent associations, and with a spirit of charity in individuals which keeps pace with the wealth of the richest nation in the world, these things happen, to the disgrace of the age and country, and to the opprobrium of humanity, for want of police and order! . . . You are silent!

MONTESINOS.

Some shocking examples occurred to me. The one of a poor Savoyard boy with his monkey starved to death in St. James's Park. The other, which is, if that be possible, a still more disgraceful case, is recorded incidentally in Rees's Cyclopædia under the word *Monster*.

It is only in a huge overgrown city that such cases could possibly occur.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The extent of a metropolis ought to produce no such consequences. Whatever be the size of a bee-hive or an ant-hill, the same perfect order is observed in it.

MONTESINOS.

That is because bees and ants act under the guidance of unerring instinct.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

As if instinct were a superior faculty to reason! But the statesman, as well as the sluggard, may be told to "go to the ant and the bee, consider their ways and be wise!" It is for reason to observe and profit by the examples which instinct affords it.

MONTESINOS.

A country modelled upon Apiarian laws would be a strange Utopia! the bowstring would be used there as unmercifully as it is in the Seraglio,..to say nothing of the summary mode of bringing down the population to the means of subsistence. But this is straying from the subject. The consequences of defective order are indeed frightful, whether we regard the physical or the moral evils which are produced.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

And not less frightful when the political evils are contemplated! To the dangers of an oppressive and iniquitous order, such for example as exists where negro slavery is established, you are fully awake in England: but to those of defective order among yourselves, though they are precisely of the same nature, you are blind. And yet you have spirits among you who are labouring day and night to stir up a *bellum servile*, an insurrection like that of Wat Tyler, of the Jacquerie, and of the peasants in Germany. There is no provocation for this, as there was in all those dreadful convulsions of society: but there are misery and ignorance and desperate wickedness to work upon, which the want of order has produced. Think for a moment what London,..nay, what the whole kingdom would be, were your Catilines to succeed in exciting as general an insurrection as that which was raised by one madman in your own childhood! Imagine the infatuated and infuriated wretches, whom not Spitalfields, St. Giles's, and Pimlico alone, but all the lanes and alleys and cellars of the metropolis would pour out;..a frightful population, whose multitudes, when gathered together, might almost exceed belief! The streets of London would appear

to teem with them, like the land of Egypt with its plague of frogs: and the lava floods from a volcano would be less destructive than the hordes whom your great cities and manufacturing districts would vomit forth!

MONTESINOS.

Such an insane rebellion would speedily be crushed.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Perhaps so. But three days were enough for the fire of London. And be assured this would not pass away without leaving in your records a memorial as durable and more dreadful!

MONTESINOS.

Is such an event to be apprehended?

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Its possibility at least ought always to be borne in mind. The French Revolution appeared much less possible when the Assembly of Notables was convoked; and the people of France were much less prepared for the career of horrors into which they were presently hurried.

COLLOQUY VI.

WALLA CRAG.—OWEN OF LANARK.

It is no wonder that foreigners, who form their notions of England from what they see in its metropolis, should give such dismal descriptions of an English November; a month when, according to the received opinion of continental writers, suicide comes as regularly in season with us as geese at Michaelmas, and green pease in June. Nothing indeed can be more cheerless and comfortless than a common November day in that huge overgrown city; the streets covered with that sort of thick greasy dirt, on which you are in danger of slipping at every step, and the sky concealed from sight by a dense, damp, oppressive, dusky atmosphere, composed of Essex fog and London smoke. But in the country November presents a very different aspect: there its soft, calm weather has a charm of its own; a stillness and serenity unlike any other season, and scarcely

less delightful than the most genial days of Spring. The pleasure which it imparts is rather different in kind than inferior in degree: it accords as finely with the feelings of declining life as the bursting foliage and opening flowers of May with the elastic spirits of youth and hope.

But a fine day affects children alike at all seasons as it does the barometer. They live in the present, seldom saddened with any retrospective thoughts, and troubled with no foresight. Three or four days of dull sunless weather had been succeeded by a delicious morning. My young ones were clamorous for a morning's excursion. The glass had risen to a little above change, but their spirits had mounted to the point of settled fair. All things, indeed, animate and inanimate, seemed to partake of the exhilarating influence. The blackbirds, who lose so little of their shyness even where they are most secure, made their appearance on the green, where the worms had thrown up little circles of mould during the night. The smaller birds were twittering, hopping from spray to spray, and pluming themselves; and as the temperature had given them a vernal sense of joy, there was something of a vernal cheerfulness in their song. The very flies

had come out from their winter quarters, where, to their own danger and my annoyance, they establish themselves behind the books, in the folds of the curtains, and the crevices of these loose window-frames. They were crawling up the sunny panes, bearing in their altered appearance the marks of uncomfortable age; their bodies enlarged, and of a greyer brown; their wings no longer open, clean, and transparent, but closed upon the back, and as it were encrusted with neglect. Some few were beginning to brush themselves, but their motions were slow and feeble: the greater number had fallen upon their backs, and lay unable to recover themselves. Not a breath of air was stirring; the smoke ascended straight into the sky, till it diffused itself equally on all sides and was lost. The lake lay like a mirror, smooth and dark. The tops of the mountains, which had not been visible for many days, were clear and free from snow: a few light clouds, which hovered upon their sides, were slowly rising and melting in the sunshine.

On such a day, a holyday having been voted by acclamation, an ordinary walk would not satisfy the children:..it must be a scramble among the mountains, and I must accompany them;..it would do me good, they knew it

would;..they knew I did not take sufficient exercise, for they had heard me sometimes say so. One was for Skiddaw Dod, another for Causey Pike, a third proposed Watenlath; and I, who perhaps would more willingly have sate at home, was yet in a mood to suffer violence, and making a sort of compromise between their exuberant activity and my own inclination for the chair and the fireside, fixed upon Walla Crag. Never was any determination of sovereign authority more willingly received: it united all suffrages: Oh yes! yes! Walla Crag! was the unanimous reply. Away they went to put on coats and clogs, and presently were ready each with her little basket to carry out the luncheon, and bring home such treasures of mosses and lichens as they were sure to find. Off we set; and when I beheld their happiness, and thought how many enjoyments they would have been deprived of, if their lot had fallen in a great city, I blest God who had enabled me to fulfil my heart's desire and live in a country such as Cumberland.

The walk on which we had agreed has just that degree of difficulty and enterprize wherein children delight and may safely be indulged. I lived many years at Keswick before I explored it; but it has since been a favourite

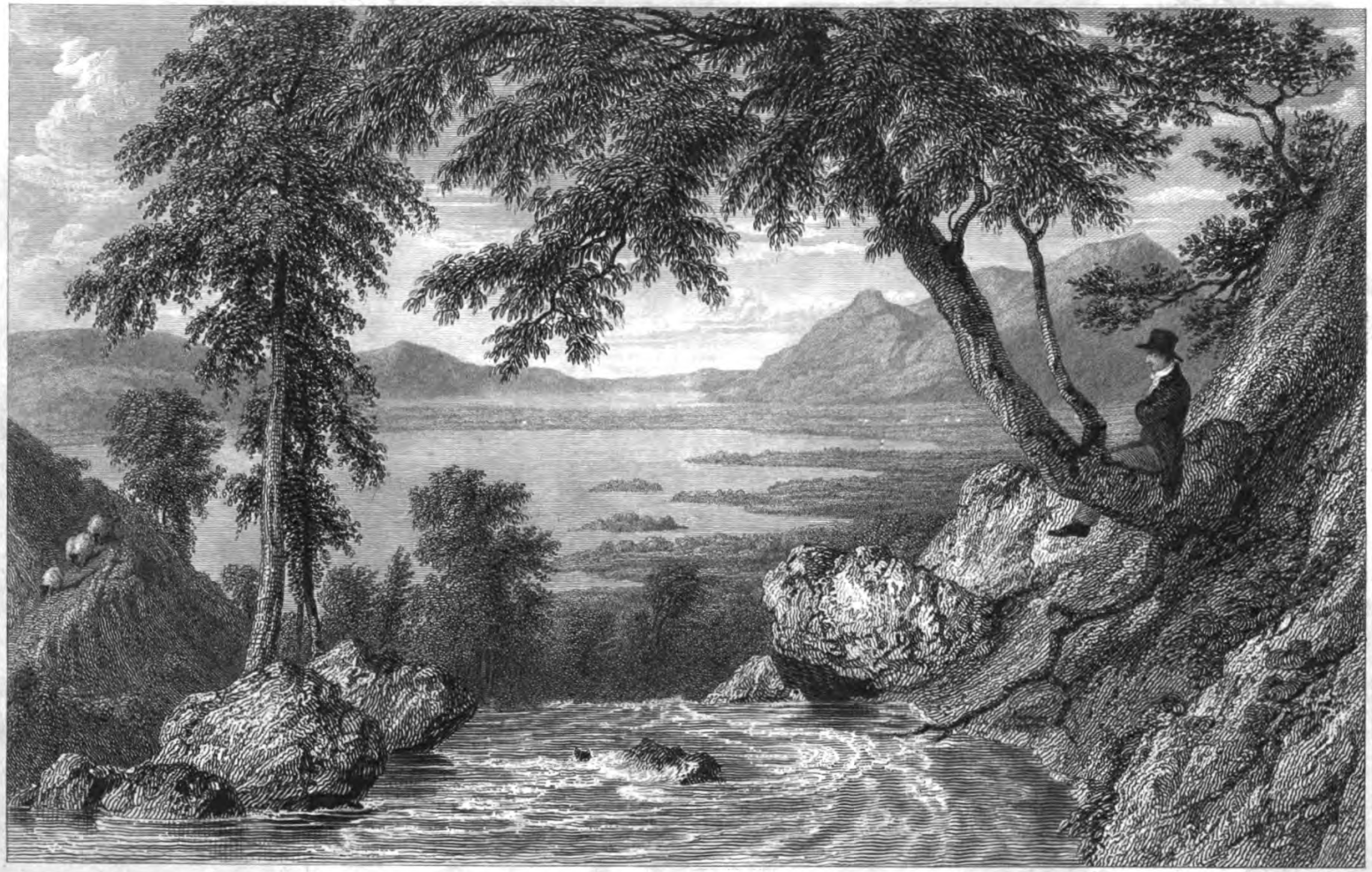
excursion with all my guests and resident friends who have been active and robust enough to accomplish the ascent. You leave the Borrodale road about a mile and half from the town, a little before it opens upon the terrace, and, crossing a wall by some stepping stones, go up the wood, having a brook, or what in the language of the country is called a beck, on the right hand. An artist might not long since have found some beautiful studies upon this beck, in its short course through the wood, where its craggy sides were embowered with old trees, the trunks of which, as well as their mossy branches, bent over the water: I scarcely know any place more delightful than this was in a sultry day, for the fine composition of the scene, its refreshing shade and sound, and the sense of deep retirement;.. but the woodman has been there! A little higher up you cross a wall and the elbow of a large tree that covers it; you are then upon the side of the open fell, shelving down to the stream, which has worked for itself a narrow ravine below. After a steep ascent you reach one of those loose walls which are common in this country; it runs across the side of the hill, and is broken down in some places; the easier way, or rather the less difficult, is on the inner side, over loose and rugged stones,

the wreck of the crags above. They are finely coloured with a yellow or ochrey lichen, which predominates there, to the exclusion of the *lichen geographicus:* its colour may best be compared to that of beaten or unburnished gold; it is richly blended with the white or silvery kind, and interspersed with the stone-fern or mountain-parsley, the most beautiful of all our wild plants, resembling the richest point lace in its fine filaments and exquisite indentations.

The wall ends at the ravine; just at its termination part of it has been thrown down by the sheep or by the boys, and the view is thus opened from a point which, to borrow a word from the Tourist's Vocabulary, is a remarkable station. The stream, which in every other part of its course has worn for itself a deep and narrow channel, flows here for a few yards over a level bed of rock, where in fine weather it might be crossed with ease, then falls immediately into the ravine. A small ash tree bends over the pavement, in such a manner that, if you wish to get into the bed of the stream, you must either stoop under the branches, or stride over them. Looking upward there, the sight is confined between the sides of the mountain, which on the left is steep and stony, and on the right precipitous, except that directly oppo-

site there are some shelves, or rather steps of herbage, and a few birch, more resembling bushes than trees in their size and growth; these, and the mountain rill, broken, flashing, and whitening in its fall where it comes rapidly down, but taking in the level part of its course a colour of delightful green from the rock over which it runs, are the only objects. But on looking back, you behold a scene of the most striking and peculiar character. The water, the rocky pavement, the craggy sides, and the ash tree, form the foreground and the frame of this singular picture. You have then the steep descent, open on one side to the lake, and on the other with the wood, half way down and reaching to the shore; the lower part of Derwentwater below, with its islands; the vale of Keswick, with Skiddaw for its huge boundary and bulwark, to the North; and where Bassenthwaite stretches into the open country, a distance of water, hills, and remote horizon, in which Claude would have found all he desired, and more than even he could have represented, had he beheld it in the glory of a midsummer sunset.

This was to be our resting-place, for though the steepest ascent was immediately before us, the greater part of the toil was over. My young



Drawn by W. Westall A.R.A.

Engraved by E. Goodall.

DERWENTWATER, BASSENTHWAITE-WATER & SKIDDAW FROM WALLA CRAG.

companions seated themselves on the fell side, upon some of the larger stones, and there in full enjoyment of air and sunshine opened their baskets and took their noon-day meal, a little before its due time, with appetites which, quickened by exercise, had outstript the hours. My place was on a bough of the ash tree at a little distance, the water flowing at my feet, and the fall just below me. Among all the sights and sounds of Nature there are none which affect me more pleasurably than these. I could sit for hours to watch the motion of a brook: and when I call to mind the happy summer and autumn which I passed at Cintra, in the morning of life and hope, the perpetual gurgling of its tanks and fountains occurs among the vivid recollections of that earthly Paradise as one of its charms.

When I had satisfied myself with the prospect, I took from my waistcoat pocket an Amsterdam edition of the Utopia, given me for its convenient portability by one of my oldest and most valued friends. It is of the year 1629, and is the smallest book in my possession, being not four inches long, and less than two in breadth:..Mr. Dibdin would shudder to see how some nefarious binder has cut it to the quick. Brief as this little work is, it has intro-

duced into our language a word the meaning of which is understood by thousands and tens of thousands who have never read the fiction from whence it is derived; while volumes upon volumes of metaphysical politics have sunk into the dead pool of oblivion, without raising even a momentary bubble upon its surface. I read till it was time to proceed; and then putting up the book, as I raised my eyes, . . behold the Author was before me. Let the young ones go forward, said he; they will neither see nor hear me; and if your voice reaches them, they will only suppose that you are muttering verses to yourself. Come, children, I exclaimed, up the hill! and off at the word they set. Presently they were scaling the steepest part of the ascent, where a sheep from the flat countries would have feared to climb; and, before I had got half way up the screes, which gave way and rattled beneath me at every step, they were seated on the brow, looking at the two thin cascades where they fall into the ravine which they have made.

God and good Angels bless them, said Sir Thomas. Of all sights which can soften and humanize the heart of man, there is none that ought so surely to reach it as that of innocent

children enjoying the happiness which is their proper and natural portion.

Of that portion, I replied, these shall never be deprived or curtailed by any act of mine. Whatever may be their allotment in after life, their childhood at least shall be as happy as all wholesome indulgence can render it. You were a lover of children: * I have your word for it in my pocket, .. *nempe reverso domum, cum uxore fabulandum est, garriendum cum liberis.* I would rather have heard you talking with them than have listened to your gravest decisions from the bench.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

You might have heard more than was worth remembering. The nonsense which was thrown off from an alert fancy and a kind heart would have been more to your liking than grave sense, trammelled with forms, and tortured into the service of litigation. In such hours of holyday feeling you might have seen me derive instruc-

* So also Erasmus describes him, .. "φιλόστοργος" *ut si quis alius ... Vix alius vivit liberorum amantior* ... And he had a house full of them; his son and his son's wife, his three daughters and their three husbands, and eleven grandchildren, all living with him in the house which he had built at Chelsea.—*Erasm. Epist.* l. xxvii. ep. viii. 1506.

tion while I was giving it; for there are points, and those of no light importance, on which children are the best teachers.

MONTESINOS.

Our great philosophic poet has told us so. He says to a child,

> O dearest, dearest boy! my heart
> For better lore would seldom learn,
> Could I but teach the hundredth part
> Of what from thee I learn.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

And what have you learnt from them?

MONTESINOS.

More than metaphysicians could have taught me. And I might say more than divines can teach, could I but learn that entire dependence, that willing and happy obedience; that perfect confidence and love, which the child feels towards its parents; and which, did we become in this respect like little children, we should feel towards our heavenly Father. If I have not learnt this from them, as I ought to have done, and strive continually to do, I have at least learnt from myself, through their means, the whole import of that appellation, by which in his boundless mercy He has taught and commanded us to call upon Him. This lesson is worth all it costs!

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Do you look back upon childhood as the happiest part of your own life?

MONTESINOS.

Our recollections of it, I suspect, are not sufficiently unmingled. They hardly reach the age in which perfect security is felt in complete dependence. What that is we must judge rather by observation than reminiscence. This I will say, that of all atrocious doctrines none has ever appeared to me more astonishing than that devilish one concerning infants, which so many divines (more fitly they might be called diabolicals!) have repeated after St. Augustine and St. Ambrose. Alas! that so many are born in sin and the children of wrath, is the consequence of human misgovernment, not of divine appointment. I know not any consideration more mournful than that there should be whole classes in civilized society whom all circumstances tend inevitably to degrade both in their moral and physical nature. This is the sore disease which seems inherent in civilization; and for which even you and those who have followed you in planning ideal commonwealths, have been able to devise no better remedy, than by supposing that even a perfect society would afford criminals enough to perform all employments of this kind.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Remember, that neither I, nor others, who have framed such schemes of polity, have imagined a Christian Utopia. Under the most complete it may be feared that castaways enough would still be found to discharge whatever unwholesome or disgusting offices were needful. But the progress of the useful arts, and the application of science to the purposes of common life, warrant you in expecting that very few such will remain: and whenever a state shall duly exercise its parental duties, there will surely be none which shall either wholly hebetate the faculties or harden the heart.

MONTESINOS.

The butcher must still continue. And if the slave driver were substituted for the hangman in most cases, (to dream of it in all is folly,) I doubt whether humanity would gain by the substitution.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Have you scruples then concerning the use of animal food?

MONTESINOS.

Certainly not. Its fitness is indicated by the system of nature throughout the inferior world; it is directly permitted by the Scrip-

tures; and, above all, it is authorized by the example of our Lord and Saviour. The law is plainly benevolent which multiplies life by rendering death subservient to it; and it is plainly merciful also, inasmuch as the creatures whose existence is suddenly and violently cut off, suffer less than those who die of disease or inanition,..such being the alternative. Nevertheless I cannot but acknowledge, like good old John Fox, that the sight of a slaughterhouse, or shambles, if it does not disturb this clear conviction, excites in me uneasiness and pain as well as loathing. And that they produce a worse effect upon the persons employed in them, is a fact acknowledged by that law or custom which excludes such persons from sitting in juries upon cases of life or death. Perhaps, however, the hardness of heart which this occupation is believed to produce, may in most cases have been the cause wherefore it was chosen.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

There methinks you are mistaken. Such things are determined less by choice than by opportunity; and youths, even in higher life, are more frequently disposed of where situations can be found, than where their own inclinations would lead them. Moreover, though you have

nothing like *casts* in your institutions, there is some tendency toward them in the ordinary course of affairs. The humbler trades, those in particular which afford little more than a bare livelihood, naturally become hereditary: the son, when he is a child, imitates his father, assists him as soon as he is able, and finally succeeds him. In these cases disposition is not consulted; and even if it were, you have imputed to hardness of heart what may be ascribed to that hardihood which is one of the characteristics of man.

MONTESINOS.

I am glad you have not called it courage: it hardly deserves even the appellation which you have given it. The best answer, however, to what I was unthinkingly disposed to credit, is, that the men engaged in this occupation are not found to furnish more than their numerical proportion of offenders to the criminal list; and that, as a body, they are by no means worse than any other set of men upon the same level. I have heard Dr. Beddoes remark that pulmonary consumption is rarely or never known to occur in a butcher's family; and the reason he assigned for this was, that they had always plenty of animal food. The same cause operates upon the moral as upon the physical character,

and perhaps more surely. Because they are well fed, they are not exposed to the temptation which necessity brings with it,..the mother of crimes as well as of arts; and their occupation being constant they are likewise safe from the dangers of idleness. The relation too in which they stand to their customers places them in a salutary degree of dependence, and makes them understand how much their own welfare depends upon civility and good conduct.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

This is the very point to which I would have brought you. You have thus yourself remarked that men who exercise the occupation which, of all others, at first sight appears most injurious to the human heart, and which inevitably must in some degree injure it, are in point of fact no worse than their neighbours, and very much better than the vagrant classes of the populace, and than those whose employment is casual. They are better, because they fare better, and are more under the influence of order. Improve the condition of others, bring them within the sphere of order, instead of leaving them merely within the reach,..the chance reach,..almost it may be called, of vindictive law, and the result will be the same.

MONTESINOS.

But how is this to be effected? Announce the speedy Restoration of the Jews, and you will find believers. Preach up the duty of converting the Turks, and you may form a society for that express purpose. But if you propose to render civilization complete by extending it to those classes who are brutalized by the institutions of society, half the persons whom you address will ask how this is to begin? and the other half, where it is to end? Undoubtedly both are grave questions. Owen of Lanark indeed would answer both: but because he promises too much, no trial is made of the good which his schemes might probably perform.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

In your opinion then he has shown how the beginning might be made.

MONTESINOS.

If I were his countryman, I would class him in a triad as one of the three men who have in this generation given an impulse to the moral world. Clarkson and Dr. Bell are the other two. They have seen the first fruits of their harvest. So I think would Owen ere this, if he had not alarmed the better part of the nation

by proclaiming, upon the most momentous of all subjects, opinions which are alike fatal to individual happiness and to the general good. Yet I admire the man; and readily admit that his charity is a better plank than the faith of an intolerant and bitter-minded bigot, who, as Warburton says, "counterworks his Creator, makes God after man's image, and chuses the worst model he can find,..himself!"

SIR THOMAS MORE.

You must, however, acknowledge that the prejudice which he has thus excited against his political speculations, is not unfounded: for the connection between moral truth and political wisdom is close and indissoluble; and he who shows himself grievously erroneous upon one important point, must look to have his opinions properly distrusted upon others. To maintain that the state ought not to concern itself with the religion of the subjects is the greatest and most perilous of all political errors: and to regard religion with indifference is the most dangerous of all moral ones;..if indeed in any case that may be called an error, which assuredly in most is less a mistake of the understanding than a sin of the will.

MONTESINOS.

A craniologist, I dare say, would pronounce

that the organ of theopathy is wanting in Owen's head, that of benevolence being so large as to have left no room for it.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Away with such systems! Where there is most love of God, there will there be the truest and most enlarged philanthropy. No other foundation is secure. There is no other means whereby nations can be reformed, than that by which alone individuals can be regenerated. In the laws of God conscience is made the basis of policy; and in proportion as human laws depart from that groundwork, error and evil are the sure result.

MONTESINOS.

So Lord Brooke teaches, the wisest man that ever uttered dark sayings in verse. National happiness must be produced through the influence of religious laws. There is nothing, however, in the practical part of Owen's polity to exclude them; and indeed so far as his scheme of society might easily and beneficially be put in execution, it would strengthen their influence; its purport and effect being

> That private hearts may unto public ends
> Still governed be by order's easy reins.

A set of journeymen in London endeavoured

to make the attempt. They were chiefly printers. A committee was appointed to digest their plan, and the Report which they put forth upon the subject was worthy of more attention than it obtained. In this Report they declared themselves fully persuaded that by combining their industry, their skill and their mental faculties, they should not merely bid defiance to poverty, but secure a competency of the goods of life, a great accession of intellectual enjoyments and rational amusements, and, above all, the means of giving their children an education which would ensure them an adequate portion of useful knowledge, and confirm them in virtuous habits. Clubs and Friendly Societies, they said, had made them familiar with the blessed effects of union; and they were certain that by thus uniting they should obtain the power of creating new wealth for themselves, procure a larger quantity of the means of subsistence for the same money, and enable their wives to perform their domestic duties more skilfully and in half the time which those occupations now required. They calculated upon an average saving of one fourth *per cent.* by purchasing articles for the community in wholesale: upon a saving of time not less advantageous, by a proper distribution of domestic occupations, and upon the benefit of avoiding waste by having

at hand all conveniences and facilities for economy. For the children large school-rooms were to be provided, (appropriable to other purposes after school hours,) and a large playground, which would keep them from the accidents and temptations of the streets. Constant superintendence was to be exercised over them, by changing the teachers every three hours, and they hoped to unite the advantages of public and private education, the children being at all times accessible to their parents, and constantly with them at certain times of the day. For themselves, their dwellings would be more commodious, their food better, their habits cleanlier: and their wives, not being worn down by over exertion, nor by the distraction of conflicting duties, would become better companions, and be better fitted to participate in innocent recreations. The Establishment would in reality be a College of useful arts: it would have its lectures, its library, its infirmary, and its medical practitioners.

The result of their estimates was that a saving of £7,780 *per annum* might be effected by means of the proposed plan upon the expenditure of 250 families, averaging four persons in a family; and that if each adult male member paid one guinea per week to the general fund, the collective sum would provide the whole establish-

ment with all the necessaries and many of the comforts of life in abundance, besides furnishing a capital for the purposes of production and traffic. Some objections they anticipated, and first, the difficulty of making so many persons agree and act cordially together. To this they allowed little weight, the only condition which they required upon admission being a formal acknowledgement of this maxim, that while every member had a right to do separately for himself whatever he could, without trespassing upon others, it was his duty to do as much as he could, without injury to himself, for the benefit and comfort of the society. So plain a proposition, they thought, was not likely to be contravened: and if it were, every adult member might quit the society when he pleased; and the majority of course possessed the power of expelling any individual who disturbed its peace, either paying him the fair value of his share in the permanent stock, or allowing him to sell out. A second objection was, that under such a system, the poor, the indolent and inefficient would fare as well as the more wealthy, industrious and useful. But the answer to this was, that a community of goods was not what they proposed: their plan of association rather resembled that of regimental messes; and as the

contributions were to be regulated according to the means of those who could afford least, such as could afford more indulgences might have them at their own expense. As for any misdirection or mal-administration of the funds, that must be provided against, as in other cases, by regular inspection. And for the injury which the small retail trade would suffer if such plans were generally adopted, it would be so gradual that it could hardly be called an evil: the general expenditure would be increased rather than diminished, and the retail dealer would find other modes of life. Lastly, the increase of population was objected, as a consequence which must follow from the success of such plans, and aggravate the miseries of posterity. But they repelled this argument with just indignation, and maintained that if a taste for comfort could be diffused over the whole community, it would constitute a much more effectual check upon excessive population than the misery which results from blind improvidence ever has, or ever can be expected to do.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Enough of the theory. Let us hear how it proved in practice.

MONTESINOS.

There was a difficulty in the way which was

not so easily obviated as the theoretical objections. London, which furnishes facilities for most things, affords none for an experiment of this kind. Space was wanted, and buildings adapted for the intended manner of life. The speculators proposed to raise £12,000 in shares of £100 each, and with the money to erect a quadrangle according to Mr. Owen's designs; the property of the buildings was to be vested in the shareholders, and the society to pay a rental of 7½ per cent. The capital was not forthcoming. The experiment was commenced with insufficient means, and under circumstances every way inconvenient. Of necessity therefore it failed; and then the failure was imputed to the impracticability of the scheme, whereas, had it been fairly set in action, it could hardly have failed to work well.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Still in Utopia! Would you think thus favourably of the scheme, if it did not in some degree accord with the dreams of your youth?

MONTESINOS.

That consideration is more likely to put me on my guard against illusion. But though Owen's views evidently tend to an entire community of goods, and these speculators looked to such a result of their experiment as possible,

and as a consummation devoutly to be wished, they did not propose to go this length. What they aimed at was plainly practicable if it could have been fairly started, and the direct results must have been of unquestionable advantage to themselves, and utility to the commonwealth.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

A community of goods, you imply then, would be productive of good to neither?

MONTESINOS.

Theory and experience are alike against it. The Jesuits are the only persons who ever made the experiment upon an adequate scale, and, well as they succeeded in Paraguay, the result did not induce them to establish their later missions upon the same foundation.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Was the fault in the system, or in the Jesuits? Surely they set their standard so low that no inference against the principle of such a polity can be drawn from the result.

MONTESINOS.

The standard was the same in the Chiquito as in the Paraguay Reductions. They may more properly be said to have aimed at taming and domesticating the savages than at civilizing them. But in the course of their experience they perceived that the disposition to have and

to hold is the main spring of all improvements in society: and the desire of increasing their comforts and enjoyments called forth in the Chiquitos a degree of active and intelligent industry, to which the Guaranis, notwithstanding the advantage of a much earlier settlement, never attained. But this is a wide excursion. Let us return from the Guapore and the Uraguay to the Thames.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

What then are the advantages, which, according to your view of the subject, might be expected from the Owenite plan, modified as you think it ought to be?

MONTESINOS.

To the individuals so associated, I am persuaded the benefit would not fall short of what these speculators proposed to themselves. And to society at large, there would be the great and unequivocal good of exalting one whole class, and that a numerous one,..bettering their condition in every way, moral and physical,.. increasing their respectabitity, their comforts, their means and their expenditure. This further advantage would arise, that, as no person would be admitted into such a community unless his character would bear inquiry, nor be allowed to continue in it if he deserved expul-

sion, the members would virtually be bound to their good behaviour: and the evil of a defective order would be remedied as far as such associations might extend. The effect even of the Saxon law would thus in a great degree be brought about, and that without the slightest intrenchment upon individual freedom, and in all respects unexceptionably.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Something of this might be effected more easily by making your parochial government more efficient; that is, by making it what it ought to be, and indeed what it originally was.

MONTESINOS.

A parish is in itself a little commonwealth; but in these little governments, as in some great ones, though the machinery exists and is kept up, it no longer works according to its original design. What you have indicated is certainly one practicable means of producing great improvement where it is most needed; so it is perceived to be, and so it will one day be made. But the best parochial police must fall far short of effecting what these voluntary associations might accomplish. The difficulty is that which Archimedes felt: a place is wanted where to plant the machine; and in London this difficulty is almost insuperable. In a provincial town

the experiment might more easily be made; but funds for the first outlay are not likely to be forthcoming. Large sums are sometimes bequeathed by humourists in strange ways,.. to odd purposes more frequently than to useful ones. That such a chance may occur in this case is barely possible. It is somewhat less unlikely that capital may be embarked in it as a speculation, when no other means of employing it are at hand. And perhaps it is even probable that the principle may be taken up by some religious enthusiast, as the foundation for a new sect.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

In that case the evil would be greater than the good. The fanatics who should set out on such a principle would soon find themselves on the road to Munster.

MONTESINOS.

I think not. The Moravians on the continent carry it farther than we are now contemplating; and yet they are an inoffensive, and even, in some respects, an exemplary people: so much so, that in spite of the obloquy which they provoked at their outset, no sect has ever in so great a degree enjoyed and deserved the good will and good opinion of all other Christian communities.

There are more points of resemblance between Geneva and Rome, than between Hernnhut and Munster. The danger in these days is not from religious fanaticism, but from the fanaticism of impiety.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The one generates the other, and the state of things with you affords opportunity and encouragement for both. But wherefore do you think that the Owenite scheme is likely to be carried into effect only by sectarian agency?

MONTESINOS.

Because a degree of generous and virtuous excitement is required for overcoming the first difficulties, which nothing but religious feeling can call forth. With all Owen's efforts and all his eloquence, (and there are few men who speak better, or who write so well,) he has not been able in ten years to raise funds for trying his experiment: while during that time the Bible Society has every year levied large contributions upon the public, and more than once a larger sum within the year than he has asked for. Had he connected his scheme with any system of belief, though it had been as visionary as Swedenborgianism, as fabulous as Popery, as monstrous as Calvinism, as absurd as the

dreams of Joanna Southcote,..or perhaps even as cold as Unitarianism, the money would have been forthcoming.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

And surely it is honourable to human nature that it should be so!

MONTESINOS.

How? honourable to human nature that we should be acted upon more powerfully by error and delusion, than by a reasonable prospect of direct and tangible benefit to ourselves and others?

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Say rather that what is spiritual affects men more than what is material; that they seek more ardently after ideal good than after palpable and perishable realities. This *is* honourable to your nature: and no man will ever be ranked among the great benefactors of his species unless he feels and understands this truth and acts upon it. Upon this ground it is that the moral Archimedes must take his stand. We must take wider views of the subject. For the present I leave you to your young companions, who are waiting yonder with expectation in their looks.

By this time we had nearly past over the

fell, and had begun to descend upon Castlerigg. The children had halted beside a rocky basin in the mountain-stream, to remind me of a sight which we had once enjoyed there, and to enjoy it again in recollection. It was a flock of geese who in the bright sunshine of a summer's day were sporting in that basin, and with such evident joyousness that it was a pleasure to behold their joy. Sometimes they thrust their long necks under the water straight down, and turned up their broad yellow feet; sometimes rose half up, shaking and clapping their wings; sometimes with retorted head pruned themselves as they floated. Their motion did not in the slightest degree defile the water; for there was no soil to disturb; the stream, flowing from its mountain-springs, over a bed of rock, had contracted no impurity in its course, and these birds were so delicately clean that they could not sully it; the few feathers which they plucked or shook off were presently carried away by the current. It was the most beautiful scene of animal enjoyment that I ever beheld, or ever shall behold: the wildness of the spot, the soft green turf upon the bank, the beauty of that basin, (and they only who have seen mountain-streams in a country of clear waters can imagine how beautiful such basins are,) the colour of the

stream, which acquired a chrysolite tinge from the rock over which it ran, and the dazzling whiteness of the birds, heightened by the sunshine, composed a picture, which, like that of Wordsworth's daffodils, when it has once been seen, the inward eye can re-create, but which no painter could represent. Our dear N. felt this, and regretted the impossibility of preserving any adequate representation of what he declared to be the most striking and beautiful incident he had ever the good fortune to behold. I thought of the story in Musæus's Tales, (a fiction known to the Arabians as well as the Germans,) and had they been swans instead of geese, could almost have fancied they were Fairies in that form, and have looked about for a veil.

COLLOQUY VII.

THE MANUFACTURING SYSTEM.

FRANKLIN, who of all philosophers seems to have possessed the greatest share of good, practical, every-day sense, (and the least of comprehensive philosophy,) has written a playful essay upon early rising, wherein he assures his readers that the sun actually appears during the greater part of the year many hours before they are in the habit of leaving their beds; and he endeavours to convince them that it would be worth their while to profit by this discovery, and save the expense of candles in the evening by making use of the early daylight. In this instance he has well applied his favourite principle of trying every thing by the rule of profit and loss,..a principle which he has been but too successful in impressing upon his countrymen. Wesley has published an excellent sermon upon the same subject. The better to enforce his precepts, he required his preachers to hold forth

at five in the morning, and expected his people to attend them.

Whoever has tasted the breath of morning, knows that the most invigorating and most delightful hours of the day are commonly spent in bed, though it is the evident intention of nature that we should enjoy and profit by them. Children awake early and would be up and stirring long before the arrangements of the family permit them to use their limbs. We are thus broken in from childhood to an injurious habit: and yet were we not necessarily the slaves of society, that habit might be shaken off with more ease than it was imposed. We rise with the sun at Christmas; it were but continuing so to do till the middle of April, and without any perceptible change we should find ourselves then rising at five o'clock; at which hour we might continue till September, and then accommodate ourselves again to the change of season, regulating always the time of retiring in the same proportion. They who require eight hours sleep would upon such a system go to bed at nine during four months. The propriety and the easiness of such an arrangement cannot be disputed; I confess, however, that my mode of life, independent as it is, is not independent enough for me to follow it. "*Inter causas malorum nostro-*

rum est, quod vivimus ad exempla: nec ratione componimur, sed consuetudine abducimur."

But though not habitually an early riser, few men in my rank of life have made more use of the morning hours, for composition, or for exercise, as the weather or inclination might determine. I had risen with the sun on one of those days toward the end of November which might make winter welcome, if we did not know what a tremendous artillery must be expected in his train. It had frozen during the night hard enough to dry the roads. A mist lay over the lake and extended along the foot of the mountains, which were covered nearly halfway down with new-fallen snow. The first rosy light shone upon their summits; and above was the blue sky, cold and clear.

Starting for Appelthwaite at a cold-weather pace,..which for one of the Longshanks family is nearer five miles an hour than four,..I perceived Sir Thomas on the bridge. He was standing in the sunshine, but his body cast no shadow; and while my own breathing was visible at every expiration in the frosty air, there was no such indication of the breath of life in his nostrils. At the moment when I joined him a cock crew. You are a good Ghost, said I, to come at cock-crow instead of taking

your departure at that sound. Why is it that, according to popular belief, such apparitions occur only during the night?

SIR THOMAS MORE.

It will be a sufficient answer if I reply that the visible world is then as it were withdrawn, and men being left to themselves and to their own hearts, are in a fitter state for communion with spiritual intelligences. Night is therefore the likelier season for a real appearance; the imagination is also obviously at that time more apt and more able to delude itself with an ideal one; and you must be well aware that where one relation of this kind is true, five hundred fictitious ones have been invented by falsehood and by fear. Were such communion* frequent,

* The reader may be pleased to see Sir Thomas More's opinion upon this subject in his own words. He says, "Surely in this world the goodnes of God so temperyth such apparycyons, as hys hygh wysedome seeth yt most profytable for help and reliefe of the dede, and instruccyon and amendment of the quyck: kepynge suche apparecyons of hys great marcy most comenly from the syght of such as wold turn hys goodnes in to theyre owne harme. And surely of hys tender favoure toward you, doth hys great goodnes provyde that such apparycyons, revelacyons and myracles shold not be to copyouse and commune; whereby good men seyng the thynge at eye, should lese the great parte of that they now meryte by fayth; and evyll folke when they were onys famelyer wyth yt, wolde then as lytle regard yt, as they now lytle beleve it."—*Supplycacyon of Soulys*, ff. 33.

or even if it took place as often in daylight as in solitude and darkness, the constitution of the world would be changed.

MONTESINOS.

And must it not be changed before it can be perfected?

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Perfected! perfection in what is mutable and perishable!

MONTESINOS.

Perfect according to its capacity of perfection. Will it never again be as it was in the beginning, when Angels came to and fro between Heaven and Earth, and the Creator made himself visible to his servants?

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Visible the Creator is to those who have eyes, and can see. He whose faith is what it ought to be hath Heaven within him and about him; and why should he be impatient for the society of angels who knows that the longest life must soon appear like a tale that is told, and that before the passing hour is at an end, he may be in Paradise? A direct communion with higher intelligences would unfit men for the cares and ordinary business of their earthly state. If I appear to you notwithstanding, it is because nothing could make you more unfit for the common affairs of the world than you

are already; and that alone for which you are qualified, it is the object of these visits to promote.

MONTESINOS.

Enable me to impress upon my fellow creatures one wholesome truth with effect, and you will indeed be to me more than a great Apollo.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

You would see as little of me as of Apollo if I thought that the desire of immediate effect produced in you anything like impatience, or disappointment. To you and to all, I say, look forward! To governments, inquire concerning the tendency and consequences of the course you are pursuing, the institutions which you are supporting, the alterations which you are about to make! For if any of the imperfections of men could now fill me with surprize, it would be their want of foresight. Beasts, birds and insects, even to the minutest and meanest of their kind, act with the unerring providence of instinct; man, the while, who professes a higher faculty, abuses it, and therefore goes blundering on. They, by their unconscious and unhesitating obedience to the laws of nature, fulfil the end of their existence; he, in wilful neglect of the laws of God, loses sight of the end of his. Enemy as you are, Montesinos, to

the Romish system, you must confess that, amidst all its corruptions, in the age of its darkest ignorance and foulest frauds, this object was kept in view, better than it has ever been in any country calling itself Reformed.

MONTESINOS.

"*Calling itself reformed!*" I did not expect to hear the phraseology of a papist from the lips of one to whom the veil has been lifted up!

SIR THOMAS MORE.

There are neither Papists nor Protestants in the state to which I belong: we are one flock there, under one shepherd. In some things, and those essential ones, the Protestants brought back a corrupted faith to its primitive purity. But it is not less certain that the Reformation has, in its consequences, lowered the standard of devotion, lessened the influence of religion not among the poor and ignorant alone, but among all classes; and prepared the way for the uncontrolled dominion of that worldly spirit which it is the tendency of the commercial system to produce and foster.

MONTESINOS.

How can that Reformation have lowered devotion, which has withdrawn it from stocks and stones, relics, beads, girdles, and scapularies, polytheism and idolatry?

SIR THOMAS MORE.

You have taken all this from those persons whose religion goes no farther, and you have substituted nothing in its place. That the wiser and better Papists, though they may use some of these things as incentives to devotion, worship the Father in spirit and in truth, is what none but the blindest bigots would deny, and what no Protestant has ever acknowledged more amply than yourself. I admit that these things are often a hinderance; and you cannot deny that they are sometimes a help. But it was not of such practices that I spake. Before your Reformation, the momentous truth that the improvement of his moral and spiritual condition ought to be the first concern of every intellectual creature, was impressed upon the people by example as well as by precept. It is still preached from your pulpits, but where is the practice to be found? The Religious Orders, with all their abuses, brought this truth home to the feelings of mankind. Among you, such as might desire to join in devotional exercises, or take an active part in works of painful beneficence, must overcome the fear of ridicule at the outset, and be content to associate with those who bear the reproach of enthusiasm and who very generally deserve

it. In Roman Catholic countries they would be encouraged by public opinion. The churches there are at all times open, and enter them when you will, you find some one intently employed in solitary prayer.

MONTESINOS.

Are not those persons usually reciting prayers which have been imposed in penance, and therefore engaged in the practice of a very mischievous superstition?

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Even then the very act of performance implies a sense of religion, and tends to strengthen it. Is it not better that men should perform good works even from a vain trust in them, than rest contented with the non-performance in a belief that good works are not to be relied on? Religion may be neglected in Roman Catholic countries, but it cannot be forgotten; it is impressed upon the senses of the people; travel where they will its symbols are perpetually presented to them. They see the Cross or the Crucifix not in towns and villages alone, but in lonely places and by the way-side. The open shrine invites them to an act of devotion as wholesome as it is transitory; and the vesper bell unites them with all their brethren wherever dispersed, at one hour, in one act of adoration. You have

lost more by abolishing that vesper bell, than you have gained by rejecting the creature-worship wherewith the observance was connected.

MONTESINOS.

Far be it from me to deny that in the Reformation the plough and the harrow were sometimes used, where careful weeding only was wanted. Yet if it be your intention to prove that the influence of religion is less in the reformed countries than in those where the corruptions of Popery maintain their ground, or that the people are less moral when left to the tribunal of their consciences, than when under the dominion of the confessional, your arguments must indeed be cogent before they persuade me that you are really serious.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

In spite of the Confessional and of the Casuists, and of the abominations which they generate, what I affirm is true, that the standard both of devotion and of morals is higher in the Romish than in the Protestant countries. Proof of this appears in the existence of a class of men, recognized by the laws, and respected by public opinion, who profess to make preparation for the next world their sole business in this, and voluntarily to lead a life of poverty and privations for that purpose. The principle may

be carried to an extravagant and pitiable excess; the practice may be converted into a cover for ambition, or for meaner passions; ..I allow even that while the errors and abuses with which these orders are connected, remain in force, the direct evil which arises from them is greater than the good. But the indirect good must not be undervalued: for while the principle is thus publicly and practically recognized, Mammon can never acquire that undisputed and acknowledged supremacy which he seems to have obtained in commercial countries, and in no country more decidedly than in this. The spirit which built and endowed monasteries is gone. Are you one of those persons who think it has been superseded for the better by that which erects steam-engines and cotton mills?

MONTESINOS.

They are indeed miserable politicians who mistake wealth for welfare in their estimate of national prosperity; and none have committed this great error more egregiously than some of those who have been called statesmen by the courtesy of England. Yet the manufacturing system is a necessary stage in the progress of society. Without it this nation could not have supported the long and tremendous conflict which has delivered Europe from the yoke of

military despotism,..the worst of all evils. If England had not been enabled by the use of steam-engines to send out every year myriads of brave men, and millions of specie,..what had Europe, and what had England itself been now? This inestimable benefit we have seen and felt. And from the consequences of that skill in machinery which the manufacturing system alone could have produced, we may expect ultimately to obtain the greatest advantages of science and civilization at the least expense of human labour.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Sir Poet, travel not so hastily in your speculations! There is a wide gulph between you and that point, and it is not to be crost by one of these flying leaps in seven-leagued boots. Neither are you to expect that, when you reach the brink, a bridge will grow before your way as it did upon Kehama's triumphal entrance into Padalon....If you ask me how I became acquainted with the adventures of that personage, I will tell you that I amuse myself sometimes in the Limbo where are to be found

" all things vain,
Abortive, monstrous, or unkindly mix'd."

MONTESINOS.

What a happiness is in store for the collectors

when they get there!..True it is that a long time must elapse before we double the Cape of Good Hope for which we are bound, and that the navigation thither is unknown, for we are sailing in a sea of which there are no charts to direct our course.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Why then do you give the name of Good Hope to a point which may deserve to be called the Cape of Storms?

MONTESINOS.

Not in the expectation that we shall reach it by carrying easy sail all the way with a trade-wind; but in the belief that good principles will more and more prevail, and that, when their ascendancy is complete, it will then be seen how all things have been ordered for the best: and the benefit will remain after all the evils of the process shall have past away.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Is it not rather the tendency of evil to generate evil? Famine is produced by war, and pestilence by famine. There are countries in which, their prosperity having been destroyed by violence and tyranny, or by long misrule, agriculture is ruined, and earth being neglected infects the air, and brings forth disease and death. In the moral, as in the physical world, thus also evil produces evil.

MONTESINOS.

In both cases as a punishment and a warning.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

A punishment assuredly,..the bitter fruit of error and of sin: but where is the people that hath ever yet been warned by it? This very manufacturing system, which you regard as introductory to your Utopian era, proves that England has taken no warning.

MONTESINOS.

Where should it be found? for in this case history affords no lessons. It contains no parallel to the present condition of Europe, and more especially of these kingdoms.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Let us see if there be not some principles, which, if kept steadily in view, might serve as a cynosure to direct you in this unknown navigation. You have lived long enough in the world to know something, both by experience and observation, of the course of human affairs. Setting aside the chances, as they are called, of health and fortune, did you ever know any one fail of happiness, except through some indiscretion or error of his own?

MONTESINOS.

The exceptions are large, and a heavy drawback must be allowed for them. But taking

them into the account, I can truly answer that, within the circle of my knowledge, those persons have been the happiest who have best deserved to be so. They have had most enjoyment in prosperity, have struggled best with difficulties, and borne affliction with the wisest spirit and the truest resignation. Some indeed I have known who, amid the privations inseparable from scanty means, or under bodily affliction, or the sorer pressure of worldly and inevitable cares, have yet been objects of admiration and example rather than compassion, because their minds were well regulated, and they were in the enjoyment of that peace which passeth all understanding.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

And which have been the most prosperous, the upright, or the worldly wise?

MONTESINOS.

I see the worldling flourish like a tree planted by the water side, and his leaf does not wither.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

But is the fruit of happiness brought forth there in due season?

MONTESINOS.

There are many sorts of happiness. The Geologist does not plod over these mountains with more patience, hammer in hand, when

tracing where the slate demarcation ends and the sienite begins, speculating the while upon the formation of mountains and the manufactory of worlds, than the sportsman with his fowling-piece on his shoulder, whose greatest ambition is to tell of the birds that he has bagged. The great capitalist when he adds some score of thousands to his enormous wealth, envies me for adding to my treasures a book long sought and brought from afar, as little as I envy him. Gryll will "be Gryll and have his hoggish mind." And Tom Fool is as happy in the company of Jack a Dandy, as I have been when conversing with C. or W. or R. or Walter Landor. Each has his fill of enjoyment; and if there are few who have an after-taste of it when they chew the cud, it is because the ruminating portion of the human species is but a small variety.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Montesinos, that reply is a rambling one. Mere transient enjoyment is not to be taken into the account of happiness for an intellectual and immortal being. That man alone can be called happy who is at peace with his own heart and with his Maker. Your own observation must have shown you that those whose desires are regulated by wisdom, and whose course of life is what it ought to be, seldom

have reason to complain of fortune. This country is not yet so corrupted, even with all the efforts which are made to corrupt it, and all the causes which are at work to increase its corruption, but that good conduct and good character pass in it for their just value. Is it not so? Have you not just acknowledged that, in the circle of your own immediate friends, the best men are the happiest?

MONTESINOS.

It is strictly and righteously so.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

And it is strictly and righteously otherwise with those whose desires are inordinate; or who, following the pursuit of wealth or power, devote themselves to those objects with all their heart, and with all their soul, and with all their strength. Success brings with it no happiness to them; and age makes them feel the worthlessness of such pursuits as surely as it overtakes them.

MONTESINOS.

If they could learn by others to be wise,
If once they could the golden mean embrace,
Or banish quite ambition from their breast,
They never need to reck or reap unrest.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Thus poets have sung, and moralists have

taught, and preachers have proclaimed from the pulpit. But of what avail are precepts, when the whole tendency of your institutions, and the whole practice of society, counteract them? The object of a good and wise man in this transitory state of existence should be to fit himself for a better, by controlling the unworthy propensities of his nature, and improving all its better aspirations;..to do his duty first to his family, then to his neighbours, lastly to his country and his kind; to promote the welfare and happiness of those who are in any degree dependent upon him, or whom he has the means of assisting, and never wantonly to injure the meanest thing that lives; to encourage, as far as he may have the power, whatever is useful and ornamental in society, whatever tends to refine and elevate humanity; to store his mind with such knowledge as it is fitted to receive, and he is able to attain; and so to employ the talents committed to his charge, that when the account is required, he may hope to have his stewardship approved. It should not seem difficult to do this: for nothing can be more evident than that men are and must be happy in proportion as their lives are conformed to such a scheme of divine philosophy. And

yet think you that there are ten men in a generation who act thus?

MONTESINOS.

God be merciful to us! We are unprofitable servants at the best. Yet there is much that may be pleaded, and something assuredly I trust that will be admitted in our excuse. It is not always willingly, or from temptation that we go astray. Society has an original sin in its constitution, as certain as the mysterious disease of human nature. We are born and bred in it, and from the highest to the lowest, even those whose disposition would lead them to better things, are put out from childhood and as it were bound over to the service of the world!

SIR THOMAS MORE.

There is an example before our eyes. Yonder children are on the way to a manufactory, where they pass six days out of the seven, from morning till night. Is it likely that the little they learn at school on the seventh, (which ought to be their day of recreation as well as rest,) should counteract the effects of such an education, when the moral atmosphere wherein they live and move and have their being, is as noxious to the soul, as the foul and tainted air which they inhale is to their bodily constitution?

MONTESINOS.

Yet the most celebrated minister of the age, the only minister who for many generations has deserved to be called a Premier, the minister whom our best and wisest statesmen at this day profess entirely to admire and implicitly to follow,..he made his boast of this very evil, and congratulated Parliament that the nation had a new source of wealth and revenue in the labour of children: so completely had the political system in which he was trained up seared his heart and obscured his understanding.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Confess that this is an evil which had no existence in former times! There are new things under the sun,..new miseries,..new enormities, ...this portentous age produces them,

partimque figuras
Rettulit antiquas, partim nova monstra creavit.

MONTESINOS.

This evil, however, existed long ago to a considerable degree in the Low Countries. It is Sueyro's remark that, when Count Baldwin the Young, in the tenth century, established the weavers and clothiers in Ghent, he laid the foundation of that city's wealth and prosperity; but prepared at the same time the seed-bed of

those * commotions which made it during some ages the most turbulent city in Christendom.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The history of the Low Countries down to their fatal connection with the House of Austria, deserves to be treated by some one who, with the minute diligence of an antiquary, should unite the comprehensiveness of a philosophic mind. Manufactures in those times produced more good than evil,..for the men whom they brutalized in one way, would have been brutalized in another and a worse by the warlike spirit of the age. They raised up a civic and pacific interest; and even their strong democratic tendency was favourable to the improvement of Europe. The modern system possesses this tendency in a much greater degree, when it has become altogether dangerous. It is also essentially different and essentially worse. Large properties were in former times carved out with the sword, and founded upon the right of conquest. Are those fortunes raised on a better foundation which are derived from a system like this?..from slavery direct or indirect,

* A.D. 959. "*Truxo à Gante los oficios de los texedores y traperos, porque hasta entonces solo habitavan aqui los curtidores. Fue el fundamento de las grandezas desta ciudad, pero tambien el seminario de sus discordias.*—Añales de Flandes, t. i. p. 54.

abroad or at home?..from the sweat and blood of black or brown slaves, working under the whip? or from the degradation in body and soul of those who, though white by complexion, and free by birth, are nevertheless in an actual state of servitude?

MONTESINOS.

Bad enough to serve the planter for a parallel and an excuse! There is a nation of warriors in Hindostan who call their deity All-Steel. Commercial nations, if they acknowledged the deity whom they serve, might call him All-Gold. And if the sum of their sacrifices were compared, Mammon would be found a more merciless fiend than Moloch.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The servants of Mammon are however wiser in their generation than the children of light. They serve a master who rewards them.

MONTESINOS.

They pursue their object with steadiness and singleness of purpose, and rewarded they are abundantly with what they covet. Yet their power of creating wealth brings with it a consequence not dissimilar to that which Midas suffered. The love of lucre is one of those base passions which

harden all within,
And petrify the feeling.

He who, at the beginning of his career, uses his fellow-creatures as bodily machines for producing wealth, ends not unfrequently in becoming an intellectual one himself, employed in continually increasing what it is impossible for him to enjoy.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

What then shall we say of a system which in its direct consequences debases all who are engaged in it? a system that employs men unremittingly in pursuits unwholesome for the body, and unprofitable for the mind,..a system in which the means are so bad, that any result would be dearly purchased at such an expense of human misery and degradation, and the end so fearful, that the worst calamities which society has hitherto endured may be deemed light in comparison with it?

MONTESINOS.

Like the whole fabric of our society it has been the growth of circumstances, not a system foreplanned, foreseen and deliberately chosen. Such as it is we have inherited it,..or rather have fallen into it, and must get out of it as well as we can. We must do our best to remove its evils, and to mitigate them while they last, and to modify and reduce it till only so much remains as is indispensable for the general good.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The facts will not warrant you in saying that it has come upon the country unsought and unforeseen. You have prided yourselves upon this system, you have used every means for extending it; you have made it the measure of your national prosperity. It is a wen, a fungous excrescence from the body politic: the growth might have been checked if the consequences had been apprehended in time; but now it has acquired so great a bulk, its nerves have branched so widely, and the vessels of the tumour are so inosculated into some of the principal veins and arteries of the natural system, that to remove it by absorption is impossible, and excision would be fatal.

MONTESINOS.

Happily, this is but a metaphor; and the body politic, like its crowned head, never dies.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

But as there are evils worse than death for individuals, so are there calamities for a people worse than extermination. The Jews, during a full millennium, might have envied the lot of the Carthaginians; and even at this day the great body of that extraordinary and miraculously preserved people would have cause to

regret that a remnant had been spared, were it not for the hope of Israel.

MONTESINOS.

We shall work our way through this evil, as we have done through others.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

What others?

MONTESINOS.

The late war, for example, during which, though my heart never quailed, there were few who did not tremble for the result.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The case is not in point. You were in the right course, and had only to persevere bravely and virtuously to the end.

MONTESINOS.

The religious troubles which commenced in your days; the political convulsions during the Great Rebellion; and the Revolution.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Have you yet seen the termination of either?

PART II.

MANUFACTURING SYSTEM.—NATIONAL WEALTH.

By this time we had reached the bank above Applethwaite. The last question of my companion was one to which I could make no reply, and as he neither talked for triumph, nor I endeavoured to elude the force of his argument, we remained awhile in silence, looking upon the assemblage of dwellings below. Here, and in the adjoining hamlet of Millbeck, the effects of manufactures and of agriculture may be seen and compared. The old cottages are such as the poet and the painter equally delight in beholding. Substantially built of the native stone without mortar, dirtied with no white-lime, and their long low roofs covered with slate, if they had been raised by the magic of some indigenous Amphion's music, the materials could not have adjusted themselves more beautifully in accord with the surrounding scene; and time has still farther harmonized them with weather stains, lichens and moss, short grasses and short fern, and stone plants of various kinds. The ornamented chimnies, round or square, less adorned than those which, like little turrets, crest the

houses of the Portugueze peasantry, and yet not less happily suited to their place; the hedge of clipt box beneath the windows, the rose bushes beside the door, the little patch of flower ground with its tall holyocks in front, the garden beside, the bee-hives, and the orchard with its bank of daffodils and snowdrops, (the earliest and the profusest in these parts,) indicate in the owners some portion of ease and leisure, some regard to neatness and comfort, some sense of natural and innocent and healthful enjoyment. The new cottages of the manufacturers, are... upon the manufacturing pattern ...naked, and in a row.

How is it, said I, that every thing which is connected with manufactures, presents such features of unqualified deformity? From the largest of Mammon's temples down to the poorest hovel in which his helotry are stalled, the edifices have all one character. Time cannot mellow them; Nature will neither clothe nor conceal them; and they remain always as offensive to the eye as to the mind!

We had proceeded a little way along the terrace, to that spot which commands the finest view of Derwentwater and of the vale of Keswick. How well, said Sir Thomas, has yonder

dwelling been placed! pointing to one immediately below us; how happily is it sheltered from the north and east, how humbly and contentedly it appears to rest, and how deep a shade does it enjoy in summer, under those sycamores which have now lost their leaves! If we past the door I should expect to hear the humming of the spinning-wheel; and if I looked into the economy of the household, to find it little different from what I was accustomed to see in my youth.

MONTESINOS.

You would find a Bible and a Prayer Book, instead of a Crucifix and a Rosary; cloth coats instead of leathern jerkins upon the men and boys, and cotton in the place of woollen for the women, when they are in their better dress. The Reformation seems almost to have abolished the use of fish among this class of the community; they have contracted, I know not how, some obstinate prejudice against a kind of food at once wholesome and delicate, and every where to be obtained cheaply and in abundance, were the demand for it as general as it ought to be. Most of the pot-herbs and sallads which Tusser enumerates, have disappeared from the cottager's garden, and even their names are no longer in remembrance. The potatoe has sup-

planted them. Greater change has been introduced by the now universal use of tea in these kingdoms, a beverage from which more, and more various good has been derived without any admixture of adventitious evil, than from any other which has ever been devised by human ingenuity. Except as to this difference in their appearance and in their diet, you would find the peasantry little changed in their habits of life and less improved. The Reformation has done *them* no good: and nothing has grown up in the decay of the feudal system, to repay them for the kindly attachments which existed under it. They are neither happier nor wiser in their sphere; but they have the easy opportunity of getting out of it, and the possibility of emerging above it. The adventurous youth may seek his fortune in the United States, or in our own colonies. The industrious may work his way up in trade. And of those who pass their pitiable childhood as part of the machinery in a cotton mill, (for the cotton is now the staple trade of Great Britain,) perhaps one in a thousand, by good conduct and good fortune, obtains an employment in the business, which places him in a respectable station; and one in a myriad becomes a master manufacturer himself, and founds a family who take their place among

the monied aristocracy of the land. There is a continual creation of wealth; and in the lottery which this produces, some of the prizes fall to their lot.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

And it is because of the creation of that wealth, that your government considers the prosperity of its manufactures as of so much importance to the state?

MONTESINOS.

For this, and for the still more important object of giving employment to a large part of our great and rapidly increasing population.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

But this sort of employment tends to accelerate that increase, by forcing it even so as to leave a large surplus, after supplying the lavish consumption of health and life which the manufacturing system requires. For among persons so trained up, moral restraint is not to be looked for, and there is little prudential restraint; the fear of the lean wolf is not before their eyes. In proportion, therefore, as the object is effected in one generation, it becomes more difficult in every succeeding one, and yet more necessary. But leaving for the present that consideration, let us examine the consequences of a continual creation of wealth, which, as it is a new thing

in the world, must necessarily produce new results. What if it should prove that the wealth which is thus produced is no more an indication of public prosperity, than the size of one whose limbs are swollen with dropsy, is a symptom of health and vigour?

MONTESINOS.

You are leading me toward the region of metaphysical politics, and as I am not owl-eyed, I can follow no farther than the daylight penetrates into that land of fogs and darkness.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Daylight will serve us here. All wealth in former times was tangible. It existed either in land, money, or chattels, which were either of real or conventional value.

MONTESINOS.

Jewels, for example;..and pictures, as in Holland,..where indeed, at one time, tulip-bulbs answered the same purpose.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

That bubble was one of those contagious insanities to which communities are subject. All wealth was real, till the extent of commerce rendered a paper currency necessary, which differed from precious stones and pictures in this important point, that there was no limit to its production.

MONTESINOS.

We regard it as the representative of real wealth; and therefore limited always to the amount of what it represents.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Pursue that notion,..and you will be in the dark presently. Your provincial bank notes, which constitute almost wholly the circulating medium of certain districts, pass current to-day; to-morrow, tidings may come that the house which issued them has stopt payment, and what do they represent then? You find them the shadow of a shade.

MONTESINOS.

This is an evil frequent enough, and extensive enough in its effects to be called a national grievance, and one which I have long thought it the duty of government to prevent. Scarcely a year passes without some failure of this kind, and every failure brings with it wide-spreading distress, and to many an industrious family, ruin, as unavoidable as it is irretrievable and undeserved. For in many parts of the kingdom, (here for example it is the case,) they who might distrust the security of such paper, have no choice; there is no other currency for daily use. I am too little versed in such subjects (having indeed neither liking nor aptitude for

for them) to understand why the provincial banks should not be superseded by establishments connected with the Bank of England; but this I know, that one of the duties of a government is to provide the subjects with a safe currency. However, this is wandering from your argument. Proceed I pray you.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

In what light do you regard the national debt?

MONTESINOS.

Again I must confess my incompetence for discussions of this kind: they belong to what is called political economy,..a science concerning which there is a great deal written and talked, and very little understood.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

But you consider it a species of property?

MONTESINOS.

Undoubtedly.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Real or representative?

MONTESINOS.

Did I not say that you were leading me into the region of darkness?

SIR THOMAS MORE.

You can understand that it constitutes a great part of the national wealth?

MONTESINOS.

So large a part that the interest amounted, during the prosperous times of agriculture, to as much as the rental of all the land in Great Britain; and at present, to the rental of all lands, all houses, and all other fixed property put together.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The interest is of course real and tangible. What is the principal?

MONTESINOS.

Real also, because any part of it is tangible and producible at any time.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

But it is only in part that it can thus be realized.

MONTESINOS.

As large a part as can ever be required.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

We shall come to that question. The whole is plainly not producible; it is neither real nor representative, but a mere fiction of policy and convenience.

MONTESINOS.

Why will you bewilder me?

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Yet as the gods were derived from Erebus and Night, this fiction has given birth to wealth

and power and happiness. Whence comes the interest; that part which is real, tangible, and regularly produced?

MONTESINOS.

It is raised by taxation, and that taxation it is which constitutes the great burthen of these kingdoms.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

It is raised then from the whole body of the nation, and distributed to that portion of them whose property is vested in this fiction. Is the country most impoverished by the extraction, or benefited by the distribution?

MONTESINOS.

You might as reasonably ask whether the fields are injured by evaporation, more than they are refreshed by rain and dew!

SIR THOMAS MORE.

It is not then a mere debt,..a mere burthen?

MONTESINOS.

On the contrary, it is so much property vested in the manner most convenient to the owners. The effects of the funded system could as little have been foreseen when it was devised, as the extent to which it has been carried. It has not only supplied the necessities of the state from time to time, and enabled it to support the costs, ruinous as they then appeared, of the

American war, and the still more enormous expenditure of the last contest, but by its operation the wars themselves became a cause of national prosperity,..the funds, as they were increased, affording an advantageous and secure deposit for the new wealth created by that increased activity which the war expenditure called forth. And the wealth thus deposited being producible at a moment, to any amount, has supplied capital for speculations upon a scale unknown in other countries, or in other times. British machinery may be exported, or equalled; British ingenuity may be rivalled; but it is British capital that puts all in motion; and it will be long before any other nation can possess capital enough to render its rivalry effectual.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Another and far more momentous benefit must not be overlooked,..the expenditure of an annual interest equalling, as you have stated, the present rental of all fixed property.

MONTESINOS.

That expenditure gives employment to half the industry in the kingdom, and feeds half the mouths. Take, indeed, the weight of the national debt from this great and complicated social machine, and the wheels must stop.

The old apologue of the belly and members is as applicable to those reformers who are for ridding us of this debt, as it was to the Roman agitators in the days of Menenius Agrippa.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Such being, according to this view of the subject, (and it is undeniable,) the effect of the national debt, is it the object of your government to extend, or to diminish it?

MONTESINOS.

To diminish it, of course.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Why *of course*, if it be advantageous to the nation?

MONTESINOS.

For the purpose of diminishing the national burthens.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Explain to me how that, which is a national advantage, can be at the same time a national burthen? how the same thing can at once be an evil and a good?

MONTESINOS.

I told you honestly, when you entered upon this discussion, that it led to subjects which I did not understand.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

You will understand them better, if you ex-

amine the state of your own knowledge. We shall come to something presently which is perfectly intelligible....In what manner will your government proceed to diminish this national burthen, (considering it now as a burthen,) when it shall have the means of so doing?

MONTESINOS.

By extinguishing that portion of it which bears the highest rate of interest, giving the holders, when the state of the funds shall admit of such a transaction, their option of being paid off, or having their stock converted into stock of a lower rate. If this were done, for example, with stock which produces at present an annual interest of five millions, an annual million of taxes might be remitted.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

And would this, think you, be a desirable measure?

MONTESINOS.

The minister will think himself fortunate who shall be able to effect it. But of all subjects, who would have expected that one from the dead should chuse to enter upon political economy, and the state of the stocks!

SIR THOMAS MORE.

You know I have visited the Limbo, and you do not suppose that books of poetry are the only

tomes which are whirled away thither. ...The minister, you say, will think himself fortunate, who shall be able to remit a million yearly in taxation, by annihilating twenty millions of the five per cents, or, which is the same thing, withholding a fifth part of the interest paid upon an hundred millions of that stock?

MONTESINOS.

He will not only think himself so, but will be thought so by the nation, and applauded accordingly.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

But how will that part of the community feel from whose incomes this million is to be deducted? Will they think themselves fortunate? The measure which they will hear of as a public benefit, they will feel as an individual grievance: and it will be difficult to make them acknowledge, that a heavy and exclusive taxation imposed upon them, can be both a consequence and a cause of general prosperity.

MONTESINOS.

There it will fall heavily, and precisely upon persons on whom the burthens of the state have always borne with the severest pressure. The respectable provision which men of moderate fortune can make for their widows and unmarried daughters, has more generally been vested

in the four and five per cents than in any other way. During the war, the active members of society could increase their exertions in proportion as new burthens were laid on, and all who had any thing to sell, raised their prices in such proportion as to be gainers by the impost; from the greatest landholder to the meanest shopkeeper this was done. The whole weight fell upon those whose incomes were fixed; and these persons,..the very class whom for every consideration of feeling and humanity it would be desirable to favour, (if that were possible,).. as they suffered most during the war, so will they be the sole sufferers from a measure consequent on the prosperity that peace brings with it, when the settled effects of peace shall be felt.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

How far will this system of reduction be pursued?

MONTESINOS.

I suppose as far as it can. The four per cents will follow the fives, and then, if the creation of wealth continues, perhaps a reduction of the threes will be attempted also.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

By what means can the government be enabled to effect this?

MONTESINOS.

Only by the great rise of stock consequent upon the rapid creation of wealth, so little interest being produced by money vested in the funds when they are at a high price, and the general interest of money falling in proportion, that the fundholders will rather suffer the reduction of a fifth, or even a fourth, upon their dividends, than be paid off when they would not know how to apply the capital.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

In proportion then as wealth is created in one quarter, it is, as far as this operation extends, annihilated in another. This is like your Hindoo mythology; but in part only,..for while we have the Creator and the Destroyer here at work, I miss the Preserving Power! It should seem a strange system of society, that in which a government takes and obtains credit for a measure which diminishes the means and curtails the expenditure of many of its subjects. Will the general good be greater than the partial evil?

MONTESINOS.

The public and private expenditure of this country are both upon so large a scale, that the diminution of one or two millions in the annual imposts, or in the annual circulation and con-

sumption, would be scarcely perceptible. As far as individuals are concerned, the benefit will be sensibly felt by none; but there are some who will feel the injury. No moderate income can bear the diminution of a fifth without inconvenience. Some privations will be rendered necessary: in some cases this will be felt sorely, and retrenchment is always injurious to a nation whose prosperity depends upon expenditure. But these cases, it may be believed, will not be numerous; and the reduction, which in most of the necessaries of life has been made from the war-prices, must be taken into the account. Indeed there will be no complaint, because there is no injustice; the property was acquired and held with the knowledge that it was liable to this contingency; and in every case the price originally paid for it, will have been less than what the holders will draw out, if they chuse to receive the principal. The evil, therefore, will be limited in its extent, and transient in its nature, whereas the relief from taxation will be permanent.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

But you have represented that relief as imperceptible.

MONTESINOS.

Imperceptible as relief, but it will be felt in

public opinion, and the government will feel it. The farther, indeed, that such reductions can be carried, the better able will the state be to support the demands of any future war; an evil which we should endeavour always equally to avert, and to be prepared for.

I had overlooked something which is likely to lessen the inconvenience of paying off a part of the public creditors. Many of them may be willing to receive their principal and vest it in foreign funds, which pay an interest so much higher as to render the risk a tempting one. If the amount of British property, which has already been thus embarked, were known, it would appear surprizing.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

In this manner some of your redundant wealth, as well as of your redundant zeal, flows abroad, to your own relief, and to the benefit of all parts of the world. This is certainly an unequivocal good.

MONTESINOS.

So I should regard it, even if it enabled other countries to pursue with more advantage their system of commercial rivalry. The benefits of commerce cannot be too widely diffused, their general extension being for the general good: and if our neighbours are desirous of taking

their share of its evil, by extending their own manufactures to the eventual exclusion of ours, their success would be the best thing that could happen for Great Britain.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

We have looked at one consequence of the rapid creation of wealth, which is going on under your present system. So long as that creation proceeds without impediment, so long it will be in the intention and in the power of government to reduce the national debt. Of course, therefore, no property will be vested in the funds, if it can be disposed of in any other way: nor is it credible that the foreign funds should either obtain so much credit in this country, or be extended to a scale sufficient for acting in their stead. What direction then will this redundant capital take?

MONTESINOS.

It will be ready for any imaginable scheme which holds out the prospect of what used to be common interest;..bridges, tunnels, canals, rail-roads, joint-stock companies for every conceivable purpose. In such undertakings, immense sums will be invested and lost.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

So that the destruction will keep pace with the creation?

MONTESINOS.

Not exactly so. Some will lose and some will gain; and the expenditure in which the one sink their capital, will increase the capital of the other by the productive labour which it calls forth.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Columbus was of opinion, that the gold in his conquests might enable the Kings of Spain to make the whole of their dominions like a well-cultivated garden. But then he assumed that this gold would be at the direct disposal of the state.

MONTESINOS.

Ancient Egypt exhibited the finest example of what might be done by a government making the improvement of the country its main object. Every thing was done there which art could do for the advantage and embellishment of the land. Buonaparte did a little in this kind, and boasted largely of it. Our government makes no parade of such things. It leaves travellers to proclaim and even to discover that every creek upon the coast of Scotland, where a fisher's boat could need shelter, is protected with a pier; that in the wildest and remotest parts of that country, civilization is forwarded by some of the finest roads in the world, and that

large ships may pass across the island from sea to sea, by a canal, which is the greatest work of its kind that has ever been attempted either in ancient or in modern times.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Can a nation be too rich?

MONTESINOS.

I am sure individuals can; and have often said that, rather than have been born and bred to a great fortune, I should deem it better for myself always to live precariously, and die poor at last.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

But for a nation?

MONTESINOS.

I cannot answer that question without distinguishing between a people and a state. A state cannot have more wealth at its command than may be employed for the general good, a liberal expenditure in national works being one of the surest means for promoting national prosperity, and the benefit being still more evident of an expenditure directed to the purposes of national improvement. But a people may be too rich; because it is the tendency of the commercial, and more especially of the manufacturing system, to collect wealth rather than to diffuse it. Where wealth is successfully employed in any

of the speculations of trade, its increase is in proportion to its amount; great capitalists become like pikes in a fish-pond, who devour the weaker fish; and it is but too certain that the poverty of one part of the people seems to increase in the same ratio as the riches of another. There are examples of this in history. In Portugal, when the high tide of wealth flowed in from the conquests in Africa and the East, the effect of that great influx was not more visible in the augmented splendour of the Court, and the luxury of the higher ranks, than in the distress of the people.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The prodigality of Henry's courtiers, for which the funds were supplied by sacrilege, was producing the same effect when I was removed from the sight of evils which I had vainly endeavoured to withstand.

MONTESINOS.

In these cases the consequences were so immediate and direct that there could be no doubt concerning the cause. But different causes are in operation at this time, and they are likely to be more permanent and more pernicious. Commerce and manufactures, nearly as they are connected, differ widely in their effects upon society. The former, it cannot be denied, has

produced enormous evils when it has been associated with schemes of conquest and usurpation; but this is no natural association; its natural operations are wholly beneficial, binding nations to nations, and man to man. How opposite the manufacturing system is in its tendency, must be manifest to all who see things as they are, and not through the delusive medium of their own theories and prepossessions.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The desire of gain is common to them both.

MONTESINOS.

A distinction must be made between this and the love of lucre. The pursuit of independence,..of that degree of wealth without which the comforts and respectabilities of life are not to be procured,..the ambition even of obtaining enough to command those luxuries which may innocently and commendably be enjoyed, must be allowed to be beneficial both to the individuals who are thus stimulated to exertion, and to the community which is affected by their exertions. This is inseparable from commerce; in fact it is the main spring of that social order which is established among us. In this, indeed, as in all other desires, self-watchfulness is necessary, and the restraint of a higher principle: and in the mercantile profession there is much to qua-

lify it and keep it within due bounds. We are not accustomed to class that profession among the liberal ones; and yet it ought to be classed among the most liberal, as being that which, when properly and wisely exercised, requires the most general knowledge, and affords the fairest opportunities for acquiring and enlarging it. There is nothing in its practice which tends to contract the mind, to sophisticate the understanding, or to corrupt the feelings.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

It is from those merchants who were "as Princes," that Princes themselves have derived assistance, states strength, and statesmen information, the arts their best patronage, and literature not unfrequently its best encouragement. Did you know more of the merchants of Tyre, it would appear that in that age no other power or influence upon the face of the earth was so beneficially exercised as theirs. Italy, Germany, and the Low Countries, had such merchants in my days. The Moors had them, before the Portugueze, by the conquest of Ceuta, by the destruction of their little commercial states along the coast of Eastern Africa, where every petty chieftain (like Alcinous) was a merchant, by their seizure of Malacca and Ormuz, and the system of destructive warfare which they car-

ried on in the Indian and Red Seas, cut the roots of Mahommedan power, and unhappily of Mahommedan civilization. You have such merchants now.

MONTESINOS.

Many such. The evil in that profession is, that men are tempted by the hope of great prizes to undue risks; the spirit of enterprize is allowed to pass the bounds of prudence and of principle, and then the merchant becomes in fact a gamester. Examples of this become more frequent as the habits of life become more emulously expensive. But the ordinary and natural consequences of commerce are every way beneficial; they are humanizing, civilizing, liberalizing; if it be for the purpose of gain that it compasses sea and land, it carries with it industry, activity, and improvement: these are its effects abroad, while it brings wealth to us at home. Whereas the immediate and home effect of the manufacturing system, carried on as it now is upon the great scale, is to produce physical and moral evil, in proportion to the wealth which it creates. Here is our danger, our sore and spreading evil... here, I had almost said, is

the harm
That never shall recover healthfulness!"*

* Lord Surrey.

At such a price national prosperity would be dearly purchased, even if any prosperity which is so purchased were, or could be, stable. Alas! wherefore is it that communities and individuals so seldom keep the even line, though it appears to be plain and straight before them!

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Because they walk sometimes in mist and darkness, and sometimes giddily and precipitately when the way is clear. But the way is not always plain, nor, when plain, is it always easy. Both men and nations are liable to evils which are the consequence, not of their own errors, but of their position,..of circumstances in which they find themselves, and over which they have had no control.

MONTESINOS.

"For he that once hath missed the right way,
The further he doth go, the further he doth stray."*

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Society has its critical periods, and its climacterics; no change, no developement can take place at such seasons without inducing some peculiar and accompanying danger; and at all seasons it is liable to its influenzas and its plagues. This is one of its grand climacterics.

* Faery Queen.

A new principle,..a *novum organum* has been introduced,..the most powerful that has ever yet been wielded by man. If it was first *Mitrum* that governed the world, and then *Nitrum*, both have had their day,..gunpowder as well as the triple crown. Steam will govern the world next,..and shake it too before its empire is established.

COLLOQUY VIII.

STEAM—WAR—PROSPECTS OF EUROPE.

"THE ancients," says* Dr. Arbuthnot, "had more occasion for mechanics in the art of war, than we have; gunpowder readily producing a force far exceeding all the engines they had contrived for battery. And this, I reckon, has lost us a good occasion of improving our mechanics; the cunning of mankind never exerting itself so much as in their arts of destroying one another." 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.

Steam, said I to Sir Thomas when he visited

* Essay on the Usefulness of Mathematical Learning.

me next, has fearfully accelerated a process which was going on already but too fast. Could I contemplate the subject without reference to that Providence which brings about all things in its own good time, I should be tempted to think that the discovery of this mighty power had come to us, like the possession of great and dangerous wealth to a giddy youth, before we knew how to employ it rightly.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

It is, however, a power which had long been known before it was brought into use for general purposes. In Justinian's reign, the philosopher, Anthemius, employed it in his extraordinary devices for annoying a next-door neighbour, and Pope Silvester made an organ which was worked by it.

MONTESINOS.

Even at a much later period, extraordinary experiments excited little attention at the time they were made, though they are now looked back upon with wonder, as having anticipated some of the most remarkable discoveries of the present age. A Portugueze ascended in some kind of balloon at Lisbon, more than an hundred years ago. In cases of public display like this, or of public notoriety such as those earlier and more remarkable ones which you have in-

stanced, we may, with some reason, wonder that no consequences followed,..that the same age in which the knowledge implied in such experiments was to be found, should not have produced minds capable of pursuing them to some great and useful result. So, too, with regard to the invention of printing: the ancients missed it, though the sepulchral lamps show us that Greek potters imprinted their names upon their ware; and though, among their gallants, it was the custom for an amorist to impress the name of his mistress in the dust, or upon the damp earth, with letters fixed upon his shoe. It is not surprizing that the prism should, for generations, have been given to children as a plaything, and sent out, among other baubles, as a toy for savages, before Newton used it as an instrument of science, because it required an intellect like Newton's to analyse the phenomenon which it presented: but in these cases the application was direct and easy, and to purposes of common and obvious utility.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Some discoveries have been the effect of mere chance,..that of glass for example, which has given astronomers the telescope, entomology its animalcular world, old age its second sight, and which contributes to the comfort of every

class in society, not less than to the luxuries and elegancies of those who are most favoured by fortune. Others have been the result of fortuitous experiments in the use of herbs and mineral substances; and these found their way slowly into general use, because some selfish interest not unfrequently withheld them for its own purposes. Your manufacturers and artificers have their secrets at this day, as the priests of Greece and Egypt had theirs,..

MONTESINOS.

And the monks and friars of the middle ages.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Remember that one mighty discovery was withheld by a friar, in mercy to mankind.

MONTESINOS.

No finer proof of foresight and true greatness of mind has ever been given than in that illustrious instance; for Roger Bacon's motives cannot be mistaken. He desired the praise of knowledge, and yet was contented to forego the honour of this discovery, till a secret, of which he anticipated the destructive application, should be brought to light by some future experimentalist, less humane, or less considerate than himself. But no merit must be claimed for the friars on his score. It is for his country, not his order, to glory in the man whom that

order condemned to imprisonment, not for his supposed skill in magic, but for those opinions* which he derived from studying the Scriptures, wherein he was versed beyond any other person of his age.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

In what a different state of feeling did Johannes de Rupescissa speculate upon chemical discoveries, when he† advised that the art of composing his cordial corroborative, of which brandy was the chief constituent, should be kept carefully as a state secret, lest it should come to the knowledge of the enemies of the church; and that, as a sure means of rendering

* *Erat hic vir miri ingenii, subtilioris quam felicis; nulla erat litterarum facultas in quâ non esset exercitatissimus, et in sacrâ Scripturâ ultra omnes versatissimus. Sed ea quorundam indoles, ut dum non plus sapiant, quam oporteat, atque ultra communem receptamque doctrinam quidquam novi non dicant, nihil se dixisse putent. Non ea debet esse in sacris doctrinis libertas dicendi vel opinandi; in aliis liberalibus scientiis quod novum, gratum; in istis quod vetustum, securum. Suâ antiquitate sacræ litteræ commendantur; sat suâ vetustate consistunt.—Wadding, A.D.* 1278, § 26.

It is evident from this passage, that the annalist of the Friars Minorite regarded Roger Bacon more as a heretic than as the greatest and wisest man of his order and his age.

* L. 8. de Remediis Generalibus. c. 8. p. 133. Basilicæ, 1561. The chapter will be found among the supplementary notes to this volume.

Christian armies victorious, a dose should be given to every man before the battle began!

MONTESINOS.

How different also was the temper of this the elder Bacon, from the blind temerity with which certain modern experiments upon the nature and effect of certain poisons have been promulgated. It was right that such experiments should be made and carefully recorded, for the advancement of science, because we are justified in presuming that this must ultimately be for the benefit of mankind; but they should have been published in a language which would have confined the knowledge to that class of persons for whom it was designed. To render it accessible* to every one, was putting into the hands of the wicked more formidable means of mischief than had before ever been known.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

So that the craft which conceals knowledge for its own sinister purposes may sometimes be less injurious to society, than is the rashness which promulgates it without consideration of consequences.

MONTESINOS.

The rashness may produce greater immediate

* The most important and fearful of these experiments, were copied into magazines and provincial newspapers!

mischief, but surely not so much lasting evil. For the evil which arises from any increase and misdirection of human power can be only for a time.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Only for a time! Think for a moment, Montesinos, you who exist in time, what time is to those who are in a state of suffering! Plague, pestilence and famine are but for a time. You put up your prayers, and not without perpetual cause, that you may be spared from such visitations. And there is no less cause for praying that you may be delivered from the social plague, the moral pestilence which you have been preparing for yourselves. You have ploughed and manured the ground, and sown the seed and watered it: if you reap as you have sown, God have mercy upon those who see the harvest!

MONTESINOS.

You would make me apprehend then, that we have advanced in our chemical and mechanical discoveries faster than is consistent with the real welfare of society.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

You cannot advance in them too fast, provided that the moral culture of the species keep pace with the increase of its material powers. Has it been so? The question may be resolved if

we look at the two great inventions of which we have been led to speak. Was Roger Bacon right in his forebodings, that the discovery of gunpowder was a perilous secret, which, whenever it was divulged, would prove destructive to his fellow creatures?

MONTESINOS.

That foreboding evinced, in a remarkable degree, his foresight; for though he perceived at once the main use to which the discovery would be applied, men were slow in applying it to that purpose. More than two centuries elapsed after the first appearance of fire arms in European warfare, before any material effect in war was produced by them, and nearly a third before the whole system of war was changed in consequence; so greatly did his intellect outstrip the march of ordinary minds. That the discovery should have been less immediately destructive than he had feared, proves only the extent and quickness of his foresight. And if he anticipated that it would be more hurtful to humanity than it has proved, it was not possible for human sagacity to perceive in what manner the complicated relations of society would be affected by so great but gradual a change in what, during that age, to the reproach

of human nature, constituted the great business of mankind.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The art of war, like every other art, ecclesiastical architecture alone excepted, was greatly deteriorated during those years of general degradation, which preceded and produced the overthrow of the Roman empire. It would have revived about the time when gunpowder was introduced, without the introduction of any such new agent, as a necessary consequence of the systems of dominion which then began to be developed. Kingdoms just then acquired extent and stability, and sovereigns perceived that policy was the better part of strength. The feudal system had been broken down: chivalry and the chivalrous system of war could not long survive it. War must have been modified by the changes of society, whether gunpowder had been introduced or not; and if there had not been this invention, the restoration of letters would probably have brought back the tactics of the ancients. Some evil has resulted from the substitution, but on the whole it has been advantageous to humanity.

MONTESINOS.

It has made sieges more terrible.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

More terrible while they last; and it has the evil of having given a decided advantage to the besiegers, whereas, in the warfare of the ancients and of the middle ages, the means of defence appear to have been more efficacious than those of attack. But to compensate for this the duration of sieges is shortened; and except in rare instances, which, when they occur, draw after them the execration of mankind, the conquest is less ferocious, and less disgraceful to human nature.

MONTESINOS.

This is owing to the greater humanity of modern times; to an improved state of public feeling, derived from the more extended influence of religion, which acts in no slight degree even upon the irreligious themselves, ungrateful as they are for the benefit, or unconscious of it.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

There is another reason. The manner of war, which affords most opportunity for personal prowess, and requires most individual exertion, calls forth more personal feeling and, consequently, fiercer passions. How much more murderous would battles be, if they were decided by the sword and bayonet; how few pri-

soners would be taken, and how little mercy shown!

MONTESINOS.

In proof of this, more Englishmen fell at Towton than in any of Marlborough's battles, or at Waterloo.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

In war, then, it is manifestly better that men, in general, should act in masses as machines, than with an individual feeling.

MONTESINOS.

I remember to have read or heard of a soldier in our late war, who was one day told by his officer to take aim when he fired, and make sure of his man. "I cannot do it, Sir!" was his reply. "I fire into their ranks, and that does as well; but to single out one among them, and mark him for death, would lie upon my mind afterwards." The man who could feel thus was worthy of a better station than that in which his lot had been assigned.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

And yet, Montesinos, such a man was well placed, if not for present welfare, for his lasting good. A soul that can withstand the heart-hardening tendencies of a military life, is strengthened and elevated by it. In what other

station could he have attained that quiet dignity of mind, that consciousness of moral strength, which is possessed by those who, living daily in the face of death, live also always in the fear of God?

MONTESINOS.

That speech, Sir Thomas, would have delighted the old General, who, one day when he was reproving a grenadier for some neglect of duty, and telling him he could not bear to see a grenadier bring disgrace upon his corps, grew warm with the subject, and clapping him on the shoulder said, "Why, man, do you know that a grenadier is the greatest character in this world,".. and, after a moment's pause, adding the emphasis of an oath to his speech,.. "and, I believe, in the* next, too!" There is, indeed, in the military and naval professions, what Dr. Johnson has well called the dignity of danger, and which, as he observes, accounts for the proper estimation in which they are held. But I know not how any parents, who consider the moral danger incident to those professions, can make choice of either for a son.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The armies of the ancients were in a better

* This story is told (I forget where) of General Meadows.

state of discipline, taking that word in its comprehensive sense, than those of later times. This was owing to their constitution, for the soldiers were not taken from the lowest classes of society. There existed no such class in the ancient world as that, which, by a word of recent invention, is called the* mob. Their place was supplied by slaves. The Roman soldiers had the pride of rank and character to support; and in their westward and northward movement, wherever they went as conquerors, they went as civilizers also. They were worse colonists than those whom Greece sent forth in the happiest age of Greece; but better, far better, than any that have succeeded them.

MONTESINOS.

Yet the worst subjects must, in all ages, have taken shelter in a military life from the punish-

* Roger North, speaking of the King's Head, or Green Ribbon Club, which was "a more visible administration, mediate, as it were, between his Lordship (Shaftsbury) and the greater and lesser vulgar, who were to be the immediate tools," says, "I may note that the Rabble first changed their title, and were called *the Mob,* in the assemblies of this club. It was their beast of burthen, and called first *mobile vulgus,* but fell naturally into the contraction of one syllable, and ever since is become proper English."--Examen. part. 3, c. vii. § 89.

ment which they deserved, or the misfortunes which they had brought upon themselves.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

That could only be where men were loose in society, in which point it is that one main difference consists between modern and ancient governments. As soon as the Roman armies, instead of being composed of Roman and Italian soldiers, were recruited from all nations, they became less efficient for the defence of the empire, and more ripe for mutinies and mischiefs of every kind.

MONTESINOS.

The nations by whom that empire was overthrown, made the military a privileged order, for motives of policy as well as of pride. But we read of mercenaries early in the middle ages. It is apparent that every chief who could afford to entertain such men would gladly have them in his pay, because, so long as he could depend upon them, they were more effectually at his service than the followers whom he could bring into the field by virtue of the feudal system. But they are always mentioned with horror as the scourge and curse of the country wherein they were employed.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

They had no character to preserve, except

for courage; and perhaps the reputation of ferocity enhanced the value of their service in making them feared as well as hated by the people. For the most part they must have been men who were disposed by inclination not less than circumstances rather for evil than for good. The great body of them consisted of persons whose violent temper, or lawless habits, led them to a roving life. Your earliest laws speak of robbers, whom they class according to their number,* either in companies, or troops, or armies; and they were so numerous, that if a traveller or stranger were met with out of the road, it was lawful,† unless he were blowing a horn, or shouting aloud, to put him to death. This is proof how greatly the people were infested by such outlaws. But as soon as the state of public affairs afforded employment for mercenaries, these men were glad to exchange their appellation and better their quarters,.. especially as they were to pursue a similar course of life under the sanction and protection of the great, and to receive pay for it.

* "*Fures appellamus societatem septem hominum; e septem usque ad* xxxv *turmam, et deinde esto exercitus.*" This is in one of Ina's laws.—*Canciani,* t. iv. 237.

† By a law of Wihtræd's which was repeated by Ina.—*Canciani,* t. iv. 234. 337.

MONTESINOS.

These robbers, however, were men who, like Robin Hood and his companions, might have made out a strong case in exculpation of themselves. At first they were, beyond a doubt, those Britons who, amid the ruin and misery which was brought upon them by the Saxon conquest, found consolation in the exercise of vengeance, and instead of retiring with their countrymen to the mountainous parts of the island, remained in their own country, and trusted to the cover of the woods and marshes. When that race was extinct, runaway slaves supplied their place. The Norman invasion reduced many of the Saxons to this condition; and under the Norman kings the forest laws made outlaws, just as in these days, the fashion of preserving game for what, upon the scale which it is carried on, deserves rather to be called butchery than sport, makes poachers. Similar causes operated upon the continent, though not to an equal extent: political revolutions, and the intolerable oppression and injustice which they produced, made men desperate; and then they turned upon society as much for self-preservation as for vengeance. We know of only one country which was acquired by occupancy, not by conquest: with

respect to soil, climate, and every physical circumstance, it might be considered as the most unhappy part of the whole habitable world; but looking at its history, and the moral condition of its inhabitants, it is that spot upon the earth which may be regarded with most pleasure.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

See how men are the creatures of circumstances! The Norwegians, who settled upon Iceland, were neither more advanced in knowledge, nor under the influence of better principles, than their countrymen and contemporaries: and had they sought their fortune in Ireland, Scotland, or the smaller British isles, their posterity would not have been what certainly they were, always the most peaceful, and, during the darkest ages, the most intellectual of all Christian people. But let us return to the continent from whence they came. It was cleared for one generation of its most restless spirits by William the Conqueror, who gathered them together first for winning, and afterwards for securing his kingdom. In the days of his nephew, Stephen, the mercenaries were chiefly drawn from the same countries which supplied the adventurous part of William's armies.

MONTESINOS.

They were drawn partly from those who could no longer carry on the trade of piracy, which, having so long been a royal occupation, was about this time put down; and partly, perhaps, they came from the manufacturing population which was then springing up in Brabant and Flanders. I have said that these mercenaries were regarded with horror for their cruelties:..yet war was never carried on with so little bloodshed and so little ferocity as by men of the same description in Italy.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

In Italy they formed the best, and generally the largest part of the forces which were brought into the field during the ages to which you refer. And having the trade of war, for a trade they made it, in their own hands, they adapted its regulations to their own convenience. I saw the termination of that system. The French and Spaniards and Germans were not accustomed to consider war as a game at chess; their struggle in Italy was carried on upon a widely different scale, and with a widely different feeling. And even if their interference, which has proved in its consequences so fatally injurious to Italy, had not taken place, the use of fire-arms must soon have put an end to that

sort of conventional fighting, which rendered a battle little more dangerous than a tournament. But there was another effect arising from the introduction of gunpowder in war, which, if Roger Bacon had perceived it, might have reconciled him to the discovery. It rendered the lot of war equal; for during the chivalrous ages that dreadful occupation was carried on upon terms of tremendous disparity for the chiefs and for their followers: the one were cased in compleat steel* from head to foot; the others provided only with a corselet and a headpiece, which could afford little defence against the spear of the knight, his battle axe, his mace, or the huge sword which he wielded with both hands.

MONTESINOS.

This levelling property was grievously complained of by those whom it affected. Bayard, humane and generous as he was, and every way worthy of the high place which he holds in

* *Bien mal-aisez estoient a tuer* is the memorable expression of Philippe de Comines concerning certain knights who lay helplessly on the ground while the peasants hewed away at their armour with hatchets. It may remind the reader, by contrast, of the Irish soldier's exultant exclamation, when he was using the bayonet in action for the first time—"Captain, it goes into them quite *aisy*!"

general estimation, never gave quarter to a harquebussier. Yet proof enough may be found in his memoirs, (without looking farther,) that the sense of honour is more generally felt in modern armies than it was in the high days of chivalry, when knights and men-at-arms shrunk from services of imminent danger, to which the foot soldiers were exposed with as little remorse as the Spahis among the Turks, whom the Janizaries in old times drove before them "to fill* up the ditches of towns besieged, or to serve them for ladders to climb over the enemies' walls upon." History, indeed, and old romance, in which the sure history of feelings and opinions, as well as of manners, is to be sought, show plainly how little effect chivalry† produced in softening and humanizing the characters of those by whom it was professed. If gunpowder did away with the "pomp and circumstance of glorious war," it called forth qualities for which the warfare of the middle ages allowed no scope. When this new agent of destruction was brought into full action, minds

* Knolles. Brief Discourse of the Greatness of the Turkish Empire.

† Upon this subject more may be found in a paper upon the Memoirs of Bayard, Quarterly Review, vol. xxxii.

that could plan, became not less necessary for ensuring success, than hands that could execute; science, and foresight, and combination, were required; and, as the greatest benefit of all, the participation of danger induced a common feeling between officers and men, which had not before existed either in the same degree or kind, and a sense of honour and duty was diffused, which has made the military character in public estimation what it is and ought to be.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The religious wars, amid all their horrors and atrocities, produced some beneficial effect upon the persons engaged in them. However mistaken the parties may have been on one side, or on both, there was in both a religious principle, a sense of moral duty, a strong persuasion of right, very different from what existed in the feuds and factious struggles of the preceding ages. In Holland, for example, how differently must men have felt who were fighting on one side for their images and altars, on the other for liberty of conscience and the dearest interests of man, from those who were laying the country waste, and squandering their own lives in the disputes between the Kabeljauwse and the Hoekse! And it was the same every where. As for the great majority of the

persons thus engaged, perhaps they took part in a religious war as they would have done in any other, because they found their advantage in so doing; but the better spirits were purified and exalted.

MONTESINOS.

Exalted, perhaps, always,..but not always purified; for those wars, even in England, where they were carried on with least ferocity, and most principle, on both sides, left men worse both in principle and in practice, than they found them. The bad passions, which the struggle generated or fostered, survived the honest feelings by which they were originally put in action; and that which was begun for conscience sake, was continued at last for motives of the veryest cupidity and worldly ambition.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Never let man imagine that he can pursue a good end by evil means, without sinning against his own soul! Any other issue is doubtful; the evil effect upon himself is certain.

MONTESINOS.

In those wars, however, the first example was given which the modern world had seen of religious discipline. It was introduced into the Prince of Parma's army by the Jesuits, than

whom no men have better understood how to work upon the human mind: they enforced order and temperance, as well as ceremonious piety... humanity they did not think proper to inculcate in a war against heretics. That virtue was carefully required from his men by the great Gustavus, who would not have been so consummate a commander, unless he had been so good and pious a man. No army has ever equalled his in its moral constitution; therefore, none has ever surpassed it in military worth. He was followed in the general character of his discipline, as far as circumstances permitted, by Cromwell. There was more fanaticism among Oliver's men, and less polity, for so that organization may be called which made the Swedish camp as orderly as the best regulated city: but this was not required in England, where it was not necessary to keep the field as in an enemy's country.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

It is not difficult to introduce such discipline, if the commander has a true sense of its importance; for in soldiers and sailors the habit of obedience is already formed by their profession, and the profession is not more likely to render them desperately flagitious under wicked leaders, than it is to call forth the natural piety of

man when that characteristic instinct is strengthened by precept and encouraged by example. But for the leader of an army to entertain such views requires a considerate heart as well as a capacious mind; nor is the work, when effected, one that will maintain itself. In the moral, even more than in the military discipline of an army,* relaxation easily undoes all,..as a neglected garden is presently overrun with weeds. Religious armies, therefore, are to be looked for only when they are raised among a religious people.

MONTESINOS.

And among a religious people armies would not be needed.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Nay, my friend, are we not at this time talking of religious wars,..wars of which religion, so called, was the professed object, and in some of them the real and sole cause? But let us return to that subject from which the mention of these wars has caused us to diverge. The full effect of artillery had hardly been felt till

* *Non est exercitus ex eo genere machinarum, quas multiplici rotarum serie mobiles si mane temperaveris, nullo per reliquum diem moderante, ipsæ se ordinate circumagunt, æquâ horarum partitione ac pulsu: Solarium est, quod nisi sol adsit, ac perpetuo præsens umbras dirigat, nulli est usui.*—Strada. dec. ii. l. x.

the great struggle of religious principles was over. Greater means, as well as larger bodies of men, were brought into the field in the age which followed; and now, when this system of warfare has been carried to its utmost extent, a new power has been discovered, by which gunpowder itself will be superseded. Your Society for the Abolition of War is instituted just in the very age when war is about to become more destructive than in all former ages.

MONTESINOS.

Sir Thomas, I would fain believe that we have moral anticipations in this age, as our ancestors have had mechanical and chemical ones; ...that as Roger Bacon, and Ralph Babbard, and the Marquis of Worcester, had what Fuller would have called a Pisgah View of our scientific discoveries, so through the moral telescope we are looking into the horizon of futurity. I say nothing of the Society for the Abolition of War,.. (Heaven bless the mark!) it has not obtained sufficient notice even to be in disrepute. Nor can I build upon the extension of Christian principles, till I see more charity where there is most profession. But the novel powers, which, beyond all doubt, will be directed to the purposes of destruction, are so tremendous, and likely to be so efficient, that in their conse-

quences they may reasonably be expected to do more toward the prevention of war than any or all other causes. If, on the one hand, neither walls nor ramparts can withstand a continuous shower or rather stream of bullets impelled against them by steam, on the other, such modes of defence by the same agent are to be devised, that the open city may be rendered more secure from assailants than the strongest fortresses are at this time. Minds like that of Archimedes will now have means at command equal to their capacity, and to their desires. And men will not be induced by any motives to face such engines as may be brought into the field. This will first be felt in maritime war; in which there is reason to apprehend that a change as great, and not so gradual, as that which the introduction of cannon occasioned, will soon be brought about.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Do you regard the result with alarm?

MONTESINOS.

Not even with anxiety. The empire of the seas will be to be fought for; but the same qualities whereby we have won it in the old mode of warfare, will again win it for us in the new. Bring into battle what weapons you may, it is by the arm of flesh and the heart of proof

that the victory must be decided. I fear nothing for England from foreign enemies! There is, however, an end to naval war, if it be made apparent that whenever two ships engage, one, if not both, must inevitably be destroyed. And this is within the reach of our present science. The chemist and mechanist will succeed where moralists and divines have failed.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Observe in this instance, how, in the order of Providence, all things have their due time appointed. You have been threatened with an invasion of gun-boats, and...(alarmed, shall I say, or amused?..) with tales of rafts* that were to work their way by wheels from the ports of France; and of balloons that, by means of condensed gas, were to transport armies across the Channel through the air. But if steam-navigation had been brought to its present state only

* Representations of these were common in the print-shops some three or four and twenty years ago. The balloon scheme also was gravely discussed in newspapers. Beaumont and Fletcher, in the Night Walker, allude to reports of the same kind, which were current in their days:—

"A dainty book!—a book of the great navy,
Of fifteen hundred ships of cannon-proof,
Built upon whales, to keep their keels from sinking,
And dragons in 'em that spit fire ten miles,
And elephants that carry goodly castles."

half a generation sooner, or even half that term, the conquest of England would have been attempted as well as designed, and the battle must have been fought on your own shores.

MONTESINOS.

Truly, indeed, may this nation say that God has been merciful to us, and turned from us those evils which we most righteously have deserved!

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Think you, then, that this is felt and acknowledged as it ought to be?

MONTESINOS.

In thankful and thoughtful hearts assuredly it is; but how few are they!

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Few, because of the constitution of human nature, men being never thankful enough to the Disposer of all things for the great benefits received at his hands; and because even for those better dispositions in which natural piety prevails, there are, owing to the constitution of society, more hindrances than helps in its way. Few, therefore, as these necessarily are, can you discern in the moral and intellectual state of the world, or in its political aspects, any thing to encourage that hope for the possible extinction of war, which you deduce from the

increased means of destruction wherewith it may now be carried on?

MONTESINOS.

May I not look to the prophecies, and say, with an old* divine, that Faith accepts God's bond, and Patience waits for payment?

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Individuals have not long to wait. "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you!" But for communities!..when will they be in a condition to claim the bond? It is certain that all the evils in society arise from want of faith in God, and of obedience to his laws; and it is not less certain, that by the prevalence of a lively and efficient belief, they would all be cured. If Christians in any country, yea, if any collected body of them, were what they might, and ought, and are commanded to be, the universal reception of the Gospel would follow as a natural, and a *promised*† result. And in a world of Christians, the extinction of physical evil might be looked for, if moral evil,..that is, in Christian language, sin,..were removed.

MONTESINOS.

I believe so.

* Dr. Manton. † John, xvii. 20, 21.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

"This is the rest wherewith ye may cause the weary to rest; and this is the* refreshing." But see you any thing in the actual state of the world, or of your own country, that points to this? See you any thing that tends to a pacific system, except the singular cause to which you have adverted?

MONTESINOS.

Little indeed as yet,..and yet something;.. for it is something to see in the counsels of this kingdom a plain, upright, unimpeachable system of policy towards other countries, proclaimed and pursued, in the consciousness of honour and rectitude, and strength. There is hope for the world as well as for ourselves, when a nation, which is second to no other in resources and in renown, sees clearly that it needs no aggrandizement, abstains from all aggression, and disclaims any ambition, that alone excepted of maintaining the station to which its own exertions, and the blessing of God, have raised it.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

But other nations will seek to detrude it from that station. Before you can hope for lasting peace, the systems of dominion upon the con-

* Isaiah, xxviii. 12.

tinent must be better developed than they yet are, or seem likely to be.

MONTESINOS.

Too large a part even of those countries which are comprized in the same political system with England, and by the revolutions of which our own state must unavoidably be affected, may remind us of the *pantanaes* or flood-lands of Australia, that younger portion of the earth, (as it should seem,) where the waters have not yet had time to form channels for themselves, and shape their course. We are happily circumscribed by our seas. The Scandinavian kingdoms have, in like manner, an advantage of position which renders them little likely to suffer molestation, and less to offer it. Spain has a similar advantage from nature; there would be nothing which could disturb the peace of Europe to be apprehended from that quarter, if it were left to itself, or interfered with no farther than to preserve an excellent people from the miserable anarchy with which they are threatened in a struggle between the worst of governments, and a party which might deserve to be called the worst of factions, if being absolutely bad, it were not opposed to the only party that could be relatively worse. Such an interference would be just and merciful...

SIR THOMAS MORE.

—If it stopt there, and had no other end in view than the prevention or mitigation of the evils which rendered it so. Look now at the more complicated parts of the European system, which in my days began to adjust itself, and is far from having recovered the dislocation which it has received in yours.

MONTESINOS.

France, which ought to be satisfied with its own power and extent of territory, will not, till a better principle prevail there than has ever yet predominated in its councils. In Germany there are jealousies which only slumber; and there is a more dangerous struggle of opinions, between governments which grant too little, and enthusiasts who demand too much. The inferior states are ill-compacted, and their weakness holds out a temptation to their ambitious neighbours. Italy is in a worse condition; a condition disgraceful to itself and reproachful to all its rulers. It suffers under the double curse of foreign dominion and of its own fatal superstition; the pestilent influence of that Upas extends far and wide,.. but Italy lies under the droppings of the poison tree.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

What hope is there that all which is amiss in

those countries should quietly be rectified,.. that discordant sentiments and jarring interests should, like the suspended elements of floating chaos, gradually adjust themselves, find peaceably their respective levels, and settle each in its proper place? Even in natural developements, like that to which you have alluded as being yet incomplete in the flooded savannahs of Australia, ages elapse, and changes slow in cause, but both sudden and violent in effect, are wrought, before the river works out its way, and shapes for itself the channel wherein

Labitur et labetur in omne volubilis ævum.

If it be thus where the constant and unerring laws of nature act upon passive and obedient matter, what is to be expected from the operation of human passions, under no other controul than that of moral laws, in which many are ignorant, and many more are mistaught,.. which are disregarded by some, despised by others,.. and which all, who are daring enough to incur the responsibility of disobedience, are, fatally for themselves, free to disobey? To what then can you look for the preservation of peace, or for a mitigation of war? Not to the increased means of destruction, which the improvements in chemistry and in mechanics have put into your hands; for till the balance of states and of

opinions be adjusted, these can only arm the strong with more effectual power against the weak. Not to the Holy Alliance, which, good as its intent may be, depends less upon any definite principles, or distinct perception of the general good, than upon the disposition of the individual sovereigns among whom it has been formed, and consequently is as precarious as their lives, or as the influence of the advisers by whom they may be governed. Will you look for it then in an approximation of feeling among those whom opinions have divided?

MONTESINOS.

Alas, every day widens those divisions, brings into collision irreconcilable interests, and exasperates the old and angry feelings, which for awhile time seemed to have allayed. What security can there be when "he that hath right fears, he that hath wrong hopes?"

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Is the prospect more comfortable if you look to the increased influence which public opinion is acquiring every day?

MONTESINOS.

Hodie omnia vulgi judicio stantque, caduntque.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Proceed as you are proceeding in this coun-

try, and the affairs of government will ere long be regulated by that opinion,..as the weather-cock is by the wind. "If a man walk with the wind and lie falsely, he shall even be the prophet of this* people!"

MONTESINOS.

This at least is no new evil.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

But the supremacy of popular opinion is;..and it is the worst evil with which, in the present state of the world, civilized society is threatened.

MONTESINOS.

You teach me to look forward fearfully, as if a whirlwind were approaching, in the vortex of which we were soon to be involved!

SIR THOMAS MORE.

I would warn you in time, that so the whirlwind may not overtake you when you are gaily pressing forward with all sails set! I would teach you, that in the progress of society, every stage has its own evils and besetting dangers, the only remedy for which is, that which is least regarded by all states, except by those in which it is least understood. See in how many things the parallel between this age and mine holds good; and how, in every instance, dan-

* Micah, ii. 11.

gers the same in kind, but greater in degree, are awaiting yours! The art of war, which underwent its great alteration when the shield and lance were superseded by the firelock, and armour was rendered useless by artillery, is about to undergo a change not less momentous, with the same sure consequence of giving to ambition more formidable means. The invention of printing, which is to the moral world more than gunpowder or steam to the material, as it began in my days, so in yours its full effects are first beginning to unfold, when the press which, down to the last generation, wrought only for a small part of the community, is employed with restless activity for all classes, disseminating good and evil with a rapidity and effect inconceivable in former ages, as it would have been impossible. Look, too, at manufactures; great efforts were made to encourage them then,..the Protector Seymour, (one of those politic reformers who fished in troubled waters, and fell at last into the stream,) introduced a colony of clothiers from what was then the very land of sedition, and converted the most venerable edifice in this whole island to their use. You have now, what it was then thought so desirable to obtain,..a manufacturing population,..and it is not found so easy to

regulate as it has been to raise it. The peasantry were in my time first sensible of distress brought upon them by political causes; their condition was worsened by the changes which were taking place in society; a similar effect is now more widely, and more pressingly felt. In those days, the dikes and boundaries of social order began to give way, and the poor, who till then had been safely left to the care of local and private charity, were first felt as a national evil;..that evil has increased till it has now become a national danger. A new world was then discovered,..for the punishment of its native inhabitants, the measure of whose iniquities was full; the colonies which have been established there are now in a condition seriously to affect the relations of the parent states, and America is reacting upon Europe. That was an age of religious, this of political revolutions;..that age saw the establishment of the Jesuits, this has seen their revival.

MONTESINOS.

Well indeed will it be if the religious struggle be not renewed, not with a more exasperated spirit, for that is impossible, but with a sense of deadlier danger on both sides. If the flames, which ravaged Europe in those days, are not kindled again in ours, it will not be for want of foxes and fire-brands.

COLLOQUY IX.

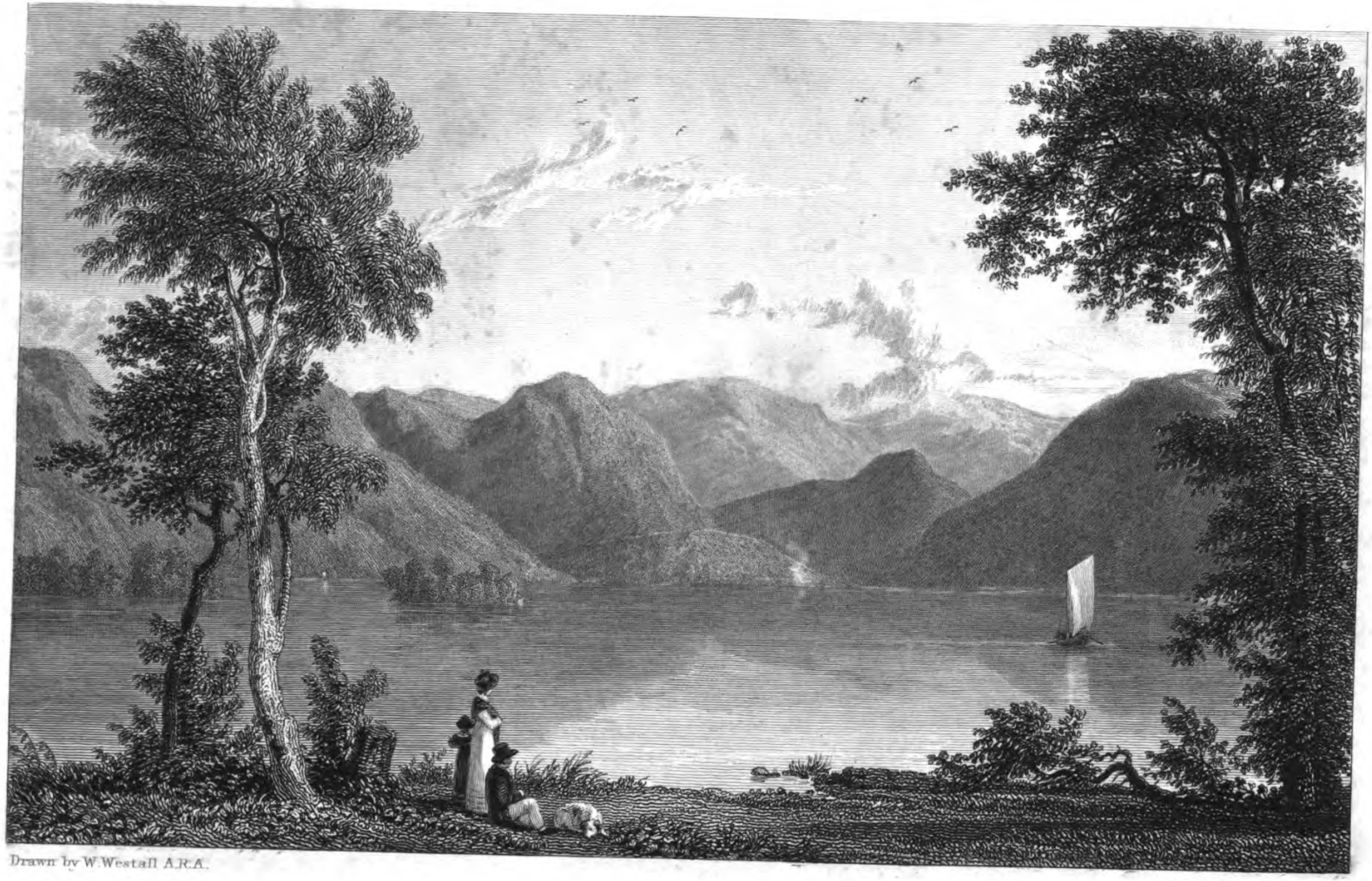
DERWENTWATER—CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION—IRELAND.

A TALL, raw-boned, hard-featured North-Briton said one day to one of our Keswick guides, at a moment when I happened to be passing by, "Well, I have been to look at your lake; it's a poor piece of water with some shabby mountains round about it." He had seen it in a cold, dark, chearless autumnal afternoon, to as great a disadvantage as I suppose, from the stamp of his visage and the tone and temper of his voice, he would have wished to see it, for it was plain that he carried no sunshine in himself wherewith to light it up. I have visited the Scotch lakes in a kindlier disposition; and the remembrance of them will ever be cherished among my most delightful reminiscences of natural scenery. I have seen also the finest of the Alpine lakes; and felt on my return from both countries, that if Derwentwater has neither the severe grandeur of the Highland waters, nor

the luxuriance and sublimity, and glory of the Swiss and Italian, it has enough to fill the imagination and to satisfy the heart.

The best general view of Derwentwater is from the terrace, between Applethwaite and Milbeck, a little beyond the former hamlet. The old roofs and chimnies of that hamlet come finely in the foreground, and the trees upon the Ormathwaite estate give there a richness to the middle ground, which is wanting in other parts of the vale. From that spot, I once saw three artists sketching it at the same time; William Westall (who has engraved it among his admirable views of Keswick,) Glover, and Edward Nash, my dear, kind-hearted friend and fellow-traveller, whose death has darkened some of the blithest recollections of my latter life. I know not from which of the surrounding heights it is seen to most advantage; any one will amply repay the labour of the ascent; and often as I have ascended them all, it has never been without a fresh delight. The best near view is from the field adjoining Friar's Crag. There it is, that if I had Aladdin's lamp, or Fortunatus's purse,..(with leave of Greenwich Hospital be it spoken,) I would build myself a house.

Thither I had strolled on one of those first



Drawn by W. Westall A.R.A.

Engraved by E. Goodall.

genial days of spring which seem to affect the animal, not less than the vegetable creation. At such times, even I, sedentary as I am, feel a craving for the open air and sunshine, and creep out as instinctively as snails after a shower. Such seasons, which have an exhilarating effect upon youth, produce a soothing one when we are advanced in life. The root of an ash tree, on the bank which bends round the little bay, had been half bared by the waters during one of the winter floods, and afforded a commodious resting place, whereon I took my seat, at once basking in the sun, and bathing as it were in the vernal breeze. But delightful as all about me was to eye, and ear, and feeling, it brought with it a natural reflection, .. that the scene which I now beheld was the same which it had been and would continue to be, while so many of those, with whom I had formerly enjoyed it, were past away. Our day dreams become retrospective as we advance in years, and the heart feeds as naturally upon remembrance in age, as upon hope in youth.

Where are they gone, the old familiar faces?*

I thought of her whom I had so often seen plying her little skiff upon that glassy water, .. the

* Charles Lamb.

Lady of the Lake. It was like a poet's dream, or a vision of romance, to behold her,..and like a vision or a dream she had departed!

> O gentle Emma, o'er a lovelier form
> Than thine, earth never closed; nor e'er did Heaven
> Receive a purer spirit from the world!

I thought of D. the most familiar of my friends during those years when we lived near enough to each other for familiar intercourse;.. my friend, and the friend of all who were dearest to me;..a man of whom all who knew him will concur with me in saying, that they never knew nor could conceive of one more strictly dutiful, more actively benevolent, more truly kind, more thoroughly good;..the pleasantest companion, the sincerest counsellor, the most considerate friend, the kindest host, the welcomest guest. After our separation, he had visited me here three summers: with him it was that I had first explored this Land of Lakes in all directions; and again and again should we have retraced our steps in the wildest recesses of these vales and mountains, and lived over the past again, if he had not, too early for all who loved him...

> Began the travel of eternity.

I called to mind my hopeful H——, too, so often the sweet companion of my morning walks to this very spot; .. in whom I had fondly thought my better part should have survived me, and

" With whom, it seemed, my very life
Went half away!

But we shall meet, .. but we shall meet
Where parting tears shall never flow;
And when I think thereon, almost
I long to go!"*

" Thy dead shall live," O Lord! " together with my dead body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust! for Thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead!"†

Surely to the sincere believer death would be an object of desire instead of dread, were it not for those ties, .. those heart-strings ... by which we are attached to life. Nor indeed do I believe that it is natural to fear death, however generally it may be thought so. From my own feelings I have little right to judge; for, although

* These lines are quoted from a little volume, entitled Solitary Hours, which, with the " Widow's Tale," &c. of the same authoress, I recommend to all admirers of that poetry that proceeds from the heart.

† Isaiah, xxvi. 19.

habitually mindful that the hour cometh, and even now may be, it has never appeared actually near enough to make me duly apprehend its effect upon myself. But from what I have observed, and what I have heard those persons say whose professions lead them to the dying, I am induced to infer that the fear of death is not common, and that where it exists, it proceeds rather from a diseased or enfeebled mind, than from any principle in our nature. Certain it is that among the poor, the approach of dissolution is usually regarded with a quiet and natural composure which it is consolatory to contemplate, and which is as far removed from the dead palsy of unbelief, as it is from the delirious raptures of fanaticism. Theirs is a true unhesitating faith; and they are willing to lay down the burthen of a weary life in the sure and certain hope of a blessed immortality. Who indeed is there that would not gladly make the exchange, if he lived only for himself, and were to leave none who stood in need of him, no eyes to weep at his departure, no hearts to ache for his loss? The day of death, says the Preacher, is better than the day of one's birth,.. a sentence to which who ever has lived long, and may humbly hope that he has not lived ill, must heartily assent. The excellent Henry Scougal

used to say that, " abstracted from the will of God, mere curiosity would make him long for another world." How many of the ancients committed suicide from the mere weariness of life, a conviction of the vanity of human enjoyments, or to avoid the infirmities of old age! This, too, in utter uncertainty concerning a future state; not with the hope of change, for in their prospect there was no hope; but for the desire of death.

Into this train of musing I had fallen, (for we suffer ourselves willingly to be drawn away from recollections that touch the heart where it has been wounded,) when my spiritual friend approached and stood beside me. Oh, said I, that the passage from one world to another were as practicable for me as it is for you! Were there a way, such as John Bunyan saw in his delightful dream, more pilgrims would set out on the journey than ever, in the ages when pilgrimages were most frequent, travelled to Compostella or Jerusalem. Sure I am that I should have begun my progress staff in hand, as soon as I was able to carry a wallet.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

In that case I suppose you would stop by the way to throw a stone or two at poor old Giant Pope, as you past his den.

MONTESINOS.

Nay, if he were lying still in his den, he might lie undisturbed by me. But when he rouses himself like a giant refreshed with wine, and endeavours again to obtain footing in a country from which he was with such great difficulty expelled, then indeed it is time for every one to provide himself with stones who knows how to use a sling. But, applying that happiest and most popular of all allegorical tales (whether in prose or rhyme) to my own wayfare, my pilgrimage has thus far been happily accomplished. I have climbed the Hill of Difficulty. I made no tarriance at Vanity Fair. I have escaped from Doubting Castle; and here I am, literally as well as allegorically, among the Delectable Mountains.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

And though you have not engaged in a single combat with Apollyon, you have used him almost as scurvily as he was treated by Martin Luther himself.

MONTESINOS.

I confess to having made free with his tail and his hoofs and his horns. The vulgar demonology of the monks kept its ground among us, when they and their demi-gods were sent packing; and it has done far more harm than can

possibly arise from the attempts at representing the Deity, gross and reprehensible as they are, which are still so common in Roman-Catholic countries. What my opinion is concerning the existence, and what speculations I have sometimes entertained concerning the agency of spirits, good or evil, was stated to you in our first conversation, when I little suspected with whom I was conversing. In treating the monkish devil as a mere mythological personage, I have done no disservice to religion. I had once an intention of displaying that whole system of fable in some poems: your friend Erasmus would have been pleased with the design, I think; and, had we been contemporaries, would have encouraged me to execute it, supposing it could have been done with safety.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Had you lived in his days, I know no person who would have savoured more strongly of the frying-pan, as that beast Bishop Nix used to say, than yourself.

MONTESINOS.

That must have depended upon circumstances. Had it been my fortune to have associated with Bilney, or Tindal and Frith, I might have partaken their zeal and their fate. On the

other hand, had I been acquainted with you and Cuthbert Tonstal, it is not less likely that I should have received the stamp of your opinions. Even the mere difference of age might have decided whether I should have died at the stake to promote the Reformation, or have exerted myself as you did in opposing it. You yourself, had you been twenty years younger, would have been a reformer. In youth we are for pressing forward toward some distant benefit, which is imaginary, and perhaps unattainable: years bring with them experience and warning, and as we advance in life the apprehension of evil becomes stronger than the hope of good. The Reformation brought with it so much evil and so much good,.. such monstrous corruptions existed on the one part, and such perilous consequences were certainly foreseen on the other,.. that I do not wonder at the fiery intolerance which was displayed on both sides.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

It were a vain speculation to inquire whether the benefits might have been attained without the evils of that long and dreadful process. Such an assumption would be absurd, even as the subject of a political romance. For if men were in a state of morals and knowledge which made them capable of conducting such a revo-

lution unerringly, they would attempt no alteration, because it would be palpable that none was needed. Convulsions of this kind are the consequence and the punishment of our errors and our vices: it is seldom that they prove the remedy for them. The very qualities which enable men to acquire power in distempered times render them, for the most part, unfit to be trusted with it. The work which requires a calm, thoughtful and virtuous spirit, can never be performed by the crafty, the turbulent and the audacious.

MONTESINOS.

The result of our Reformation is of such transcendant good, that it has been well purchased. We have gained by it a scriptural religion; a system of belief which bears inquiry; and an ecclesiastical establishment, which is not merely in all respects consistent with the general good, but eminently and essentially conducive to it.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The present good is certain: but the end of a process must be seen before an opinion can be pronounced upon its result. The Reformation is not yet three hundred years old: and you will allow that it is in no very hopeful way in the country where it originated. Look at it

throughout Protestant Germany; you will find it starved by the state, betrayed by its own ministers, and losing ground every day to the old religion on one hand, and the new irreligion on the other.

MONTESINOS.

Thank God! there is no disposition in the British government to starve it, nor is it likely here to be betrayed by those who are engaged in its service.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

You admit then the other danger?

MONTESINOS.

Not perhaps from either cause singly; but both have certainly their weight as parts of that Unholy Alliance which is formed against the Establishment.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Three centuries have not elapsed since that Establishment was settled upon its present basis: an Establishment positively good, and comparatively excellent; if not the best that might be conceived, incomparably the best that the world has ever yet seen: and one of its advantages is, that it is capable of admitting without danger or inconvenience all the improvement which it requires. Yet during the short time of its existence (for short the time is in the

history of human institutions) it has been subverted once, and was preserved from a second overthrow only by a political revolution, which has shaken the foundation of civil obedience. You must not wonder then if we, who foresaw this tendency in part, withstood to the utmost of our power so perilous a change.

MONTESINOS.

I have never confounded such men as yourself and Tonstal with Gardiner, Bonner, and the pack of hell-hounds whom they hallooed to the chase.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Bonner was a monster of barbarity; Stephen Gardiner a time-serving politician, with a hard head and a harder heart. Some of the rest were as you describe them, dogs of the Devil's own pack. For myself, and those who acted upon views and feelings which accorded with mine, our acts of persecution are, like Cranmer's, not less to be pitied than condemned. Both are incapable of defence, but the same considerations which must be allowed to explain his conduct, will in some degree extenuate ours. We clearly discerned the consequences of those perilous errors, political as well as religious, which, springing up with the Reformation, accompanied its course, disgraced its

progress, prevented its universal extension, impeded its beneficial effects, aggravated its evils, and at length drew upon this poor country the guilt and the miseries of rebellion and revolution. Think you that the venom has spent itself, or is worn out? Graves when they have been opened have let abroad the infection which for generations they had covered. This plague has not been buried. It is still quick and stirring; and well will it be if the present age should not see its ravages recommenced.

MONTESINOS.

There is certainly at this time a more formidable combination acting against the church, than has ever in any former age assailed it. But as certainly the church has never been so well prepared for withstanding it, though I do not mean to assert that she has any such champions to stand forth in her defence as Jewel, or Laud, or Barrow, or South, who had the strongest arm that ever wielded a sledge hammer in this kind of warfare.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Montesinos, it was not a sledge hammer that he wielded! His weapon was a sword of finer materials, truer temper and more exquisite workmanship, than was ever forged on Vulcan's anvil by the Cyclops, by Dwarfs in their sub-

terranean abodes, or by Enchanter or Fairy in romance.

MONTESINOS.

It was not in the Limbo, Sir Thomas, that you found South's Sermons. Have you then libraries in that world of yours, which is as it were the suburbs of the New Jerusalem,..the vestibule of Heaven? Or are you sometimes busier in our terrestrial collections, than their owners, and those who ought to make use of them? Were I to go into my study at midnight, should I find books on the table, laid there by invisible hands to be perused by invisible eyes, which supply their own light? Or can you see into a volume without opening its pages, as you can enter the room when the doors and windows are shut?...Oh that provoking smile,.. and that tantalizing silence! These are not secrets of the prison-house into which I would pry!

SIR THOMAS MORE.

But palaces as well as prisons have their secrets: and were it otherwise, should I not rather in tenderness keep silence, than destroy the pleasant fancy you are ready to entertain, that when you come into the next world you will find there an edition of your own works printed at the Paradise Press?

MONTESINOS.

Tell me that I shall find the lost histories of antiquity there; and the concluding books of the Faery Queen!

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Let what you know suffice, and deduce from it what inferences may amuse you best. You will find the poet himself, and as many of the historians as are not in a worse place. But not a few of the latter class have followed the allotment of those whose achievements they recorded; for the guilt of eulogizing or apologizing for wicked actions, is second only to that of committing them... But to the matter of our discourse. Who are the parties that compose this combination against the Establishment, and what are their views?

MONTESINOS.

It is composed of parties and sects who have no other bond of union than the common desire of overthrowing what they all hate worse than they hate each other. Their mutual hatred is qualified by mutual contempt; but their enmity to the Church is embittered in some by a sense of reluctant respect, and by envy in all. If we regard those whose hostility is open and avowed, we shall find three distinct parties, the

Dissenters, the Roman-Catholics, and the Unbelievers.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Is it possible that your laws should suffer the Unbelievers to subsist as a party?

vetitum est adeo sceleri nihil?

MONTESINOS.

They avow themselves in defiance of the laws. The fashionable doctrine which the press at this time maintains is, that this is a matter in which the laws ought not to interfere, every man having a right both to form what opinion he pleases upon religious subjects, and to promulgate that opinion. This party is the most daring of the three. It would be difficult to say which is the most active, or the most inveterate. The Roman-Catholics aim at supplanting the Establishment; they expect to do this presently in Ireland, and trust ultimately to succeed in this country also, a consummation for which they look with as much confidence, and as little reason, as the Jews for their Messiah. No branch of the Dissenters can hope to stand in place of the Church, but all desire to pull it down, for the sake of gratifying an inherited hatred, and getting each what it can in the scramble. The Infidels look for nothing less than the extirpation of Christianity. And,

widely opposite as their views are, the two latter parties know they are labouring for the promotion of their own designs when they exert all their endeavours to bring about what is falsely called Catholic Emancipation.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Therapeutics were in a miserable state as long as practitioners proceeded upon the gratuitous theory of elementary complections; and in my days, as among the ancients, natural philosophy was no better, being a mere farrago of romance, founded upon idle tales, or fanciful conjectures, not upon observation and experiment. The science of politics is just now in the same stage: it has been erected by shallow sophists upon abstract rights and imaginary compacts, without the slightest reference to habits and history; but in ignorance of the one, and contempt of the other.

MONTESINOS.

And when men begin to practise confidently upon a false hypothesis, whether it be upon the natural system, or the body politic, we know what perilous consequences are to be apprehended. Our present danger is not so much from these parties, singly or united, active and intriguing as they are, as it is from men who, with the best intentions, and the sincerest

attachment to the constitution, as indivisibly consisting of church and state, act nevertheless upon this question, as if they disregarded all the lessons of history. They believe that the spirit of the Roman-Catholic religion is changed, because the Roman-Catholics tell them so.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Which you do not believe.

MONTESINOS.

No, by St. Bartholomew, and Dr. Lingard! No, by St. Dominic, and Dr. Doyle! No, by the Holy Office! By the Irish Massacre, and the Dragonades of Louis XIV! By their Saints, and by our Martyrs! Persecution is so plainly a duty upon the Roman-Catholic system, that the live bonfires of the Inquisition were called *Acts of Faith.**

SIR THOMAS MORE.

You then are not one of those persons who think that the age of persecution is gone by?

MONTESINOS.

Sir Thomas, you well know there are certain

* *Autos-da-fe.* The populace may very probably have understood the word *Auto* in this combination as meaning a spectacle or show,.. for such it was made to them. I have conversed with persons who remembered when an *Auto-da-fe* was the greatest holyday in Lisbon, and they who lived where the execution could be seen made entertainments, and invited their friends to the sight!

principles which render persecution a religious duty; and so long as those principles exist, persecution is only suspended for want of the power to persecute. I know not any excess that is not at this day possible in Ireland. In Spain, nothing would make Ferdinand more popular with one part of his people than an auto-da-fe, and willing enough he would be to indulge them with such a holyday, if he were not in too much fear of the other. And in France, see what the temper of the clergy is, though so many causes have operated there to mitigate it! Look at the barbarous inhumanity which is displayed there upon the death of a heretic; . . and the scandalous scenes which more than once have occurred in Paris concerning the interment of an actor.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Surely you do not suppose that this temper is confined to the Catholics?

MONTESINOS.

Certainly not. When I see a Calvinist apologizing for the death of Servetus, I think it well for the Unitarians that the disciples of Calvin have not succeeded to his authority as well as to his disposition. These are men to whom Orinda's verses may be well applied:

Ye narrow souls, take heed,
Lest you restrain the mercy you will need!

And when I find them eulogizing as models of wisdom and piety, the saints of the great rebellion, who were the most pestilent firebrands that ever set a kingdom in flames, I cannot help inferring, that if opportunity were afforded, they would not be backward in imitating what they admire and applaud. "Misbelief," says the excellent* Jackson, "always includes a strong belief; but the stronger our belief, he proceeds to say, the more dangerous it is, if it be wrested or misplaced." But the principle of intolerance is not so essentially connected with any other form of belief as it is with the Romish system, nor is it where it exists so practical. The supremacy of the state is acknowledged by all reformed churches: on the contrary the Romish clergy exalt themselves above the state, and make the civil magistrate their executioner. They must persecute, if they believe their own creed, for conscience sake; and if they do not believe it, they must persecute for policy, because it is only by intolerance that so corrupt and injurious a system can be upheld. "Smite them for the love of charity!" was the hearty war-cry of the Bishop, Don Hieronymo, when,

* Vol. iii. p. 19.

in company with my Cid, he hewed among the Moors to the right and left, wielding his sword with both hands, till, as he lifted his arm, the blood ran from the sleeve of his mail to the elbow. "Burn them for the love of charity!" has been the substance of every sermon that ever was preached at a Roman-Catholic *Act of Faith*, where a sermon has always been part of the ceremony: . . so dreadful are the effects of a strong faith malignified.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

It was said of old that the Devil divides the world between atheism and superstition.

MONTESINOS.

France is at this time divided between them. The men, throughout the higher and half-educated classes, believe in Voltaire; the women, the whole of the lower class, and the court are as obedient to the priestly power, as Pope Hildebrand could have desired to see them, were he to be raised from the dead, and reassume his papal authority. There the two partitioning principles are opposed to each other, and the reign of sacerdotal intolerance cannot be re-established without a struggle of which the issue would be doubtful.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Do you apprehend then that a renewal of

religious persecution is likely, or possible, in any other part of Christendom?

MONTESINOS.

I know not what evils are impossible when I consider the credulity and the mutability, and the ignorance of mankind. There is, however, no immediate prospect of it. In Italy atheism and superstition compromise matters, and in Spain also they have come to the same sort of tacit understanding; persecution has done its work in both countries, and the fires have gone out, not for want of will to keep them up, but because the fuel has been all consumed: no antagonizing spirit of belief is left. They who are of Leo the Tenth's religion, and they who are of Ignatius Loyola's, share the temporal things of the church between them in brotherly concord, and the only heresy to be found is that which exists in political opinions. The unbelieving clergy are better than the ultra-believing in this respect, that if a religious heretic were to present himself, they would be very unwilling to gratify him in his desire for martyrdom.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

To what do you ascribe this reluctance?

MONTESINOS.

Mainly to natural humanity, manifesting

itself when not counteracted by any apparent interest, or strong persuasion: and in no slight part also to a sense of the obloquy which such things have brought upon the papal church, and to the secret and reluctant respect which is paid even in Rome itself to the opinion of protestant Europe: but this is felt more in Italy than in Spain, where the people live more in a world of their own, and where there are still friars who would exult in renewing their burnt offerings as of old. Superstition has struck deep roots in Belgium also, and in catholic Germany; but there too unbelief exists in alliance with it.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The difference is sufficiently observable, that in protestant countries infidelity declares itself, and forms its societies, if not its factions; whereas under a catholic establishment, it goes to mass, keeps a formal account with the confessor, takes its full sway in youth and middle age, and ends by applying to the priest for cordials and opiates at last.

MONTESINOS.

France offers the only exception to this at present, because infidelity was a fashion there before the Revolution, and has since formed for itself a faction. But if Jesuitism keep the

ground which it has gained in that country, the higher rank of unbelievers will soon be in league with it, in outward appearance, and in policy. There is a root of bigotry in the Bourbon race which may bring forth bitter fruits.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

One of the popes* called France the quiver from whence Christ would draw those chosen arrows which were to subdue the nations and kingdoms of the earth unto himself.

MONTESINOS.

This is a prediction of which the Jesuits have not failed to remind the Bourbon kings. The princes of that blood may be libertines in youth, but they are bigots by inheritance, and cannot become otherwise without a sacrifice of family feeling, which it would require no ordinary sense of duty and strength of conviction to overcome. They are brought up to worship their ancestor St. Louis, to admire the triumph of the Romish faith in the conversion of Henri IV., and to believe that Louis le Grand performed a religious duty when he revoked the edict of Nantes, and carried on a persecution more

* *Regnum Galliæ pharetra quam Christus circa femur sibi accinxit, ex quâ sagittas electas extrahens emittit in arcu brachii potentis, ut sibi gentes subjiciat et regna.*

P. Richeome quotes this from Pope Gregory IX.

odious in its nature, as well as more wicked in its commencement, than any of former times. But from the unhappy principles which are thus inculcated, there arises a sentiment of pride in supporting a system to which their family is, as it were, thus pledged; and where there is this feeling to combine with that ambitious policy which the kings of France must always entertain, till the wisdom which is not of this world shall prevail in the councils of princes, it may reasonably be apprehended that they will take the first opportunity of exciting and fomenting a religious rebellion in Ireland; .. a design in which the Court of Rome would co-operate with more sincerity, than actuated it in its transactions with James II.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

It is to prevent this design, and render it impracticable by tranquillizing Ireland, that the admission of the Roman-Catholics to political power is advised by some of your statesmen. Is it the wisdom of their advice, or the sincerity that you doubt?

MONTESINOS.

I deny the wisdom; and in the greater part of those by whom the advice is supported, I doubt the sincerity. The persons who are thus labouring to effect " that mischief which never

foreign enemy could bring to pass," may be classed and characterized in the words of Queen Elizabeth. There are " first the broachers and workers thereof, who are in the greatest fault; secondly, the speakers, who by eloquent tales persuaded others, are in the next degree; thirdly, the agreers, who were so light of belief, that the eloquence of the tales soon overcame them, and they gave more credit thereunto than unto their own wits."...There, Sir Thomas, was a sovereign, whom you were worthy to have served, and in serving whom you would have found your heart's content! As her chancellor, had you been born forty years later, your head would have lain easily on its pillow, and sat safely on its shoulders.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

And you, had you been her subject, would have celebrated her in pastoral and epic verse. Happily she had no want of statesmen, or of poets.

MONTESINOS.

It was the glorious age of both. Augustus himself had no such poet to sing his praises, as the one who said that Elizabeth should be

> A pattern to all princes living with her,
> And all that shall succeed.

There are four days which ought to be religiously observed in these kingdoms as national holydays, for thanksgiving and joy: that on which Magna Charta was obtained, Queen Elizabeth's accession, that of the Restoration of the Monarchy, and that on which the Prince of Orange landed at Torbay.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Those days indeed have rendered England what it is, in civil and religious and intellectual freedom. But what days would you appoint for the national holydays of Ireland?

MONTESINOS.

Alas, those are yet to come! But of the days that are past, there are two which should be marked with black in the Irish Kalendar,.. that on which the elective franchise was given to the Roman-Catholics, and that in which a Protestant Government gave its sanction and support to a seminary for the Romish Priesthood. I know not which was the insaner measure. The other evils with which that poor country has been so long afflicted, are not imputable to the English government, or at most only for its sufferance of them: but these are of its own creation.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Is sufferance then of this kind so light a fault,

and are acts of omission to be esteemed so venial?

MONTESINOS.

You reprehend me justly;.. but it is only the inconsiderate expression that has exposed a well-considered meaning to this reprehension. What I would say is that (these flagrant instances excepted) England has in its own history some excuse for the want of policy which has been so grievously shown in the government of Ireland.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The want of policy may be explained thus, and therefore, to a certain degree excused. The conquest of that island was a thing of accident and adventure, and as it had been gained, so it was long kept: what better could be expected during the miserable reigns of John Lackland, and his imbecil son? The ambitious and able prince who succeeded had objects of nearer interest to engage his chief attention, so the settlement and improvement of Ireland were left to the slow process of feudal subjugation. But herein the English did not succeed in Ireland as the Normans had done in England; because the present authority of a King was wanting, and because the people were not in the same grade of civilization with them-

selves; for which reason, the same intermixture, which had formed the Normans and the Saxons into one nation, could not take place. That union had not been effected here till after long struggles and grievous suffering, though there was unity of purpose here in a strong and remorseless conqueror, who was succeeded also by princes not inferior to him in decision and force of character. In Ireland, both the unity and the strength were wanting. Here, too, the institutions of the old inhabitants and of the invaders resembled each other sufficiently to be easily combined, and the languages, though widely different, were, in like manner, capable of combination. But in Ireland the people were of a different race; the languages so essentially unlike that no mixed speech could grow out of them; and the only thing in common between the native Irish and the settlers was their profession of a religion which had little or no influence upon the conduct of either.

MONTESINOS.

It resembled, therefore, in this respect, the Saxon rather than the Norman conquest of England, . . for in the former the inhabitants were not subdued and incorporated, but exterminated, or more accurately speaking, displaced.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Both the people and the country were wilder, and, therefore, less easily to be subdued. The Britons were a civilized race, weakened by habits of long subjection, as well as by recent circumstances, and left without a government when they were in no condition to form one for themselves; thus they were overcome by a people, barbarous indeed, but far advanced above the savage state, and whose system of society and habits of life were essentially war-like. The Baltic tribes, moreover, came not merely as invaders but as settlers;..they moved, like the Helvetians in Cæsar's time, not as armies but as nations, with their wives and families, and took possession of the country, there to increase and multiply, and replenish the land as well as to subdue it. The Britons, after a long and brave struggle, retreated to the mountains, and being separated by those natural boundaries from the Northmen who successively established themselves in the more fertile and less defensible parts of the island, they became more and more barbarous during a long course of civil dissensions, while their neighbours were consolidating their strength, and improving in all things,..till at length the broken and divided nation yielded to a conquest which brought

with it no evil and entailed no regret. The English settlement in Ireland was begun by a handful of adventurers, and the country was full of those fastnesses which are impediments in the way, not only of conquest but of civilization. The greater part of those adventurers intermarried with the native women, . . the mother tongue prevailed among their posterity to a greater extent than might have been expected, and the native character was imbibed, when the more civilized one should have been superinduced.

MONTESINOS.

*Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores** they were said to have become.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Yet, with all disadvantages of misgovernment, the English for three centuries went on steadily in the work of subduing the land, and settling the parts which they subdued. But when the House of York asserted by arms its claim to the crown, the wars which ensued, dreadful as they were to England, proved in their consequence far more injurious to Ireland. For the chief persons among the settlers gathered what force

* *How* Irish this was, Spenser tells us was expressed by an odd proverb concerning O'Hanlan, in which it appears what was considered the most Irish part of O'Hanlan himself.

they could and crost to England, there to support their party, and look to the protection of their English estates; and in thus withdrawing them York, who had done much good in Ireland by an able and beneficent administration, entailed upon it greater and lasting evils; for the unsubjected natives, who were at that time confined to the mountains, and there so straitened, that their condition is described by saying they lived only upon white meats, took the opportunity which was afforded them, and recovered the greater part of their country; their countrymen, who were settling into habits of better life, joined them, and relapsed at once into their old barbarity; and the lands, which were thus repossessed by the Irish, were presently reduced to a wilder state than that in which the English had found them. The York and Lancaster wars endured long enough for them to keep what they had thus gained, and to gather strength there. Henry VII., in the early part of his reign, neglected Ireland, expecting a more convenient season for setting its disturbed affairs in order; by this improvidence, he brought upon himself some troubles which might otherwise have been spared; for the Yorkites received Lambert Simnel there, crowned him in Dublin, and raised a force with

which they invaded England in his behalf. Other cares engrossed Henry in the latter part of his reign; till his time the state of England had been such,..always engaged in foreign wars or domestic troubles,..that no system of wise and prospective policy for Ireland could have been expected; but thus it happened that that ill-fated island derived no benefit from a reign which effected so much good for this, and prepared so much more. Then came the Reformation.

MONTESINOS.

That great event has produced unmingled evil in Ireland, and in no other country. Every where else, whether the Romish religion succeeded in keeping out the spirit of reform, or in extinguishing it after a struggle, more or less benefit was derived; but in Ireland evil, and only evil has resulted. Here, it must be admitted, there has been some mournful misgovernment, some sin of omission with which England is to be charged.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

It would be well, perhaps, if there prevailed in all things the same principle of taking always the favourable view of a case,..the side inclining to mercy,..which is acted upon in the English criminal law. You would impute to the Eng-

lish government, as its greatest error, its neglect in taking any adequate measures for establishing the reformed religion as effectually in Ireland, as in England. But reflect upon the history of the times, and you will then perceive how difficult or how impossible it was that this should have been done. How was the Reformation in its first age to have been introduced among the wild Irish, as they were called, and as a long series of barbarizing circumstances had made them? Preachers, no doubt, would have found their way among them, if there had not been employment at home for all the zeal and enthusiasm that were called into action, or if a gift of tongues had not been necessary for the work; without that gift the reformers could do nothing there; and there was at least this excuse for not translating the Bible into Irish when the English version was set forth, that there were few, or none, of those for whom it was designed, who could have read it.

MONTESINOS.

This indeed was felt as one great obstacle, after the New Testament and the Liturgy had been translated for their use. And when a translation of the Bible was undertaken under the superintendence and at the cost of Bedell, that admirable prelate, whose name should

never be pronounced without reverence, required his clergy to establish schools in every parish, as a preliminary measure, without which the version would be useless.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Before the Irish could be reformed, it was necessary to civilize them, and that task was rendered more difficult than ever, when to the old causes of enmity, difference of religion was superadded. A greater obstacle to civilization and union was then presented than in all former ages, and one which could have been overcome by nothing short of an effectual conquest of the island when the first great rebellion took place.

MONTESINOS.

The wisdom to perceive this was not wanting in Elizabeth's councils; but she was crippled for want of means, as her formidable enemy the Spaniard had been, and to a greater degree. Had the resources which her father squandered been at her command, the rebellion would have been speedily suppressed, and such measures pursued as should have prevented its recurrence. But she had succeeded to an exhausted treasury; the people too had been impoverished by the consequences of the persecution so relentlessly carried on in the preceding reign. The frugality of her own establishment could

not compensate for the want of an adequate revenue; the sale of her jewels was of more avail in proving to the people her unwillingness to burthen them with imposts, than in defraying an expenditure which unavoidable circumstances necessarily increased; and the sale of lands to which she was reduced, weakened the crown far more than it relieved the people. The heaviest expenses of her reign were occasioned by Ireland; but they were always insufficient, and thus the struggle was prolonged: the evil, which by vigorous exertion might have been effectually removed, was rendered permanent: religion, or what usurped its place and its name, was connected with false pride, mistaken patriotism, hereditary hatred; it became a bond of faction, a principle of rebellion: such it was left by Elizabeth,..and such it is at this day.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

You have excused Elizabeth's* government.

* Bacon says in a letter to Cecil that "the causes of Ireland, if they be taken by the right handle," presented the best grounds for an action "of sound honour and merit to her majesty and this crown, without ventosity and popularity, that the riches of any occasion, or the tide of any opportunity, can possibly minister or offer." But this was not written till the end of Elizabeth's reign.

See whether some grounds of exculpation, which are equally valid, may not be found for later times.

MONTESINOS.

There was however in Elizabeth's councils a want of consistent and vigorous policy towards Ireland. Lord Grey was prevented by court intrigues from completing the work which he had almost brought to an end. His measures, had they been pursued, would have prevented Tyrone's rebellion: and, during that rebellion, an ill-timed economy placed every thing in such hazard, that with all the Queen's just confidence in the courage of her troops, and in the ability of their commander, and with all her firmness, there was a time when she must have trembled for the result. Of all the worthies of her reign, or perhaps of English history, Mountjoy is the one whose celebrity has been least in proportion to his merits. Cavendish and Drake and Essex are popular names, while his is popularly at this day unknown; though Great Britain has never produced a man of more heroic character, nor one to whom she is indebted for a more essential service. He too was not supplied with means for carrying into effect the measures which he proposed. But he did so much that James was enabled to pro-

ceed upon a system of gentle and conciliatory policy, congenial to that temper and those intentions, which deservedly obtained for him, when he was beyond the reach of flattery, the epithets of the Peaceful and the Just. More progress in the civilization of Ireland was made during James's reign, than in all the years which had elapsed since its conquest, or than in any other assignable age of its history; and the counties which were then planted are at this time* the most flourishing, the best affected, and consequently the least disturbed parts of that poor miserable country.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

...A country from which half a century of efficient government, conducted upon the plainest principles of good policy, would remove its miseries, and with them the reproach which, so long as they are permitted to continue, rests upon England. But proceed to examine where that reproach begins, and for how much England is responsible before God and man.

MONTESINOS.

The condition of Ireland continued to improve

* Digest of the Evidence on the State of Ireland, vol. i. pp. 41—49.

till the Puritans obtained the ascendancy in England: and then the intolerance of that odious faction gave the Romish priests occasion for alarming the fears of the Irish, while they worked upon their superstition and their national feeling. France and Spain were not backward in ill offices towards Great Britain; the former from old rivalry, the latter for its sincere devotion to the Romish Church. The Rebellion broke out, and whoever is acquainted with the dreadful history that ensued, will not wonder at the measure of vengeance which Cromwell exacted, nor that penal laws should have been framed against the professors of a religion which had served as the pretext and incitement and watchword for the Irish massacre.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

After Cromwell's conquest, might not any thing have been effected in a country where the whole fabric of society had been overthrown,.. and all its boundaries and landmarks as it were swept away and effaced?

MONTESINOS.

The convulsion and consequent confusion had indeed been such, that one, who holds no mean rank among theoretical politicians, seriously thought the best arrangement which could have

been made for Ireland would have been to assign it over to the Jews, and allow them to establish themselves there as a nation, holding under Great Britain by an annual payment of two millions sterling.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The proposer must have been more sincere in his political opinions than in his Christian faith, if he supposed that under any mere worldly arrangement the Children of Israel could be gathered together, and subsist collectively as a people.

MONTESINOS.

How that may have been you may satisfy yourself, for the legislators of Utopia and Oceana can be no strangers to each other in the Intermediate State. Next to the happiness of being re-united in that State to the objects of our love, must be the pleasure of seeking out the kindred spirits of other ages, and conversing face to face with those whose actions we have admired, to whose lives and deaths we have been beholden, from whose works we have derived instruction, or whose examples we have endeavoured to follow. I know not what religious tenets were held by Harrington, but that he is now with the spirits of "just men made perfect," I entertain no doubt. His

speculations were harmless and benevolent even when they ceased to be sane; and if the cooler heads of that age had been regulated by as clear a conscience, it had been happy for Great Britain then, and perhaps for themselves now. The project of selling Ireland to the Jews was the wildest of all Harrington's notions. Had Cromwell possessed the will to put in execution any ideal scheme of government, the power was wanting; for when his strong mind had emancipated itself from the thraldom of error and prejudice, he found himself fettered in the chain of his own misdeeds. What he did in Ireland was done without remorse; he established order there with a strong hand; but at the Restoration all was undone. For the restored government was beset with incompatible interests and conflicting obligations; the evil which had been committed it could but imperfectly redress, while the good which was in progress was destroyed,.. necessarily, for the sake of justice and humanity.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

This then arose, not from perverse policy, nor even from any error of judgement, but from a combination of circumstances which in human language might be called fatal.

MONTESINOS.

The circumstances were such that there was no possible course by which great injustice and great evil could be avoided. The settlement of the perplexed affairs of Ireland was so difficult, that Clarendon has told us he made it his humble suit to the King that no part of it might ever be referred to him; and Ormond, who of all men had fullest knowledge of the subject and most personal concern in it, "could not see any light in so much darkness that might lead him to any beginning."* A settlement, however, such as it was, was made: the guilty, who had so managed as to secure their own interests in the arrangement, and the loyal sufferers, who had been left with their sufferings for their reward, were removed by the course of years; the commercial towns partook of English industry, and flourished accordingly; and they, who had till then been called the wild Irish, seem at this time to have lost that appellation, perhaps in consequence of having laid aside their wild costume of the glib and mantle, which were never resumed after Cromwell's terrible proscription. But the plants of civilization did not thrive like the old weeds of the

* Clarendon's Life, vol. ii. p. 107.

soil. When the national dress, if dress it might be called, had disappeared, the habits of mind remained unchanged. New laws had been made, but the inveterate spirit of lawlessness existed in full force. No endeavours were used for effecting that religious reformation upon which the peace and security of Ireland must be founded; and the Court of Rome exerted its influence almost as openly during the reign of Charles and his brother as during the rebellion, and far more dangerously. Then came the Revolution, which made Ireland the seat of war, and left there its long train of evil consequences. From that time Great Britain may be charged with misgovernment towards that country.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Look to the causes which occasioned that misgovernment, and see to what extent they may be considered as excusing it. Men judge wiseliest, when they judge most charitably.

MONTESINOS.

There can be no surer rule in regarding the history of the past; but it would be no safe principle for the conduct of present affairs. While this world is what it is, Suspicion must not be allowed to sleep at Wisdom's gates,* for

* Milton.

if her charge be resigned to Simplicity, the robber will enter in. William, our deliverer, neither intended nor inflicted wrong in Ireland; but from the sin of omission in its relations with that country, the British government in his days cannot be acquitted. His was an uneasy life; nor can we wonder that he, who during his whole reign was engaged in a continued struggle for the land of his birth and the kingdom which had adopted him, for the liberties of Europe and for the Protestant cause, should have regarded the affairs of Ireland as matters of inferior moment, which might stand over till a more convenient season. Under his successor there were the same all-important interests at stake abroad, and at home there were miserable intrigues, so base in their origin, so traitorous in their progress, so injurious in their consequences, that they have rendered Queen Anne's reign in one point of view as disgraceful, as it is glorious in another. Then came the House of Brunswick, and with its accession the happiest age of England began; but Ireland was still neglected, when there was no longer the excuse of more urgent duties for neglecting it.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

The race of statesmen had then become extinct among you. The two first monarchs of

that House were in their habits of mind, as well as by birth and education, foreigners, and they were transplanted too late in life ever to become intellectually or morally naturalized in their new country. You have said truly that that age was the happiest in English history, looking at its exemption from foreign or domestic troubles. At the same time, in whatever point of view it may be regarded, it is the least honourable. In no other half century was there so little written for posterity, or so little done that was worthy of remembrance. Manners were coarse; morals low; public probity a jest. Sound learning had almost disappeared. Ecclesiastical preferment was ill bestowed. Even the military character of the nation was ill supported; the army was in the worst state of discipline, for the spirit of jobbing and peculation extended to every thing. The English seemed to have no other ambition left than that of being a trading people, and that upon the narrowest principles of shortsighted selfishness. That your institutions should have recovered from this general putrescence is the strongest proof of their vital force. There had been a tendency to this corruption from the time of the Great Rebellion, for political revolutions always loosen the moral cement of society. After a

generation, in which great sacrifices have been made to principles of civil or religious duty, the sense of either seems almost to be worn out. At such times Mammon finds the heart of a nation swept and garnished to receive him! Conscience has been rendered torpid, honour is set at nought, and the most opposite factions agree in acknowledging the goodliness of gain.

MONTESINOS.

The grievances of which Ireland complained in that age, arose exclusively from the blind system of trading selfishness. Against these it was that Swift raised his powerful voice. They have been removed, and Ireland would have partaken at this day, like Scotland, its full share of civilization and prosperity with the sister kingdom, had it, like Scotland, been every where subjected to the laws, and had not the most flagrant mispolicy been shown toward the Romanists; for what greater error could a government commit than that of conferring political privileges upon a class of freeholders who had no expectations of them, no pretensions to them upon any grounds of common policy, common convenience, or common sense; ..and giving encouragement to a priesthood, who are the confederated and sworn enemies of

that religion which is the corner-stone of the British constitution?

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Your age has not advanced more in chemical and mechanical science, and in promoting the comforts and luxuries of life for the classes to whose lot comforts and luxuries fall, than it has gone backward in some of the most essential points of polity. As there is no error more prevalent, so is there none more dangerous, than the doctrine which is so sedulously inculcated that the state ought not to concern itself with the religion of the subjects,..whereas religion is the only foundation of society, and governments which have not this basis are built upon sand.

MONTESINOS.

Our ancestors knew this, and therefore they fenced the constitution with those ramparts which evil counsellors are exciting the present generation to throw down. I will not say that our church is perfect,..what earthly institution is so? I will not say that it stands in no need of improvement; but the world has never yet seen any other establishment in itself so good, and so beneficial in its results; nor is there any defect in it which may not safely be removed

and easily repaired. The religion of England is the great charter of its intellectual freedom. But the principle of intolerance was not more desperately pursued by all parties in your age, nor more absolutely proclaimed by the Saints of the Rebellion, than the nature of toleration is mistaken, and the principle abused, by men of this generation, who by the courtesy of England are called statesmen.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Have the Irish Roman-Catholic clergy deserved so well of the British government that they have a fair claim to encouragement and support from it?

MONTESINOS.

So long as there existed a claimant to the British crown in one of the Stuart line, they kept up a treasonable communication with that claimant; their Prelates were nominated by him, and the doctrine which they maintained was that of the Divine Right of Kings.* After that unhappy family became extinct, and Great Britain was engaged in war with revolutionary France, the principle with which they then allied their religion was that of the Rights of Man. During the war with Buonaparte, and

* Digest of Evidence, ii. 48. i. 123, 4.

at a time when that most formidable enemy with whom this nation ever contended was in the height of his pride and power, the Irish Roman-Catholic Prelates voluntarily declared their acceptation of the Concordat, which ratified by papal authority his usurpation, and the deposition of the Bourbons. These pontifical acts of Pope Pius VII. they "accepted, approved and concurred with, as *good, rightful,* authentic and necessary, inspired by charity, and done in the faith of his predecessor." These facts may show what their political deserts have been.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

And what meantime have been their moral merits, as evidenced in the fruits of their influence over the people?

MONTESINOS.

"By their fruits ye shall know them." No where, not even in Spain, have the priests so absolute a power over the multitude; and therefore it was that Bishop Berkley addressed an exhortation to them, requesting that they would use this great influence to a beneficial purpose. I need not eulogize Berkley,..whom you must have seen among the worthies of our country!

SIR THOMAS MORE.

His name is in the Book of Life. A purer spirit never was received into the society of Sages and Saints.

MONTESINOS.

" You are known," said he, to the Irish Roman-Catholic clergy, " to have great influence on the minds of your people; be so good as to use this influence for their benefit. Since other methods fail, try what you can do. ' Be instant in season, out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort,' make them thoroughly sensible of the sin and folly of sloth. No set of men upon earth have it in their power to do good on easier terms, with more advantage to others, and less pains or losses to themselves. Your flocks are of all others most disposed to follow directions, and of all others want them most." " Certainly, if I may advise, you should, in return for the lenity and indulgence of the government, endeavour to make yourselves useful to the public; and this will best be performed by rousing your poor countrymen from their beloved sloth. I shall not now dispute the truth or importance of other points, but will venture to say, that you may still find time to inculcate this doctrine of an honest industry; and that this would by no means be time thrown

away, if promoting your country's interest, and rescuing so many unhappy wretches of your countrymen from beggary, or the gallows, be thought worth your pains." ... "Why should you, whose influence is greatest, be least active? Why should you, whose words are most likely to prevent, say least in the common cause? You cannot in your sermons do better than inveigh against idleness, that extensive parent of many miseries and many sins; idleness, the mother of hunger and sister of theft; idleness which, the son of Sirach assures us, 'teacheth many vices.' Were this but done heartily, would you but 'be instant in season and out of season, reprove, rebuke, exhort;' such is the ascendant you have gained over the people, that we might soon expect to see the good effect thereof. We might hope 'that our garners would soon be full, affording all manner of store, that our sheep would bring forth thousands, that our oxen would be strong to labour, that there would be no breaking in, nor going out, (no robbery, nor migration for bread,) and that there would be no complaining in our streets.' It stands upon you to act with vigour in this cause, and shake off the shackles of sloth from your countrymen, because there be some who surmise, that yourselves have put them on.

Right or wrong, men will be apt to judge of your doctrines by their fruits."

SIR THOMAS MORE.

Fas est et ab hoste doceri.

MONTESINOS.

There was no enmity in Berkley's language, and no unchristian feeling in his heart. Had the Romish clergy hearkened to his exhortations, and exerted themselves for improving the condition of their people, with half the zeal that they display in keeping up an inflammatory excitement among them, the state of Ireland must have been very unlike what it now is, and they themselves would appear in a very different light before God and man.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

They might have wrought as great a change in Ireland as the Jesuits effected among the tribes of Paraguay and California.

MONTESINOS.

This without opposition, without difficulty, without danger; in the strict line of their duty, ..in the proper discharge of their sacerdotal functions,.. to the immediate advancement of their own interest, and so greatly to the furtherance of those ambitious views which the ministers of the Romish church must ever entertain, that I know not how their claims, if supported

by such services, could have been resisted. Being masters and keepers of the consciences of men, they might have enforced upon the gentry of their communion the religious duty of dealing equitably and mercifully with the peasants, they might have made them feel what a sin it is to grind the faces of the poor; and they might have brought about there, what they have never in any age attempted, the civil conversion of the lower class,..a people abounding with generous and grateful feelings,..who are susceptible above all other people of kindness, but who, nevertheless, are continually committing more unprovoked murders and inhuman crimes than are perpetrated in any other country under the face of heaven. I would not dissemble the merits of the Romish clergy, nor withhold praise from them when it is their due; they attend sedulously to the poor, and administer relief and consolation to them in sickness and death, with exemplary and heroic devotion. Many among them, undoubtedly there are, whose error is in opinion alone, whose frame of mind is truly Christian, and who, according to the light which they possess, labour faithfully in the service of their Lord. But the condition of Ireland affords full evidence for condemning them as a body. In no other country is their

influence so great, and in no other country are so many enormities committed. Those enormities are not acts of individual depravity and guilt; they are part of a system which is the opprobrium and the curse of Ireland, and which extends among their people throughout the island. Now it is certain that the secrets of this atrocious confederacy are not and cannot be hidden from the priests. They are communicated to them under the seal of confession, a seal which the confessor is enjoined to break* when the disclosure relates to heretical opinions, but which is to be kept inviolate in all other cases, murder and treason included. If they know that these in their most horrid form, or terrible extent, are intended, it is a principle with them that they must not give such intimation as might prevent the crime.† There have been Tyburn martyrs in old times for this misprision of treason: and it can be no question of morality how far he who commits a misprision of murder becomes a partaker of the guilt. But without trenching upon this pernicious principle of secresy, it is in the power of the Romish clergy to draw forth such disclosures as the welfare of the state requires. They are called to the death-

* Digest of Evidence, vol. i. p. 236. † Ib. i. 273.

bed of those criminals who escape the laws... and to the prison of the far smaller number who are overtaken by earthly justice. It is in their power to require a full disclosure for the purposes of justice as the condition of absolution; and it is their duty to withhold absolution as long as the guilty person persists in withholding a full confession of the schemes in which he has engaged, and the parties concerned in them. Now it is imputable to the constitution of their church, and not to the men, that they impede the natural and wholesome operation of that* principle which God has implanted in the heart of man, and make the penitent, who has whispered his tale in the priest's ear, satisfied with himself, when he would otherwise have no peace until he had made a public confession† which might prevent farther crimes. But this leaving undone what they ought to have done, is their own choice; they are free to act; and thus it is that they have acted, and are acting.

* In the Digest of Evidence on the State of Ireland, there are some most able remarks by the Editors upon this important subject.

† A case is mentioned in the Evidence, in which such a confession was prevented by the priest,.. or, more accurately speaking, intercepted and suppressed by him.—*Digest*, vol. i. p. 272.

SIR THOMAS MORE.

As if a judicial blindness affected them.

MONTESINOS.

With such a mental and moral blindness we may believe that the British and Irish Roman-Catholics have been stricken. They would not else have broken all the pledges which their parliamentary advocates have given in their name, nor have uniformly conducted themselves in the manner most likely to frustrate the unhappy efforts of those advocates in their behalf. They would not else have threatened us with their numbers. The Irish priests could not else have so entirely neglected those obvious duties which it would have been most advantageous for their own designs to have performed. They would not have declared in Ireland their determination to subvert* the Established Church. They would not have proclaimed, that if a rebellion were raging in that country from Carrickfergus to Cape Clear, no sentence

* The House of Commons, in its Petition against the Spanish Match, (1621), says of the Popish Religion, "it hath a restless spirit and will strive by these gradations; if it once get but a connivance it will press for a toleration; if that should be obtained, they must have an equality; from thence they will aspire to superiority, and will never rest till they get a subversion of the true religion."—*Parl. History*, vol. i. p. 1324.

of excommunication would ever be fulminated by a Roman-Catholic prelate. This they have done. And the statesmen who persist in recommending that we should conciliate them by conceding all that they demand, may be compared to the man who, if a cobra-capella were erecting itself upon its coils in hostile attitude against us, its head raised, its eyes fixed and fiery, its hood dilated, the forked tongue in action, and the fangs lifted in readiness to strike, should advise us to court the serpent with caresses, and take it to our bosom!

IRELAND.

The Ode which is here inserted, because of its relation to the subject of the preceding Colloquy, was written in the winter of 1821-2, a few months after his Majesty's visit to Ireland, and some years before that religious movement had manifested itself there, which may in its consequences, through God's blessing, produce more benefit to that country, than could be effected by any act of human legislation.

I.

How long, O Ireland, from thy guilty ground
Shall innocent blood
Arraign the inefficient arm of Power?
How long shall Murder there,
Leading his banded ruffians thro' the land,
Range unrepress'd?
How long shall Night
Bring to thy harmless dwellers, in the stead
Of natural rest, the feverish sleep of fear,
Midnight alarms,
Horrible dreams, and worse realities?
How long shall darkness cover, and the eye
Of Morning open upon deeds of death?

II.

In vain art thou by liberal Nature's dower
Exuberantly blest;
The Seasons in their course
Shed o'er thy hills and vales
The bounties of a genial clime, in vain;

Heaven hath in vain bestowed
Well-tempered liberty,
(Its last and largest boon to social man,)
If the brute Multitude from age to age,
Wild as their savage ancestors,
Go irreclaimed the while,
From sire to son transmitting still
In undisturbed descent,
(A sad inheritance!)
Their errors, and their crimes.

III.

Green Island of the West!
Thy Sister Kingdom fear'd not this
When thine exultant shores
Rung far and wide of late,
And grateful Dublin first beheld her King,
First of thy Sovereigns he
Who visited thy shores in peace and joy.

IV.

Oh what a joy was there!
In loud huzzahs prolong'd,
Surge after surge the tide
Of popular welcome rose;
And in the intervals alone
Of that tumultuous sound of glad acclaim
Could the deep cannon's voice
Of duteous gratulation, tho' it spake
In thunder, reach the ear.

From every tower the merry bells rung round,
Peal hurrying upon peal,
Till with the still reverberating din
The walls and solid pavement seem'd to shake,
And every bosom with the tremulous air
Inhaled a dizzy joy.

v.

Age that came forth to gaze,
That memorable day
Felt in its quicken'd veins a pulse like youth;
And lisping babes were taught to bless their King,
And grandsires bade the children treasure up
The precious sight; for it would be a tale
The which in their old age
Would make their children's children gather round
Intent, all ears to hear.

VI.

Were then the feelings of that generous time
Ephemeral as the joy?
Pass'd they away like summer clouds,
Like dreams of infancy,
Like glories of the evening firmament,
Which fade, and leave no trace?
Merciful Heaven, oh let not thou the hope
Be frustrate, that our Sister Isle may reap
From the good seed then sown
Full harvests of prosperity and peace;

That perfect union may derive its date
From that auspicious day,
And equitable ages thence
Their lasting course begin !

VII.

Green Island of the West,
While frantic violence delays
That happier order, still must thou remain
In thine own baleful darkness wrapt ;
As if the Eye divine,
That which beholdeth all, from thee alone
In wrath had turn'd away !

VIII.

But not for ever thus shalt thou endure,
To thy reproach, and ours,
Thy misery, and our shame !
For Mercy shall go forth
To stablish Order, with an arm'd right hand ;
And firm Authority
With its all-present strength controul the bad,
And with its all-sufficient shield
Protect the innocent :
The first great duty this of lawful Power
Which holds its delegated right from Heaven.

IX.

The first great duty this ; but this not all,
For more than comes within the scope
Of Power, is needed here ;

More than to watch insidious discontent,
Curb, and keep curb'd the treasonable tongue,
And quell the madden'd multitude:
Labours of love remain;...
To weed out noxious customs rooted deep
In a rank soil, and long left seeding there;
Pour balm into old wounds, and bind them up;
Remove remediable ills,
Improve the willing mind,
And win the generous heart.
Afflicted Country, from thyself
Must this redemption come,
And thou hast children able to perform
This work of faith and hope.

x.

Oh for a voice which might recal
To their deserted hearths
Thy truant sons! a voice
Whose virtuous cogency
Might with the strength of duty reach their souls;
A strength that should compel entire consent,
And to their glad obedience give
The impulse and the force of free good-will!
For who but they can knit
The severed links of that appointed chain,
Which when in just cohesion it unites
Order to order, rank to rank,
In mutual benefit,
So binding heart to heart,
It then connecteth Earth with Heaven, from whence
The golden links depend.

XI.

Nor when the war is waged
With Error, and the brood
Of Darkness, will your aid
Be wanting in the cause of Light and Love,
Ye Ministers of that most holy Church
Whose firm foundations on the rock
Of Scripture rest secure!
What tho' the Romanist, in numbers strong,
In misdirected zeal
And bigotry's blind force,
Assail your Fortress; though the sons of Schism
Join in insane alliance with that old
Inveterate enemy,
Weening thereby to wreak
Their covenanted hatred, and effect
Your utter overthrow:
What tho' the unbelieving crew,
For fouler purpose aid the unnatural league;
And Faction's wolfish pack
Set up their fiercest yell, to augment
The uproar of assault:
Clad in your panoply will ye be found,
Wielding the spear of Reason; with the sword
Of Scripture girt; and from your shield of Truth
Such radiance shall go forth,
As when, unable to sustain its beams
On Arthur's arm unveil'd,
Earth-born Orgoglio reel'd, as if with wine;

And from her many-headed beast cast down
Duessa fell, her cup of sorcery spilt,
Her three-crown'd mitre in the dust devolved,
And all her secret filthiness exposed.

XII.

O thou fair Island, with thy Sister Isle
Indissolubly link'd for weal and woe;
Partaker of her present power,
Her everlasting fame;
Dear pledges hast thou rendered and received
Of that eternal union! Bedell's grave
Is in thy keeping; and with thee
Deposited, doth Taylor's holy dust
Await the Archangel's call.
O land profuse of genius and of worth,
Largely hast thou received, and largely given!

XIII.

Green Island of the West,
The example of unspotted Ormond's faith
To thee we owe; to thee
Boyle's venerable name:
Berkley the wise, the good:
And that great Orator who first
Unmask'd the harlot sorceress Anarchy
What time, in Freedom's borrowed form profaned,
She to the nations round
Her draught of witchcraft gave:

And him who in the field
O'erthrew her giant offspring in his strength,
And brake the iron rod.
Proud of such debt,
Rich to be thus indebted, these,
Fair Island, Sister Queen
Of Ocean, Ireland, these to thee we owe.

XIV.

Shall I then imprecate
A curse on them that would divide
Our union ? . . Far be this from me, O Lord !
Far be it ! What is man,
That he should scatter curses ? . . King of Kings,
Father of all, Almighty, Governor
Of all things, unto Thee
Humbly I offer up our holier prayer !
I pray Thee, not in wrath
But in thy mercy, to confound
These men's devices ! Lord,
Lighten their darkness with thy Gospel light,
And thus abate their pride,
Assuage their malice thus !

NOTES

AND

ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

...*the infamy of his nature.*—p. 2.

I suspect that Sir Thomas Brown wrote *infimy*, a word which, though not regularly formed, would be more in his manner, and more in place.

Anthony Wood speaks in his own Life (p. 190) of " a young heir who put his father's papers to *infimous* uses."

Question of apparitions.—p. 7.

In contradiction to the view of this important question which I have taken, and in which there is the opinion of Johnson to support me, Dean Sherlock, who has brought forward with irrefragable force the Natural Arguments for the Immortality of the Soul and a Future State, has shown " of what dangerous consequence it is to want any other arguments, or to build our Faith upon any other arguments than the Gospel Revelation." And he alludes to the indiscrete stress which Glanville, and other writers of his stamp, laid upon supernatural stories. " For," says he, " in the first place, this is a spice of infidelity; it is an inclination towards it; and such men are disposed to be Infidels, or at least to be practised on by Infidels. For did we heartily believe the Gospel, we could want no other arguments of a future state, and should be satis-

fied we could have no better. And would men then so greedily catch at every story of an apparition, and contend as zealously for it, as if the belief of another world depended on it? As if they wanted some better evidence, or some more credible story than the Resurrection of our Saviour?"—*Of the Immortality of the Soul*, p. 7.

And again. "Now Abraham was certainly in the right, that though Moses and the Prophets have not given us the highest evidence that can be given of Immortal Life, yet they have given us much better evidence of it than the apparitions of Ghosts and Spirits could do; and that those who would not believe Moses and the Prophets, would much less believe an apparition of Lazarus, whatever he should tell them of the other world, and of the state of their brother Dives in it. For what authority hath a Ghost or Apparition? Who knows what it is? Whether it be the person it represents, or some deluding and counterfeit spirit? And then who can tell whether it speaks true or false? And is this to be compared to the authority of a standing Revelation, which, though it do not speak so plainly as the Gospel does, or give such undeniable proofs of immortality, yet is certainly to be credited beyond any apparitions, which have no authority at all; which may a little awaken and terrify men at present; but the fright will soon be over, and they will believe and live just as they did before?"—*Ibid.* p. 371.

Burnet the Theorist, in expressing his disbelief of such apparitions, admits an hypothesis which is surely less credible. "*Fateor mihi,*" he says, "*nondum constare, nec persuaderi posse, animas mortuorum apparere unquam, aut apparituras esse, ante diem Judicii. Genii forsan, aut dæmones, vim illam habent, compingendi aërem, aut propria vehicula, in speciem humanam aut brutam; eamque exercent aliquando, maximè apud gentes barbaras aut semibarbaras: sed hæc rariùs apud nos fieri existimo, et è sexcentis narratiunculis de spectris, vix*

unam reperiri historiam veram. His pascitur utcunque vulgus, vitæque futuræ renovatur memoria, et confirmatur fides."—De Statu Mortuorum, p. 91.

" That there are such finite, incorporeal beings," says South, " as we call Spirits, I take to be a point of that moment, that the belief of it ought to be established upon much surer proofs than such as are commonly taken from visions and apparitions, and the reports which use to go of them: it having never hitherto been held for solid reasoning, to argue from what seems to what exists, or, in other words, from appearances to things; especially since it has been found so frequent, for the working of a strong fancy and a weak judgment to pass with many for apparitions."—*South*, vol. iii. p. 451.

In that very curious work the Recognitions of Clement, which one should think no person except Whiston could ever have supposed to have been any thing but a Romance, Clement, in whose name it is written, relates at the commencement his own feelings upon this subject, before he had received the light of the Gospel.

" I will go to Egypt, and there will I enter into familiarity with the *Hierophantæ* or Prophets, who are the Presidents of the sacred Recesses: and when for money they have procured me a Magician, I will intreat him to bring me up a Soul from the infernal Regions, by the art of Necromancy as they call it; as though I would inquire about some particular affair. But my inquiry shall be this; Whether the Soul be Immortal? Now the proof for this Immortality of the Soul shall by me be esteemed certain, not from the Ghost's saying so, and my hearing him say it, but from my seeing this Soul itself; that beholding it with my own eyes, I may ever afterwards entertain an undoubted belief of its Immortality. For after that, the fallacy of Words or uncertainty of Hearing can no more disturb me, as to what I have seen with my Eyes.

Yet, after all this, when I gave a philosopher of my acquaintance an account of this design of mine, he advised me by no means to venture upon it. 'For,' says he, 'if the Soul does not come up at the Command of the Magician, you will afterwards suppose there is nothing after Death, and so live more dissolutely than before; as having also ventured upon unlawful arts. But if you seem to see somewhat, what sort of religion or of piety will that be, which has its foundation from unlawful and impious practices?' "

Witches.—p. 8.

" As for witches," says Hobbes, (Leviathan, p. 7,) " I think not that their witchcraft is any real power, but yet that they are justly punished for the false belief they have that they can do such mischief, joined with their purpose to do it if they can: their trade being nearer to a new religion, than to a craft or science."

Supernatural tales attested by judicious and credible men.—p. 9.

" *Que penser de la Magie et du Sortilege? La theorie en est obscure, les principes vagues, incertains, et qui approchent du visionnaire: mais il y a des faits embarrassans, affirmés par des hommes graves qui les ont vus, ou qui les ont appris de personnes qui leur ressemblent. Les admettre tous, ou les nier tous paroît un égal inconvénient, et j'ose dire qu'en cela, comme dans toutes choses extraordinaires et qui sortent des communes règles, il y a un parti à trouver entre les ames credules et les esprits forts.*"—La Bruyere, vol. ii. p. 242.

In the scale of existences there may be as many orders above us as below.—p. 9.

Burnet, of the Charter House, (the greatest of the name,) has a fine passage upon this subject.

"*Sæpe autem ex ipsâ aviditate augendæ scientiæ, in errores delabimur; vel ob præcipitem animi assensum ante examen peractum, vel earum rerum cognitioni inhiando, in quibus nullum examen locum habere potest: nempe quæ viribus nostris attingi nequeunt, neque ullo lumine, vel a naturâ nobis dato, vel cælitùs admisso. Hujusmodi sunt speculationes illæ de Mundo Angelico, ipsiusque apparatu; in quot summa genera, et subalternas classes distribuitur hierarchia cœlestis: quid agunt, quæ loca habitant. Facilè credo plures esse naturas invisibiles quam visibiles in rerum universitate; pluresque Angelorum ordines in cœlo, quam sunt pisces in mari. Sed horum omnium familiam quis nobis enarrabit? et gradus, et cognationes, et discrimina, et singulorum munera? Harum rerum notitiam semper ambivit ingenium humanum, nunquam attigit.—Juvat utique, non diffiteor, quandoque in animo, tanquam in tabulâ, majoris et melioris mundi imaginem contemplari; ne mens assuefacta hodiernæ vitæ minutiis, se contrahat nimis, et tota subsidat in pusillas cogitationes. Sed veritati interea invigilandum est, modusque servandus, ut certa ab incertis, diem a nocte, distinguamus. Sapientis enim est, non tantùm ea quæ sciri possunt, scire; sed etiam, quæ sciri non possunt, discernere et discriminare.*"—Archæologiæ Philosophicæ, p. 67.

Ordeals.—p. 10.

John Gavan, a Jesuit, who was one of Oates and Dugdale's victims in the Popish Plot, and who defended himself on his trial with remarkable eloquence and presence of mind, "of-

fered, when nothing else would do, to commit himself to the ordeal trial, as the laws, still unrepealed, gave liberty. This was rejected by the Court, as a piece of ostentation. Again the King's counsel alleged that the ordeal trial was an obsolete law, and of no signification, by disuse. Upon this Mr. Gavan acquiesced, yet desired the Bench to consider, that nothing but innocence could provoke him to make that offer."—*Dodd's Church History*, vol. iii. p. 316.

Dodd, who is one of the worst of historians in all respects, has omitted to state the ground upon which this able and innocent man required the ordeal. Oates was the only witness against him. " My Lord," said he, " seeing there is only his oath for it, and my denial, I have only one demand: I do not know whether it be an extravagant one or no; if it be, I do not desire to have it granted." *L. C. J.* " What is that demand?" *Gavan.* " You know that in the beginning of the Church (this Learned and Just Court must needs know that) that for 1000 years together, it was a custom and grew to a constant law, for the trial of persons accused of any capital offence, where there was only the accuser's oath and the accused's denial, for the prisoner to put himself upon the trial of ordeal, to evidence his own innocency." He was answered by the Lord Chief Justice North that we have no such law now, and by Scroggs, more at length, with a disgraceful asperity, as if his object had been to impose upon the Court, by asking a thing which sounded much of a pretence to innocency, and which he knew he could not have.—*Howell's State Trials.*

The ordeal, as a mode of trial, was abolished in our Courts of Justice by an act of parliament in 3 Hen. III. according to Sir Edward Coke, or rather by an order of the King in Council.—*Blackstone*, lib. iv. c. 27.

It appears in Edward the Confessor's laws, that although condemnation by the ordeal was considered a certain proof of guilt, an acquittal was not regarded as so clear a proof of

innocence. "*Die illo quo judicium fieri debet, veniat illuc minister Episcopi cum clericis suis, et similitèr justitia Regis cum legalibus hominibus provinciæ illius, qui videant et audiant ut æquè omnia fiant; et quos Dominus* per misericordiam suam, non per merita *salvare voluerit, quieti sint, et liberè recedant; et quos iniquitas culpæ non Dominus damnaverit, justitia Regis de ipsis justitiam faciat.*"

The marks of martyrdom are our insignia of honour.—p. 15.

This assertion I have found confirmed by the grave authority of F. M. Le Heurt, Doctor in Theology, and Guardian of the Cordeliers' Convent at Poictiers, in which city his Treatise on *La Philosophie des Espritz* was printed in 1612. "*Et pour le général des martyrs,*" he says (p. 455-6), "*nous disons que le Sauveur, qui a promis de rendre cent fois au double les biens de fortune delaissez pour l'amour de luy, sçaura très bien restituer la forme et la beauté aux corps mutilés pour le soustien de sa cause. Car comme luy mesme ressuscitant a retenu en ses pieds, en ses mains, et en son costé les pertuits des clouz et de la lance, pour marques très honorables de son victorieux combat contre l' Enfer et la Mort, ainsi les martyrs outre l'escharpe sanguine de leur ordre, auront en leurs corps les cicatrices de leurs playes resplendissantes d'un lustre, d'une grace, et d'une beauté admirable, qui met en évidence leur vertu, leur merite, leur honneur et gloire.*"

This passage occurs in his Discourse *des Aureoles.* "*Par les Aureoles,*" he says, (p. 463) "*nous entendons les marques et livrées des trois principaux ordres des bien-heureux, qui sont les Martyrs, les Docteurs, et les Vierges. Si en une bataille le*

Roy voit un de ses gendarmes, qui se face remarquer homme de recommandable vertu, par des effects advantageux pour la victoire générale, il ne faudra de la gratifier à la fin du combat, et volontiers luy donnera l'ordre de sa chevalerie, qui n'est point une richesse, mais un honneur grand, et digne recompense de sa vertu. Or nous sommes en continuelle guerre contre les trois ennemis de Dieu, le monde, le diable, et la sensualité. Et ceux qui remportent d' eux quelque victoire signalée, Dieu le Créateur leur donne la livrée honorable de ses ordres, pour tesmoigner à toutes ses créatures la fidelle affection qu' ils ont euë à son service. Ceste livrée, on remarque (quant au corps) est un special ornement et decoration, demonstrant de quel ennemy triomphe celuy qui porte ceste parure. De sorte que du premier traict d'œil que l'on jettera sur la personne, l'on cognoistra s'il est ou Martyr, ou Predicateur, ou Vierge."

Still more authentically is it confirmed by the Revelations of Saint Elizabeth of Sconauge, who was one of the Sister Nativités of the twelfth century. Every saint's day this nun saw the saint of the festival, this gave her ample opportunities of observing their costume; and she says of the martyrs, "*habebant autem et ipsi signa victoriæ atque martyrii, videlicet fulgidas in manibus palmas, et coronas in capitibus valdè radiantes, et rubore signatas in fronte. Talibus enim insigniis decorati videntur sancti martyres, quandocumque mihi apparere dignantur.*"—Acta SS. Jun. tom. iii. p. 613.

The purple collar remained after a stupendous miracle,.. in proof of which charters have been produced and altars erected. The Moors were besieging Montemor; there was no hope of relief or of escape; and a certain Abbot D. Joam, who then acted as Governor, proposed at last, that to save the women and children from perishing by hunger, or the worse fate of falling into the hands of the unbelievers, he and his companions should put them to death with their own hands,

and then sally to take vengeance, and to die. He set the example by cutting the throats of his sister and her children,.. the others followed his example;... they then sallied, and to their astonishment completely routed the besiegers. But, to their greater astonishment, they found all the persons whom they had killed alive and well again on their return, and each with a red line, like a scarlet thread, in remembrance of the miracle,.. which mark also appeared at the same time upon the image of N. Senhora de Ceyça, and of the infant in her arms, that it might be known by whom the miracle was wrought.... And, moreover, children have sometimes been born in Montemor with the same mark. The whole story, which is related at length by many veracious historians, may be found in Bernardo de Brito's Chronica de Cister, lib. vi. c. 27, 28. and in the Santuario Mariano, tom. iv. lib. ii. tit. 14.

The Physicians at Prague once obtained the King's permission to put on the head of a criminal—if they could, after it had been cut off. The subject was a young man: no sooner was the head off than some of the assistants applied an unguent to the vessels, others in an instant replaced the head, a third party were ready with a plaister and warm bandages, and a fourth applied the most restorative perfumes to his nostrils. This, it is said, made him wink, at which, as a hopeful symptom, a great shout was set up by the spectators. "*Elevatus deindè lentissimè, et tractus magìs quam ductus in vicinam domum, postquam parva vitæ indicia dedisset, inter medicorum et chirurgorum manus, sine dubio vulnere illo debilitatus, et sanguine forsitan qui semel efferbuerat, et contineri jam non poterat, expiravit.*" If the experiment had succeeded, this person would have had a mark upon his neck.— *Garmann. de Miraculis Mortuorum*, lib. ii. tit. 5. § 45.

Earthly affections after death.—p. 17.

" It was a question," says Jackson, " amongst the Heathen Philosophers, *an res posterorum pertineant ad defunctos?* whether the ill or welfare of posterity did any way increase or diminish the happiness of their deceased ancestors? The negative part is determined by the great Philosopher in his Morals. And I know no just cause or reason why any Christian Divine should either appeal from his determination or raise the doubt."—vol. ii. p. 270.

Sir Thomas More *was "fond of seeing strange birds and beasts, and kept an ape, a fox, a weasel, and a ferret."*—p. 22.

Erasmus gives the same account of Sir Thomas More's fondness for animals. " *Præcipua illi voluptas est spectare formas, ingenia, et affectus diversorum animantium. Proindè nullum ferè genus est avium quod domi non alat, si quod aliud animal vulgò rarum, veluti simia, vulpes, vivera, mustela, et his consimilia. Ad hæc si quid exoticum, aut alioqui spectandum occurrat, avidissimè mercari solet, atque his rebus undique domum habet instructam, ut nusquam non sit obvium quod oculos ingredientium demoretur: ac toties sibi renovat voluptatem, quoties alios conspicit oblectari.*"—Epist. lib. x. ep. 30. p. 536.

Verily there is a God that judgeth the earth!—p. 26.

" It would be more easy than safe," says Jackson, after alluding to the story of Abimelech and Jotham, " out of histories times ancient and modern, domestic and foreign, to parallel

this last instance so exactly, as well for success as practice, as might be sufficient, if not to persuade the irreligious politician, yet to leave him without excuse for not being persuaded, that there is an immortal King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, from whose jurisdiction no corner of the earth can be exempted; an everlasting, wise, and righteous Judge, which oversees the inventions of man's heart with a stedfast eye, and measures their actions with a constant hand; one that visiteth the same irregularities by the same rule or canon; and fitteth like sins with like punishments, after thousands of years distance in time, in places distant some thousands of miles."—vol. ii. p. 249.

The Millenarians.—p. 36.

" Assuredly," says the Biographer of Joseph Mede, " the happiness of the Millennial State shall take place in the world without that disorder and confusion which some men have extravagantly imagined; men of unhallowed minds and consciences, who, judging of things according to the lust of ambition and love of the world reigning in them, have depraved and stained this primitive tenet, the ancient, sober, and innocent notion of the kingdom of Christ, as likewise every other mystery, with not a few carnal conceits and intolerable fancies of their own. And thus *unto them that are defiled is nothing pure.* Nor shall those *tempora refrigerii*... those *times of cool refreshing*, ever be brought in by hot fanatic zealots, *men set on fire*, (in the Psalmist's phrase,) and ready also to *set on fire the course of nature*, (as St. James speaks,) such as are skilful only to destroy and overturn: *Destruction and wasting are in their ways*, (they are good at making the world a miserable, uncomfortable, and uninhabitable place,) *but the way of peace they have not known;* and therefore the temper and frame of their spirit being perfectly contrary to the temper

and quality of those better times, they are thereby rendered incapable either of furthering and hasting the felicities of the New Heaven and Earth, or of enjoying them, when the New Jerusalem shall be come down from God out of Heaven, and the Tabernacle of God shall be with men. For the primary character of that future state being universal righteousness and good will, piety and peace, it naturally follows that they who are men of embittered passions and of a destroying spirit, altogether devoid of civility, gentleness, and moderation, kindness and benignity towards men, and altogether unacquainted with what is lovely, decorous, venerable, praiseworthy, equitable and just, can have *no part nor lot in this matter;* so gross and coarse a constitution of spirit as theirs is, speaks them unqualified for the happiness of this better state. Nor can they ever be made meet for the world to come, and the kingdom of Christ, till they have got the victory over their self-love and love of the world, over their pride and envy, their wrath and bitterness, their enormous affections, and the lusts that war in their members, howsoever they may vainly conceit and fancy themselves to be upon easier and cheaper terms *Kings* and *Priests* to God, fit and worthy to *reign* with Christ, though they never *suffered* with him, nor was their *old man crucified with him, that the body of Sin might be destroyed.*"—pp. 21, 22.

....*the Devil is below.*—p. 37.

" Now I would this Angel would bow the heavens and come down, and bring his chain with him, and bind the Devil now,.. for never was there more need; never was it more time; for, if ever he were loose, he is loose in these times; and, if ever he raged, he rageth in this nation. Alas! for the inhabitants of England, for the Devil is come down among them, having

great wrath,..and yet we know not how long his time is. How lamentable and doleful is it, that that prophecy should ever be so true of us (which is uttered against Babel) as it is proved to be at this day, that Zijim, and Ijim, and Ohim, satyrs, and fiends, and devils, should dance and domineer, and rage and ravine, as they do in this nation; and when and how they shall be restrained we cannot tell! Only there is some comfort in the text,..and this indeed is all the comfort we have, that the Angel in the text can master the Devil if he will but do it; and he hath a chain in his hand that will bind him if he will but tie him in it."—Lightfoot, vol. vi. p. 166.

Disputing for the sake of Disputation.—p. 47.

"...Even in matters either by nature so abstract, or otherwise so general, that our apprehension of them, or assent unto them, cannot be directly hindered by any contrary natural inclinations, we may often find great incumbrances from indirect or accidental opposition. Thus, desire of glory, or hope of victory, in scholastic encounters, moves men often to disclaim the truth which others have found out, or well illustrated, whereunto, notwithstanding they would quickly yield their firm assent, might the glory of the invention be reputed theirs, or were it no prejudice to their high esteem of their own wits to learn of others. For this reason, I have known of good scholars, some out of jealousies lest their discoveries should be published in another's name, some out of charity, refrain discourse amongst such as too much delight or glory in that faculty; for the most part so willing to contradict others' observations, that a man can hardly put forth a truth before them without danger of thrusting them into the opposite error."—Jackson, vol. i. p. 632.

Medical Police.—p. 56.

In the Evidence given before the Committee on Emigration, 1826, (pp. 110, 237.) it appears that no case of measles, small-pox, or hooping-cough, has ever yet been known in New South Wales. Of how much importance then is it, that if either of these diseases should be imported, immediate and effectual means should be taken for preventing its extension!

It is affirmed in the same Report, that no instance of typhus fever has ever appeared in that country, (p. 110.) and that no imflammatory or febrile disease have hitherto been observed there. (p. 237.) This is said to be a well-ascertained fact; but is it credible? Whatever may have been the origin of small-pox and measles, it is certain that those diseases are never in-bred; a country therefore is safe from them as long as the contagion is kept out. But inflammatory diseases are naturally incident to the human frame, which is as liable to them as it is to any derangement of the animal functions.

That strangely simple, but excellently good man, Louis Buonaparte, has given an account in his *Documens Historiques sur la Hollande*, of his projected improvements in medical police. The scheme is characteristic and curious.

Le roi projetait des améliorations quant à la santé et à la salubrité du pays. Atteinte par une maladie lente, et extraordinaire depuis l'âge de 22 ans, il eut l'occasion de réfléchir sur cet objet important, et de se convaincre de quelques vérités certains à cet égard. La médecine existe, les plantes en grand nombre ont des vertus réelles, il existe des remèdes pour une foule de maladies chroniques: tandis que celles de ce genre que l'on ne peut guérir, ou sont supportables, comme la goutte, le rhumatisme, &c., ou sont en très-petit nombre, et se réduisent à des vices organiques; mais l'observation est difficile. Quand un médecin est assez instruit pour pouvoir être utile, il meurt.

Les maladies et les effets des remèdes different sur chaque individu. Combien il faut de soins et de peine pour ne pas se tromper aux symptômes et pour les bien distinguer! Le raisonnement est souvent en défaut et démenti par l'expérience, parce qu'il y a dans notre admirable organisation des secrets et des subtilités qui échappent et échapperont toujours au raisonnement et à ses recherches. Malgré cela, les médecins agissent comme si leur science etoit certaine. Rousseau avoit raison de dire, "que la médecine vienne sans les médecins," mot plein de sens, qui explique parfaitement la difficulté de cet art. Le meilleur moyen de l'exercer, à l'exception de quelques maladies aiguës qui ont des règles certaines, et que l'on gouverne pour ainsi dire, ce n'est point de partir des principes de l'art comme dans les sciences exactes, mais d'étudier l'effet des remèdes et leur différence dans le même cas sur les diverses constitutions. Il aurait voulu établir un collége chargé de recueillir de toutes les parties du monde connu tous les remèdes possibles, et de les faire connaître et publier dans le royaume. Il pensait que l'on aurait dû faire pour les maladies, en temps ordinaire, ce que l'on pratique dans les temps de contagion, et établir des maisons de convalescence, où il fut impossible de s'écarter du régime et de la diéte necessaires au rétablissement du malade, et cela même pour les premières classes. Il vouloit aussi établir une critique sévère des médecins, juger leur conduite, et la publier dans un journal exprès, toutes les fois qu'un homme mourrait; et au contraire, récompenser tous ceux qui auraient guéri des maladies remarquables; diminuer le nombre des médecins, défendre toutes les drogues qui ne seraient pas de la première qualité; les faire donner gratis *par l'état aux pauvres et aux villages: il avoit commencé à établir à Amsterdam une pharmacie royale, &c.*

On ne peut s'empêcher de remarquer quelques contradictions ou inconséquences sociales: par example, y a-t-il rien de plus essentiel dans la société que d'avoir de bons médecins? Cependant ceux qui exercent l'art de guérir sont si nombreux; com-

bien ne seroit-il pas avantageux d'en diminuer considérablement le nombre! Il faudrait établir entre eux plusieurs classes, et indiquer au public quels sont reellement les meilleurs, ce qui empêcheroit les malades de placer souvent si mal leur confiance. Deux autres projets l'interessaient vivement, et eussent attiré un jour toute son attention. 1°. *Débarrasser le pays petit à petit, autant que possible, des estropiés, bossus, rachitiques, et de tous les enfans malconformés, en facilitant leur établissement aux colonies. Empêcher les marriages entre de semblables gens, et empêcher l'etablissement de tels malheureux étrangers dans le royaume, et même leur séjour prolongé.*

2°. *S'entendre avec les autres pays pour extirper de l'Europe les maladies vénériennes, peste, fièvre jaune, petite vérole, &c.; établir pour cela des lazarets, et prendre des mesures analogues à celles que l'on prend contre la peste. La société n'est elle pas établie pour l'adoucissement du sort des malheureux mortels de cette race, visiblement dégénérée, et mise ici-bas comme dans un lieu d'épreuves et d'épuration?*—tom. i. p. 206. 10.

That part of the scheme which relates to sending off deformed subjects, seems to have been taken from the History of the Severites, or Severambés, a political romance written in the latter part of the 17th century. I know not who was the author. The first part was published in 1675, the second in 1679. The French edition (Amsterdam, 1702, in two vols.) does not profess to be a translation, and is moreover considerably altered and enlarged. It is more likely that the author should have thus treated his own work, than that a translator should have bestowed such supererogatory labour upon his task; and therefore I am inclined to think that it may originally have been written in French. There is a want of moral and religious feeling in the book, but it is no ordinary work.

Slavery.—p. 71.

Berkley has expressed his opinion in favour of slavery as a punishment. He asks in his Querist, 381, " Whether other nations have not found great benefit from the use of slaves in repairing high roads, making rivers navigable, draining bogs, erecting public buildings, bridges, and manufactures? 382. Whether temporary servitude will not be the best cure for idleness and beggary? 384. Whether all sturdy beggars should not be seized and made slaves to the public for a certain term of years? 385. Whether he who is chained in a jail or dungeon hath not for the time lost his liberty? and if so, whether temporary slavery be not already admitted among us?"

But in this country there is no kind of labour, however hard, unwholesome, or disgusting, for which willing labourers may not be found.

Feudal Slavery.—p. 79.

About forty years after the dissolution of Sallay Abbey, and in the 22d year of Elizabeth's reign, the following petition was addressed—

" To the Right Honourable George Earl of Cumberland.

In most humble manner complaining, sheweth

Your poor suppliants of the town of Freer Staynforth.

" That whereas we and our ancestors have at all times heretofore been under the rule of your Honour's ancestors in the time of service of the King or Queen's Majesty; and forasmuch as we are now tenants to one Edward Darcye, Esquire, attending at the Court, who offereth to sell us, but holdeth it at so unreasonable a price as we are never able to pay:..and for

that we are in choice to purchase it ourselves, or to chuse our landlord, so it is, Right Honourable, that we of one of our general assent are most heartily desirous that it would please your Honour to buy and purchase us, so as we might be wholly under your Honour's rule. And we will willingly give unto you towards the purchase all the goods that we have, moveable and immoveable, for good will, and the good report we hear of your Honour.

" For truth is, Right Honourable, we have offered to give unto our master, for leases of 21 years, 20 years' fine; or for the purchase threescore years' fine; or otherwise all the goods we have; and none of this will satisfy him. And now he taketh suit upon us, and meaneth to expulse us. And we are in number sevenscore people and above, and have no other living to go unto: so as without your Honour's goodness we know no way what to do.

" Your Honour's poor suppliants,
The Inhabitants of Freer Staynforth."

I am almost induced to believe, says Dr. Whitaker, from the language of this petition, that some remains of personal slavery subsisted among these poor people in the reign of Elizabeth. It is well known that this unhappy condition, though the subjects of it were treated with great gentleness, was suffered to continue among the tenants of the Religious Houses after it was abolished every where else. Whether there are any instances of it upon their domains after the dissolution, I do not recollect; but in this place, the terms, *to sell, to buy, to purchase us*, are scarcely capable of any other sense.

The petition however had no effect, for George Earl of Cumberland was in circumstances which equally precluded him from doing a generous act, and accepting a good offer; and it seems, after all, that either the tenants grew richer, or

the lord reasonable, so as to enable them, according to their own expression, *to buy themselves.*—History of Craven, p. 136.

We sacrifice too much to prudence.—p. 83.

" *Si le respect humain empêche l'eclat de bien des desordres, il n'empêche pas moins la profession de bien des vertues. La bienséance veut qu'on se retire des grands vices; elle defend qu'on embrasse les grandes vertus.*"—La Bruyere, vol. iv. p. 37.

Tenterden Steeple and Goodwin Sands.—p. 85.

Sir Thomas More tells the story thus, in the fourth book of his Dyaloge, fol. 145, edition 1530.

" And nowe where they laye for a profe that God were not contented with batayle made agaynst infydelys, the loss and mynyshment of Crystendome synce that guyse began, they fare as dyd onys an old sage father fole in Kent, at suche tyme as dyvers men of worshyppe assembled olde folke of the countre, to commune and devyse about the amendement of Sandwyche haven. At whyche tyme as they began fyrst to enserche by reason, and by the report of olde menne there about, what thynge had bene the occasyon that so good an haven was in so few yerys so sore decayed, and such sandys rysen, and such shalow flattys made therewith, that ryght small vessels had now moche worke to come in at dyvers tydys, where great shyppys were, wythin fewe yerys passed, accustumed to ryde wythout dyffycultye, and some layinge the faute to Goodwyn Sandys, some to the landys inned by dyvers owners in the Ile of Tenate out of the chanell, in whyche the

se was wont to compace the ile, and brynge the vessels rounde about it, whose course at the ebbe was wont to scoure the haven, whiche now the see excluded thense, for lacke of such course and scourynge is choked up with sande: as they thus alleged, dyvers men dyvers causes, there starte up one good olde father and sayd, 'Ye maysters saye every manne what he wyll, cha marked this matter well as some other. And by God, I wote howe it waxed nought well ynoughe; for I knewe it good, and have marked, so chave, when it began to waxe worse.' 'And what hath hurte it, good father?' quod the gentyllmen. 'By my faythe, maysters,' quod he, 'yonder same Tenterden stepell, and nothing ellys, that by the masse cholde 'twere a fayre sysshe pole.' 'Why hath the stepell hurte the haven, good father?' quod they. 'Naye, byr Lady, maysters,' quod he, 'yah can not tell you well why, but chote well it hath. For by God, I knewe it a good haven tyll that stepell was bylded; and by the Mary masse, cha marked it well, it never throve synce.'"

It is worth while to annex Latimer's version of the story, not merely as a specimen of his peculiar manner, but as an example of the rapid improvement which the English language had undergone in one generation.

"But here is now an argument to prove the matter against the preachers. Here was preaching against covetousness all the last yeare in Lent, and the next sommer followed rebellion: *ergo* preaching against covetousness was the cause of the rebellion. A goodly argument! Here was, I remember, an argument of Maister More's, which he bringeth in a booke that he made against Bilney: and here, by the way, I will tell you a mery toy. Maister More was once sent in commission into Kent, to help to trie out (if it might be) what was the cause of Goodwin Sandes, and the shelfs that stopped up Sandwich haven. Thether commeth Maister More, and calleth the countrye afore him, such as were thought to be men of

experience, and men that could of likelihode best certify him of that matter, concerning the stopping of Sandwich haven. Among others came in before him an olde man with a white head, and one that was thought to be litle lesse than an hundereth yeares olde. When Maister More saw this aged man, he thought it expedient to heare him say his minde in this matter, for being so olde a man it was likely that he knew most of any man in that presence and company. So Maister More called this olde aged man unto him, and sayd, 'Father,' sayd he, 'tell me if ye can, what is the cause of this great arising of the sande and shelves here about this haven, the which stop it up that no shippes can arive here? Ye are the oldest man that I can espie in all this companye, so that if any man can tell any cause of it, ye of likelihode can say most in it, or at least wise more than any other man here assembled.' 'Yea forsooth, good maister,' quod this olde man, 'for I am well nigh an hundreth yeares olde, and no man here in this company anything neare unto mine age.' 'Well then,' quod Maister More, 'how say you in this matter? What thinke ye to be the cause of these shelves and flattes that stoppe up Sandwiche haven?' 'Forsooth, Syr,' quoth he, 'I am an olde man: I thinke that Tenterton steeple is the cause of Goodwin Sandes. For I am an olde man, Syr,' quod he, 'and I may remember the building of Tenterton steeple, and I may remember when there was no steeple at all there. And before that Tenterton steeple was in building, there was no maner of speaking of any flats or sands that stopped the haven; and therefore I thinke that Tenterton steeple is the cause of the destroying and decaying of Sandwich haven.'... And even so, to my purpose, is preaching of God's worde the cause of rebellion, as Tenterton steeple is a cause that Sandwich haven is decayed."—*Latimer's Sermons*, fol. 109, edition 1575.

Large households of retainers, liable to be cast off.—p. 97.

" It is as usual," says Fuller, " to see a young serving man an old beggar, as to see a light horse first from the great saddle of a nobleman to come to the hackney coach, and at last die in drawing a car."—*Holy State*, p. 16.

Possibly this passage may have suggested to Dibdin his song of " The high-mettled race-horse,".. which ought to be printed in every spelling-book, and learnt by heart in every nursery.

Edward VI.—p. 101.

" Some foreign writers have observed, that the hope of this land while he lived, Edward the Sixth, did die upon the self-same day (after revolution of some years) in which his father had put Sir Thomas More to death; a man otherwise faulty, yet so true a pattern of moral justice, as it cannot seem strange, if the righteous Judge did take special notice of King Henry's dealing with him, and insert the day of his death in his everlasting kalendar, to be after signed with the untimely death of King Henry's only son."—*Jackson*, vol. ii. p. 275.

Assuredly the sincere good-will will be accepted for the deed.—p. 103.

" Verum ego" *(ait apud Curtium Rex Macedo,)* " qui non annos meos, sed victorias numero, si munera fortunæ bene computo, diu vixi." *Quanto veriùs is, qui vitam suam omnem Deo consecrat, suoque solùm Domino placere studet et servire, fidentèr*

dicat. " Ego, qui non annos meos, quibus Deo servio, sed desideria mea numero, si beneficia Domini mei bene computo, diu vixi."

" *Sic est profectò: Centum, imò mille annos, imò sæcula vivit, et Deo servit, quisquis ex animo veréque cupit centenis vel millenis annis, aut multis sæculis Deo servire, si vivere tot annis liceret. Nam apud Deum voluntas pro facto sumitur, apud quem seriò voluisse facere, sæpe tantumdem est, quantum fecisse.*" —Drexelius, Æternitatis Prod. tom. i. p. 41.

It is an observation of Mercier's that despotism loves large cities; .. insubordination and anarchy like them quite as well.—p. 107.

Hobbes says, alluding to the part taken by London in the Great Rebellion, " there can hardly arise a long or dangerous rebellion, that has not some such overgrown city with an army or two in its belly to foment it." (Behemoth, p. 549 of his Moral and Political Works.)

A preacher, who lived long enough to perceive the errors of his early course, to choose the better part, and to leave behind him a good and honourable name, speaks thus, in one of his Sermons before the House of Commons, of the service which London rendered to the Parliamentary cause.

" London, the mirror of wonder, of love, zeal, constancy, and bounty to you and your cause: London, the ark that hath kept you safe in this deluge of blood that hath overflowed the nation: London, your Ophir and India that supplied you with masses of money and plate in all your wants: London, your bank and stock of honors and hearts: London, yours so much that you had not been what you are, if it had not been for London: London, that, under a parliament, hath preserved

a nation; and London, that, under God, hath preserved a parliament; ..Was it ever seen, or could it ever be related, that any city under heaven ever did as London hath done, in love and kindness to your cause and you."—*Lightfoot*, vol. vi. p. 120.

You might have seen me derive instruction while I was giving it.—p. 125.

The same thought is prettily expressed by Hurdis in his Tragedy of " Sir Thomas More."

Sir Thomas. And what have you conversed of?
Cecilia. Nothing, Sir,
Worth your attention.
Sir Thomas. But perhaps it was.
I love to hearken to the simple chat
Of prattling infants. From the lip of youth
I draw a sweeter pleasure to remark
How reason dawns toward her perfect day,
How passion kindles and impels the soul
To all the useful purposes of life.

Children.—p. 126.

" Little children," said Luther, " stand on the best terms with God. We old doting fools torment ourselves, and have sorrow of heart with our disputings touching the Word, whether it be true or not. But children with simple, pure faith, hold it without all doubting. Now if we would be saved, we must, like them, give ourselves to the Word. But the wicked and crafty Spirit, before we be aware, can cun-

ningly draw us from it, by presenting new dealings and business to keep us in action. Therefore best it were for us early to die, and to be covered over with the spade.

"Loving children live innocently, and know of no sins: they are without malice, wrath, covetousness, unbelief, &c.: what they hear concerning Christ and the life to come, they believe simply and plainly, and prattle joyfully thereof. From whence Christ speaketh unto us old ones earnestly to follow their example, when he saith, 'whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, shall in no wise enter therein.' For children believe aright, and Christ loveth them with their childish sports. On the contrary, he is an enemy to the wisdom of the world."—*Colloquia Mensalia*, p. 200.

John Fox, and the sight of a slaughter-house.—p. 129.

The passage alluded to is in a letter written by this excellent man to Queen Elizabeth, interceding, unhappily without effect! for ten poor Anabaptists, who were condemned to the flames, by the yet unrepealed laws which had been enacted under the Romish Clergy. He says, "*Ac neque hominum solùm, utinam et pecudibus ipsis opitulari possum. Ita enim cum (stultè fortassis hæc de meipso, at verè dico) macellum ipsum ubi mactantur etiam pecudes, vix prætereo, quin tacito quodam doloris sensu mens refugiat.*"

There is a beautiful passage upon this subject in a late sermon by Mr. Woodward, which the reader who has not seen it, may thank me for here presenting to his notice.

"Here we live in the very region of death. The whole creation, irrational as well as rational, groaneth and travaileth in pain together, under the iron sceptre of this king of terrors. And surely, if life in every other respect yielded the purest

happiness, it would be some abatement of it, to see the inferior animals all around, silently submissive to that curse which our sins have brought down upon them. Nor is it possible to survey the cattle upon a thousand hills, the sheep that ornament our fields, innocent, defenceless and unsuspecting, without some feeling for that allotment by which they will all be summoned from their pleasant pastures, to die by the hand of slaughter. Into this mysterious arrangement I do not presume to enter fully; nor would I take upon me, with a late truly excellent minister of the gospel, to lay down as a positive doctrine (cheering as the prospect may be) that these animals will rise again to a new and blessed life. But this I will say, because the Scripture says it, that the meanest of such creatures is the care of Heaven; that God feedeth the young ravens that call upon him; that not even a sparrow falleth to the ground without our Heavenly Father. In these hands we should be satisfied to leave them; assured that they will be considerately and mercifully dealt with. One thing, however, is clear, that while they are the objects of such care, it is a more serious thing than some imagine to trifle with their pains, to make their miseries our sport, or to put them to one moment's needless suffering. These sentiments, I am well aware, will pass with many for unmanly, childish weakness: but alas! do we consider how much of that high mettle, which we call manliness, must come down? Do we remember that we must become as little children, if we would enter into the kingdom of Heaven? In that world, then, of angelic innocence, of divine simplicity, tenderness and love, where he, who was himself once led as a lamb to the slaughter, sitteth upon the throne—it will, I say, be a part of its blessedness, to feel assured that no creatures are doomed to suffer for our use: to look around, perhaps, and see various orders of happy beings, who range its everlasting hills, and rejoice in security on every side; to see its vallies smile with flocks, against which

no hand of violence shall be raised, and which shall repose upon their pastures during the days of an endless life."—*Irish Pulpit*, 1827, p. 20.

There is a miracle related of St. Columba, which is in a better spirit than is often found in monkish miracles. St. Adamnan records it, and the Irish Friar, whose abridgement of the life was published at St. Omer's, (with the lives of St. Patrick and St. Bridget, 1625,) supposes "none will be so impudent as to deny what hath been delivered from so holy and innocuous a pen." But this Friar having, like most abridgement-makers, a happy tact for omitting what is most worthy of notice, has not inserted the story which follows it.

"One day a certain brother, by name Molua, the grandson of Briun, came to the Saint when he was writing, and said to him, 'bless, I pray thee, this iron which I have in my hand.' He, stretching out his hand with the reed in it, signed and blessed it, his face still being turned toward the book whence he was writing. But as the brother was departing, the Saint asked of another what it was that he had blessed. Diermid, his pious attendant, made answer, 'thou hast blessed a knife which is to cut the throats of the cattle.' Then said the Saint, 'I trust in the Lord that the iron which I have blessed shall never hurt either man or beast.' In the same day what the Saint had thus said was approved. For when the brother, going out of the monastery, attempted to kill an ox, three times he tried with all his strength, and was not able to pierce the skin. The monks, understanding this, took the knife, and heated the blade and beat it out, and put part of the metal upon all the iron instruments in the monastery. Nor from that time forward could they inflict a wound upon any flesh, the blessing of the Saint remaining in its strength."—Acta SS. Jun. tom. ii. p. 320.

From a different version of this story in another life, Baert,

the Bollandist, argues, "*ea solummodò ferramenta sic illita fuisse, quæ aliis usibus destinata, fortuitum poterant vulnus facere: quis enim non videt inconsultum fuisse, ut nullum esset in monasterio ferrum, quo cutis cujusquam perstringi posset, ad usum valetudinarii vel macelli?*"—p. 224. It is edifying to observe the gravity with which such legends are treated by such men!

Butchers.—p. 129.

A representation from the Butchers in the different kingdoms and provinces of Spain, was presented to the Cortes in 1811, to show that they were comprehended in a certain ordinance of March 8, 1783, and consequently free from the note of infamy which was placed upon them, being equal in rights to other honourable subjects and honest men, and consequently capable of holding offices in the service of the commonwealth, and of serving in the army and navy. They prayed therefore that that part of the Ordonnance of 1800 which prejudiced them, might be abrogated. Copies of an essay were presented at the same time to prove "*que el oficio de cortador de carnes es una ocupacion honesta que no infama á sus operarios.*" The matter was referred to the Commission of Legislation, one of the members observing that it was a subject which deserved the attention of the Cortes; that in this point the laws required alteration, and that it was expedient to do away with stigmas of this kind, which depended wholly upon prejudice, and rendered infamous many employments which were useful to society.—*Diario de las Cortes*, t. iv. p. 152.

...An intolerant and bitter-minded bigot, who, as Warburton says, "counterworks his Creator, makes God after man's image, and chuses the worst model he can find, himself!"—p. 133.

There is a freshness in this sentence and a vigour which evince its originality. Something however which might have suggested it, may be found in the following extract from a divine of a better school than Warburton's.

"There is no Christian man, I am persuaded, this day living (unless he be stark mad) who, if this interrogatory were propounded unto him in express terms, "*Whether do you think yourself altogether as wise as God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost?*" but would answer negatively, "*I am not.*" And yet how many writers in our time, through forgetfulness to put this or the like interrogatory to themselves, when they set pen to paper, have continued for many years together grievously sick of our first parents' first disease, whatsoever that were; yet not sick of it in explicit desires or attempts to be every way equal with God, but in implicit presumptions that they are altogether equal with him in wisdom and knowledge, at least for the governing of this Universe, from the beginning of it to the end, and for the dispensing of mercy and justice towards men and angels, before they had any beginning of being, and for ever, even world without end, after this middle world shall be dissolved. To give a true and punctual answer to all their presumptuous contrivances, or to accept their challenges in this kind, would require more skill in arts than most men are endowed with, and a great deal more time than any wise man or skilful artist can be persuaded to mispend. It would be a very hard task for the cunningest needle-woman, or other professor of manual or finger mysteries, to unweave or dissolve a spider's web, thread by thread, after the same

manner which she did weave it; and yet a mean housewife or child may, with a wing or besom, in a moment undo all that the spider hath wrought in a whole year. And so may every novice in Arts unbubble all that some great clerks or schoolmen have been twenty or thirty years in contriving or working, (as in setting forth maps or systems of the manner of God's decrees before all times, or disputes about election or reprobation, as they are immanent acts *in him*,) with that common but useful exception, *aut nihil, aut nimiùm.* Their conclusions might (for aught I know) be unanswerable and sound, upon supposition that they are every whit as wise as God. But this being not granted them, or the contradictory being granted, "*that the Omnipotent Creator is* δὶς διὰ πασῶν, *wiser than they are;*" the most elaborate and longest-studied treatises, which it hath been my hap upon these arguments to see, afford no document of greater strength or cunning than is exhibited in the spider's web. The authors of them tell us only (and herein we believe them) what they themselves would have done, if they had been delegated to make decrees or acts for the government of men and angels, or what God should have done if they had been of his privy council, when he made all things, visible and invisible. But what God doth, hath done, or will do, according to the sole council of his most holy will, that, they show us not, nor go about to show, while they run the clear contrary way to that which God our Father, and the Church our Mother, hath prescribed us to follow. Now the way which the English Church, from the warrant of God's word, to this purpose prescribes, is to admire, not to determine the equity of God's decrees before all times from contemplation of the manner of their execution, or sweet disposition of his Providence in time. It is a preposterous presumption to determine the manner how they have been, or shall be executed, by prying into the projection or contrivance of the Almighty Judge, before man or angel, or any thing besides God himself had any being.

" He sinned grievously that said in his heart, or secret unexamined thought, *similis ero altissimo* (whether this be meant of *Nebuchadnezzar*, or some other earthly tyrant only, or literally of one or more of them, and mystically of *Lucifer*). But they sin no less for the *act*, which say in their hearts, or presuppose in their implicit thoughts, *altissimus est simillimus mihi:* the most high God hath determined nothing concerning men or angels, otherwise than we would have done, if we had been in his place. They preposterously usurp the same power which God in his first creation did justly exercise; who, though not expressly, yet by inevitable consequence, and by implicit thoughts, make a God after their own image and similitude; a God, not according to the reliques of that image wherein he made our first parents, but after the corruptions or defacements of it, through partiality, envy, pride, and hatred towards their fellow creatures."—Jackson, vol. ii. p. 781.

Hours of rising.—p. 149.

The most curious statement that I have any where met with concerning the apportionment of time for sleep, occurs in Dr. Clarke's Travels. Speaking of the Norwegians, he says, " The lower order of people in summer sit up the whole night, and take no sleep for a considerable length of time. Sunday is in fact their sleeping day: if they do not go to church, they spend the greater part of the sabbath in sleep; and in winter they amply repay themselves for any privation of their hours of repose during summer."—(vol. x. p. 215.)

Archbishop Williams is said to have slept only three hours in the four and twenty, " so that he lived three times as long, (says his biographer) as one that lived no longer." This is a marvellous fact, for Williams was a man who employed all his

waking hours, and moreover was not of the most tranquil disposition. But I believe that any one who should attempt to follow his example, would severely suffer for his imprudence. The mind requires regular rest as much as the body, and does not so soon recover from any excess of exertion. But it is the tendency of the present state of society in England to produce unnatural exertions. Stage-coach-horses, and walkers against time, are not the only creatures that are worked to death in this country. Many are the labourers (and it is the most sober and industrious upon whom the evil falls,) who by task-work, or by working what are called days and quarters, prepare for themselves a premature old age. And many are the youths who, while they are studying for University honours, rise early and sit up late, have recourse to art for the purpose of keeping their jaded faculties wakeful, and irretrievably injure their health for ever, if this intemperance of study does not cost them their lives.

We are bound over to the service of the world.—p. 166.

" *Quod à prisco* * *poetâ dictum est, verum esse non dubitem:*
' *Exigua pars est vitæ quam nos vivimus.*'

" *Cæterùm quidem omne vitæ spatium, non vita, sed tempus est. Urgentia nos circumstant cùm negotia, tum vitia, et in cupiditatibus infixos premunt. Vix unquam nobis ad nos recurrere licet: nobis ipsi rarissimè vacamus, sed aliis: nemo ferè suus est. Qui pecuniam suam dividere velit, nullus est; vitam miserrimè laceramus, et modò in hæc, modò in illa negotia partimur, sæpe vana et inutilia. Ita magnam partem exigimus non vivendo; certe non cœlo, non Deo vivimus.*—Drexelius, tom. i. p. 45. Ætern. Prod.

* Publio mimographo.

An anonymous poet of the Puritan age has some remarkable verses upon this subject among many bad ones of the rankest raving fanaticism.

Pass, World, along with all thy pompous train!
Go ruffling in thy pride, thy richest show,
Drawn in thy stateliest chariot! Thou art too low,
Too base an object for my high disdain.

Contemn the World?..I would, were it worth contempt!
Or give my indignation footing, or
On what shall it trample?

* * * * *

I'd have the World at will; and yet I care
No more for't than to buy me food and frieze:
I'd have it the obedient tool I'd make to rear
My building soul; and when my master sees
It meet, lay it by.
And this is all I care for the careful World,
To keep it by my hand, and from my heart.

Soliliquies Theological, by J. S. gent. 1641. pp. 187-8.

We are as it were bound over to the service of the World.—p. 166.

"Many of us," says Paley, "are brought up with this world set before us, and nothing else. Whatever promotes this world's prosperity is praised; whatever hurts and obstructs and prejudices this world's prosperity, is blamed; and there all praise and censure end. We see mankind about us in motion and action, but all these motions and actions directed to worldly objects. We hear their conversation, but it is all the same way. And this is what we see and hear from the

first. The views which are continually placed before our eyes, regard this life alone and its interests. Can it then be wondered at, that an early worldly-mindedness is bred in our hearts so strong as to shut out heavenly-mindedness entirely?" —Sermon I.

There is a nation of warriors in Hindostan who call their Deity All-Steel.—p. 169.

The Sikhs, who are at present the most formidable people in that country. They are required to have steel about them in some shape, which is generally that of a knife or dagger. In support of this ordinance they quote these verses of Guru Govind, who made them a military sect: "The protection of the infinite Lord is over us: thou art the Lord, the cutlass, the knife, and the dagger. The protection of the Immortal Being is over us: the protection of ALL-STEEL is over us: the protection of ALL TIME is over us: the protection of ALL-STEEL is constantly over us."—*Sir John Malcolm. Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 253. 8vo. edition.

They address the Goddess Bhavani Durga thus: "Thou art the edge of the sword: thou art the arrow, the sword, the knife, and the dagger." (*Ibid.* 283.) "Durga," says Guru Govind, "appeared to me when I was asleep, arrayed in all her glory. The Goddess put into my hand the hilt of a bright scimitar, which she had before held in her own. 'The country of the Mahommedans,' said the Goddess, 'shall be conquered by thee, and numbers of that race shall be slain.' After I had heard this, I exclaimed, This steel shall be the guard to me and my followers, because in its lustre the splendour of thy countenance, O Goddess! is always reflected."—*Ibid.* p. 287.

... Rather than have been born and bred to a large fortune, I should deem it better for myself always to live precariously, and die poor at last.—p. 193.

Nicolas Clenard has left a pleasant picture of a scholar's feeling concerning riches in the little volume of his Letters.

" *Memini me quandoque leviter abs te castigatum, quòd ad rem parum attentus essem, et parandum etiam senectutis viaticum. Hactenus non induxi animum, ut aliquid prospicerem in posterum, nec adhuc mihi possum illud imperare. Spero dabit locus exilii mei victum exuli, quocunque me Deus miserit: quod si nihil reliquum est in patriâ, quod me reducem queat alere, moriar peregre, et studiis meis morem geram, potius quam illic nemini. Nam de parandis hîc opibus, quemadmodum plerique putant, ut benè saginatus domum revertar, id verò somnium est. Habentes victum et amictum, his contenti simus, et ut cum Flacco dicam,*

' Lætus in præsens animus, quod ultra est
Oderit curare.'

Spes nummaria non me fecit erronem, sed ocii desiderium; id volente Domino consecutus sum profundissimum; non est animus præsenti oblatâ occasione non uti. Valeant qui crastina curant. Scio te ridere stultitiam meam, ipse tamen me hoc nomine non possum ridere, et ideo tibi forsitan magis ridiculus videor. Verùm quid facias, si aliquis me ita incantavit, ut nolim ullo pacto sollicitus esse de crastino?... Unicus semper mihi fuit scopus, è turbis illis eripi quas præbebat patria, satis mihi beatus videor, quod vel tandem peregrè contigerit. Nihil amplius opto, quàm ut Deus hanc mentem mihi sempiternet, ocium præsens conservet, et qui vivere non cupiam valde dives, ne unquam sic desipeam, ut dives velim mori."—Nic. Clenardi Peregrinationum, ac de rebus Machometicis Epistolæ. Lovanii. 1551.

Aerostation attempted in Portugal in 1709.—p. 201.

In 1759 Pedro Norberto de Aucourt e Padilha published a book entitled *Raridades da Natureza e da Arte, divididas pelos quatro Elementos.* It contains a short article upon the various attempts which men have made at flying; and it is there stated that P. Bartholomeu Lourenço de Gusman laboured at this project, and in fact raised himself into the air in a machine of pasteboard, or strong paper, in the presence of King Joam V. "*O Padre Bartholomeu Lourenço de Gusmaõ trabalhou no mesmo projecto, e com effeito em huma maquina de papelam se elevou na presença do Senhor Rey D. Joam V.*"—p. 428.

An imaginary representation of this aerostatic machine was published at Lisbon in 1774...*na Officina de Simam Thaddeo Ferreira*...with this inscription—

Maquina Aerostatica
que pela primeira vez se vio na Europa, inventada pelo celebre
Bartholomeu Lourenço,
por Autonomasia o Voador, Irmam do insigne
Alexandre de Gusmaõ:
Lançada ao Ar no Castello de S. Jorge de Lisboa; donde o
Author desceo nella ao Terreiro do Paço em 20 *da Abril*
de 1709.

The representation is absurd, and the explanation not less so. The elevating, or as it is there called, the attractive secret, is placed in two metallic globes. In all parts this is merely imaginary. A note says, that "notwithstanding the author of the machine has affirmed that the magnet, by virtue of which the boat was made to rise in the air, was contained in the globes, the elevation was in fact not occasioned by any attractive virtue, but by the force of gas confined within those

globes, which the author called the secret, and which he would not reveal, having perhaps good reasons for concealing it. Certain it is that the author was a man of talents, and of great capacity, and that trial was made of such a machine, according to the testimonies of certain respectable old persons, who are still living in our Court, in spite of there being some who deny it, perhaps for malice, or for ignorance."

The print is so fantastic, and the explanation accompanying it so impossible, that the fact of P. Bartholomeu's ascent would be rather discredited than confirmed by them, if it were not for the testimony which has been previously adduced. I happen, however, to possess a copy of the petition presented to the Court by P. Bartholomeu, in which he states the supposed uses of his invention. It is in a manuscript collection of Portugueze and Spanish Tracts and Letters, in nine vols. folio, quoted in my History of Brazil as the Pinheiro Collection, from the name of the Dezembargador, to whom it seems originally to have belonged. He had discovered, he says, an instrument for travelling through the air as easily as by land or sea, and with much greater expedition, even at the rate of more than 200 leagues a day. By this means important despatches might be transmitted to the armies and to the remotest countries almost in the very time that they are resolved on: and in this the King of Portugal was interested much more than any other sovereign, by reason of the greater distance of his dominions. By this means misgovernment in the conquests might be speedily put an end to, arising as they did mainly because of the length of time which elapsed before intelligence from them could reach the Court. Their treasures moreover might be remitted with much greater speed and security: merchants could transmit their letters and remittances with the same celerity: besieged places might be reinforced with men, munition, and supplies; and those persons who wished to retire from them might at any time be brought

away, without the enemy being able to impede them. The regions which are nearest to the pole might be discovered, and the glory of that discovery which other nations had so often in vain attempted, would be secured for the Portugueze nation. The true longitude of all parts of the world might be ascertained, owing to the want of which knowledge, and the errors of the charts in consequence, so many shipwrecks were occasioned. Other infinite advantages there were, some of which were obvious, and others which time would show, altogether making it well worthy his Majesty's attention. There were inconveniences also, which would arise when men had the power of passing so certainly from one kingdom to another; but these might be prevented by giving the exclusive privilege of using it to one person, who should at all times execute the orders which were given. The petitioner therefore requested that privilege for himself and his heirs; and that no person in Portugal or its conquests should make use of the instrument, nor ever make one, without his consent, on pain of confiscation of all his property, half to the informer, half to the inventor, besides such other penalties as his Majesty might think the importance of the business required. He petitioned also for a reward for so great a discovery.

The answer of the *Dezembargo do Paço* is given, which is an unanimous opinion, upon sight of the invention, that the reward should be increased. The answer is dated April 20, 1709, the day on which the pamphlet says the ascent was made; but in the MS. the ascent is said to have been made from the India House.

I subjoin the original as accurately as I can transcribe it from a very indistinct hand. It seems to have been incorrectly written or transcribed. The transcript must have been made before the year 1750, and it establishes the fact of an ascent, and that the machine must have been a balloon, which the projector expected he should be able to guide.

Petiçam que fez o P. Bartholomeu Lourenço ao Dezembargo do Paço, para que se lhe concedesse fazer hum invento que havia andar pelo ar; e com effeito, se lhe concedeo; o qual fez elevando—o a Caza da India, o fez subir ao ar.

Senhor

Diz o P. Bartholomeu Lourenço, que elle tem descuberto hum instrumento para se andar pello ar, da mesma sorte do que pella terra, e pella mar, e com muito mais brevidade, fazendo lhe muitas vezes duzentas e mais legoas por dia; no qual instrumento se poderam levar os avizos de mais importancia aos exercitos, e as terras muito remotas quasi no mesmo tempo em que se rezolveram. Em que enteressa Vossa Magestade muito mais que nenhum dos outros Principes, pella mayor distancia dos seus dominios, cortandose desta sorte os desgovernos das conquistas, que procedem em grande parte de chegar muito tarde as noticias dellas a Vossa Magestade; alem do que podera Vossa Magestade mandar vir o preciozo dellas muito mas brevemente e mas seguro, poderam os homems de negocio passar letras e cabedaes com a mesma brevedade; todas as praças sitiadas poderam ser socorridas tanto de gente como de muniçoens e viveres, a todo o tempo retiraremse dellas todas as pessoas que quizerem, sem que o inimigo o possa impedir; descubrirse haõ as regioens que ficam mais vizinhas ao Polo do Mundo, sendo da Naçam Portugueza a gloria deste descobrimento, que tantas vezes tem intentado inutilmente os estrangeiros; saberse haõ as verdadeyras longitudes de todo o mundo, que por estarem erradas nas mapas cauzam muitos naufragios, alem de infinitas conveniencias que mostrara o tempo, e outros que por se sam notorias, que todas merecem a real atençam de Vossa Magestade. Por que deste invento tam util se pode seguir muitos discordios, e facilitandose muito mais na confiança de se poder passar logo a outro reyno, estando restricto o dito uzo a huma so pessoa, a quem se mandem a todo o tempo as ordens qui forem convenientes a respeito do dito tran-

sporte prohibendose a todas as mais, sob graves penas, e he bem se remunera ao suplicante o invento de tanta importancia.

Pide a Vossa Magestade seja servido conceder ao suplicante o privilegio de que, pondo por obra o dito invento, nenhuma pessoa de qualquier qualidade que for, possa uzar delle em nenhum tempo neste reyno e seus conquistas, com quaesquer pretextos, sem licença do suplicante, ou de seus herdeyros, sob pena do perdimento de todos os seus bens; a metade para o suplicante, e outra a metade para quem o acuzar, e sobre mais penas que Vossa Magestade lhe parecer que pide a importancia deste negocio; as quaes todas teram lugar tanto que constar que algum faz o dito invento, ainda que nam tinha uzado delle, para que non fique frustada as ditas penas ausentandose o que as tiver encorrido.

Despacho do Dezembargo de Paço.

Consultouse no Dezembargo do Paço a favor do requirimento, com todos os votos, a que devia augmentarse o premio a vista da obra.—Lisboa, 20 Abril, 1709.

Sylvius, in his continuation of Aitzema's great history, has an account of a French adventurer who perished miserably in an attempt at flying at Regensburg, in the year 1673. The relation is far from clear, which Sylvius himself regrets. Dressed in wet clothes, he was to fly from a high tower on an outstretched sail, with some sort of fire works fastened on his back and to his hands and feet. This should seem the mere feat of a desperate exhibiter; but then it is said that by means of these fireworks the flight was to be performed; that he had often performed it successfully, and that when he lost his balance and hung by one hand, he held the other to his nostrils to prevent suffocation from the smoke and stench, and that he fell in consequence, not of burning, but of suffocation. From this it might seem that what was called his fireworks was an apparatus for producing gas, though the manner of applying it is inexplicable. Had it been a mere descent, set off with

crackers, Sylvius would not have expressed his wish for a clearer and more intelligible relation. For those who may be interested in the history of such experiments, the original passage is subjoined.

1673. *Toen was het dat tot Regensburg dese saak voor-viel. Een persoon van Grenoble gebooren, Charles Bernovin geneemt, was onlangs aldaar gekomen, hebbende den naam van goede kennisse in de heelkonst te hebben: daar-en-boven konde hy een vuur werk toe-rechten, door het welke men op een gespannen zeyl, van hooge gebouwen in de lucht konde vliegen; dat hadde hy op verscheydene plaatsen besocht, daar het hem wel gelukt was, en wilde het ook alhier in het werk stellen. Hy dan maakt al sijnen toestel vaardig, en hem wierd een hoogen tooren tot het werk gegeven, daar men al den toestel op-bracht. Wanneer nu alles vaardig was, begaf hy sich des morgens ten seven uuren op het hoogste van den tooren, en leyde sich, in het aanschouwen van veel* 1000 *menschen, met een nat hemde en nat linnen gewaat aan, (om door de brand niet beschadigt te worden,) op dat gespannen zeyl neder, latende sich de bestelde vuur-werken op den rugge, en aan handen en voeten binden; en als alles nu klaar was, beval hy sijn dienaar, die het aan sou steken, goede acht op hem te slaan: aldus voegde hy sich op het zeyl in sijn gewicht, en beval sijn knecht aan te steken; die sulks dede. Maar alsoo deselve wat harder aan het eene als aan het andere eynde aan-gingen, geraakte hy uyt het gewicht van het zeyl, en bleef aan sijn armen hangen, seggende, O Jesu mijn leven is verlooren! Aldus bleef hy met een hand hangen, en hield met de andere den neus toe, om door de rook en stank niet te verstikken: maar des niet-tegenstaande begost den brand sov hevig en geweldig, dat hy, genoegsaam verstikt, van boven neder viel, daar hy op-genomen, en by de Capucijnen begraven wiert. Ik wenschte de beschrijving hier van wel wat duydelijker te hebben gehad, om de selve den leser ook alsoo te beter te konnen voordragen. Altoos desen hoogen vlieger heeft, na de gewoonte van sulke hoog-geleerde lieden, een lagen val gedaan:*

latende, soo als ik geloof, weynig leerlingen na, om die konst te leeren.—Sylvius. Historien onses Tyds. 1669 tot 1679. p. 551.

In that very curious work, the Recognitions of Clement, is a passage concerning Zoroaster, which if it were not evidently fabulous as being related of one who is there identified with Misraim, and of whose real history nothing is known, might be understood to imply that he practised electricity for the purpose of deluding the people, and was killed in one of his experiments. The story is thus given in Whiston's translation.

"This man then being very much and very often intent upon the stars, and desirous to seem a God among men, began to produce, as it were, certain sparks from the stars, and to show them to men; that so the unskilful and ignorant might be led into astonishment at the miracle: and he, being desirous to increase the opinion they had of him, often attempted these wonders, till at length he was set on fire, and consumed therein by that very Dæmon he had been so conversant with. But the foolish people that then were, when they ought certainly to have laid aside the opinion they before had of him, since they had found that that opinion was confuted by the penal manner of his death, extolled him now more than ever. For they built a monument in honour of him, as of the friend of God, and one that was conveyed to heaven by thunder, as by a chariot; and they ventured to adore him and worship him, as a living star. For hence it came that after his death he had the name of Zoroaster, that is, the Living Star, among those that, after one generation, were skilled in the Greek language. Nay, to conclude, it is in imitation of this example, that even now many worship those who have died by thunder, and honour them with monuments, as the friends of God."—Book iv. §§ 27, 28. p. 197.

Anthemius.—p. 201.

The story is thus related by Agathias.

"There was much discourse at that time upon the subject of exhalations. Aristotle was talked of in all conversations. Some praised him for having discovered the true origin of earthquakes; others maintained that his opinion was not conformable to truth. Some, to confirm the opinion which they held, that these furious movements proceeded from a black and thick vapour shut up in the concavities of the earth, referred to a certain machine which Anthemius had invented. This Anthemius was a native of the town of Tralles. He followed the profession of the engineers, who, joining the knowledge of geometry to that of physics, construct works whose effects are similar to those of animated creatures. He excelled not less in mathematics than his brother Metrodorus in grammar. I hold that their mother must have been happy in having contributed to the birth of two such great men. She had yet for sons Olympius, a person very learned in jurisprudence, and well versed in the affairs of the bar, Dioscorus and Alexander, both very skilful in Medicine. Dioscorus passed all his life in his own country, where he exercised his profession with a rare ability. Alexander was sent to Rome, where he became very celebrated. The reputation of Anthemius and of Metrodorus spread itself through all the empire, and came even to the ears of the Emperor, who sent for them even to Constantinople, where they gave ample proofs of their capacity and of their merit. The latter instructed children of the best houses, and instilled into them a marvellous passion for eloquence. The other constructed in Constantinople, and in many other towns of the empire, an infinity of fine works, which will support, as long as they exist, the glory of their author, without our undertaking to enhance it by our words.

I must now speak of that which led me to mention him. There lived at Constantinople a man named Zenon, celebrated in the profession of eloquence, and known to the Emperor, who was so near a neighbour of Anthemius that their houses were joined by a common wall. There arose between them a law-suit, either on account of new holes made in the wall, or for the elevation of some building which took away the light, or for some other such cause as may happen between neighbours. Anthemius having been overcome by the eloquence of his opponent, who was the plaintiff and accuser, and knowing that he had not like him the advantage of words, sought in the art in which he excelled a means of revenging himself for the loss of his cause. Zenon had a very spacious house, enriched with many ornaments, where he frequently received his friends. He had one apartment joining the house of Anthemius; it was in this place that the latter bethought him of putting many large vessels, full of water, to which he attached leathern pipes, which were large enough to cover the vessels entirely, and very narrow at the top, where he attached them to the joists of the floor of his neighbour, so that the air which was enclosed there should rise up without dissipating itself in any way; he afterwards kindled up a great fire under the vessels. When the water began to boil, it cast out a thick vapour, which raised itself with great violence, because the vessels in which it was enclosed were narrower at the top than the bottom. When it reached the beams it shook them in such a manner that the floor trembled. Those who were within the house came out quickly, and fled into the streets and public places, seized with fear. Zenon having gone to the Court, asked his friends whom he found there, what they thought of this earthquake, and if they had suffered no injury from it. When they were surprised and displeased at what he said, that he should hold to them language of such evil augury, they put him into a still greater perplexity, for he could not

doubt the truth of that which he had experienced in his own house, and he dared not contest obstinately against persons of quality, who would be offended by his discourse. Those who maintain that earthquakes proceed from exhalations and from confined vapours, make use of this example, and maintain that this learned engineer, knowing the true cause of these violent movements, had found the art of imitating nature. Some, even at that time, said that they could not seriously believe it: for myself it appeared to me ingeniously imagined, but nevertheless that did not convince me. When cats are running upon the planks of a granary, they make a similar movement. I think, nevertheless, that there is no person who would wish to take this for an example of that which shakes the earth and overthrows provinces. It is true that their mechanical inventions are admirable, but that does not explain the true beginning of these disorders of which we speak. Anthemius fabricated against Zenon divers other tricks; one amongst others, that of causing his house to be struck by lightning. He received into a concave mirror all the collected rays of the sun; then turning it all at once towards the house of Zenon, he filled it with an extraordinary light, at which those who were within were dazzled and frightened. He excited also, by a collision of certain bodies proper to render a great sound, a noise capable of astonishing the most bold, even equal to that of thunder when it rolls in the bosom of a cloud. Zenon, having at last discovered by what artifice all these surprising effects were produced, threw himself at the feet of the Emperor to complain of the evil offices his neighbour rendered to him. They say that anger made him say some very good things upon this occasion; for making allusion to some ancient verses, he said in the Senate House that, being a man, he was not sufficiently strong to resist an enemy who cast forth thunder like Jupiter, and who shook the earth like Neptune. These effects are wonderful, although they

are only the sport and invention of man. But they do not serve any thing to discover the true origin of that done by Nature."

I annex the original of that part which describes the manner in which Anthemius applied the power of steam to this neighbourly purpose.

"Ὁ δε (Ανθέμιος) ἐκ τῆς οἰκείας αὐτὸν ἀντελύπησε τέχνης τρόπῳ τοιῷδε. δομον τινὰ ὑπερῶον ὁ Ζηνών ἐκέκτητο ἐυρὴν τε λίαν καὶ διαπρεπῆ καὶ περιεργοτατα πεποικιλμένον, ἐν ᾧ δη τὰ πολλὰ ἐμφιλοχωρεῖν ἐιώθει, καὶ εστιᾶν τοις φιλτάτοις· τούτου δέ τὰ πρὸς τῳ ἐδάφει ἐνδιαιτήματα τῆς Ανθεμίυ ὄντα ἐτύγχανε μοίρας, ὡς τὸ μεταξὺ τέγος, τὸ μὲν ἐς ὀροφην, τὸ δὲ ἐς βάσιν παρατετάσθαι. ἐνταῦθα δὴ οὖν λέβητας μεγάλοις ὕδατος ἐμπλήσας διακριδὸν ἔστησε πόλλαχυ τῷ δωματός ἀυλοὶς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἔξωθεν σκυτίνοις περιβαλὼν, κάτω μὲν ἐυρυνομένοις ὡς ἅπασαν τὴν στεφάνην περιβεβύσθαι· ἐξῆς δε καθάπερ σάλπιγγα ὑποστελλομένοις καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀναλογῶν τελευτῶντας, ἐνέπηξε ταῖς δοκοῖς καὶ ταις σάνισι τὰ ἀπολήγοντα καὶ ἐς τὸ ἀκριβὲς ἀνεπερόνησεν, ὡς καὶ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἀπειλημμένον ἀέρα ἀφετὸν μὲν εχειν τὴν ανω φορὰν διὰ τῆς κενότητος ἀνιόντα, καὶ γυμνῆ προσψαύειν τῆ ὀροφῆ κατὰ τὸ παρεῖκον καὶ τῇ βύρσῃ περιεχόμενον, ἥκιστα δὲ ἐς τὰ ἐκτὸς διαῤῥεῖν καὶ ὑπεκφέρεσθαι. ταῦτα δὴ οὖν ἐκ τοῦ ἀφανοῦς καταστησάμενος, πῦρ ἐνῆκε σφοδρὸν ὕπο τοὶς τῶν λεβήτων πυθμένας, καὶ φλόγα ἐξῆψε μεγάλην· αὐτίκα δὲ τῷ ὕδατος διαθερμαινομένυ καὶ ἀνακαχλάζοντος ἀτμὸς ἐπῆρτο πολὺς καὶ ἀνερῥιπίζετο ταχὺς τε καὶ πεπυκνωμένος· ὐκ ἔχων δὲ ὅπη διαχυθείη, ἐπὶ τοὶς ἀυλοὶς ἀνεῖρπε καὶ τῇ στενότητι πιεζόμενος, βιαιότερον ἀνεπέμπετο, ἕως τῇ στέγῃ προσπταίων ενδελεχέστατα, εδονησεν ἅπασαν καὶ διέσεισεν ὅσον ὑποτρέμειν ἠρέμα καὶ διατετριγμέναι τὰ ξύλα. οἱ δὲ ἀμφὶ τὸν Ζήνονα ἐταράττοντο καὶ ἐδείμαινον καὶ ἀμφὶ τὴν λεωφόρον ἐξέπιπτον ποτνιώμενοι καὶ βοῶντες, καὶ τῷ δεινῳ καταπεπληγμένοι."—Agathias. Parisiis, 1660. lib. v. p. 150.

Pope Silvester's Steam-Organ.—p. 201.

"*...fecit arte mechanicâ horologium, et organa idraulica, ubi mirum in modum, per aquæ calefactæ violentiam implet ventus emergens concavitatem barbati, et per multiforatiles tractus, æreæ fistulæ modulatos clamores emittunt.*"—Vincentius Belvacensis, lib. xxiv. c. 98.

It was at Rheims, according to Vincentius, that this organ was made; and though the account which he gives of Silvester is mere romance, this statement may be admitted. The same passage is given by Du Cange from William of Malmesbury. Baronius makes no mention of it; he liked Silvester too little to record any thing in his praise, though he acquits him from the charge of having dealt with the Devil to obtain the Papacy. Silvester obtained it from the Emperor, which, in Baronius's opinion, was as bad, or, perhaps worse.

Amatory Shoe-printing —p. 202.

I learn this from one of Vieyra's Sermons, where the fact is thus stated on the authority of Clemens Alexandrinus.

"*Conta Clemente Alexandrino, que era fineza naquelle tempo usada dos espiritos mais generosos, et que mais se prezavam de amar, trazer entalhadas nas solas do calçado as tençoens, ou saudaçoens do seu amor, para que em qualquer parte onde fixassem os passos, ficasse impresso e estampado por modo de sinete o quanto e a quem amavam:* soleis quoque amatorias salutationes imprimunt, ut vel per terram numerosi incedentes, amatorios spiritus in incessu insculpant."—Tom. ix. p. 15.

Vieyra supposes the sole to have been cut, like a seal. The

Latin interpreter, whose words he gives, seems rather to express that the letters were raised, and consequently stamped, that is, imprinted in the ground.

Johannes de Rupescissa.—p. 204.

" *Remedium contra timorem et inconstantiam ac destructionem cordis, et amissionem fortitudinis, et magisterium ad reparandum audaciam, fortitudinem, et virtutem.*

CAP. VIII.

" *Non dixi tibi in vanum, quod nec intellectus potest capere, nec nostra lingua narrare, miraculosas virtutes quas creavit Deus quintâ Essentiâ: et non solùm in eâ, sed etiam in ejus matre, scilicet aquâ ardente. Recipe ergo pœoniam et herbam (vel radicem) angelicam, quæ aliter dicitur angelaria, et crocum, et quintam Essentiam auri et perlarum, et misce cum quintâ Essentiâ: nam subito quasi miraculosè, si homo, qui nimio terrore correptus est, hæc sumpserit, timorem amittet, fortitudinem ex timore perditam recuperabit, audaciam assumet, mortem contemnet, in periculis non pavescet, supra modum efficietur audax, ita ut appareat hominibus quòd sit muros ferreos penetrare paratus. Experto crede, quia pro certo verum et certum dico experimentum probatum: ideo est cautela, ut princeps populi Christiani in ordine bellorum habeat sic in doliis aquam ardentem paratam, ut cuilibet pugili tribuat medium scyphum, vel circa, in principio bellicosi congressus, et debet hoc arcanum omnibus inimicis Ecclesiæ occultari, immo, nec principes, nec alii ministrantes debent hoc alicui revelare.*"

Ambitious views of the French.—p. 231.

The first sentence of M. Targe's *Histoire de l' Avenement de la maison de Bourbon au Trone de l' Espagne,* is a noticeable one: "*La monarchie Françoise paroissoit être parvenue au comble de sa grandeur à la fin du dix-septieme siècle: il ne manquoit plus à la gloire de l'auguste maison de Bourbon, que d' etendre sa domination sur des monarchies étrangères.*"

Scougal used to say that, abstracted from the will of God, mere curiosity would make him long for another world.—p. 243.

The anonymous Puritanical poet has expressed this feeling with true passion.

"Did not I fear thee, Lord!
The world hath not the cord
Could bind this strong desire
From what it doth require!
* * * *
Oh were I not so free,
Or had more liberty."—p. 189.

"Oh could I keep me in this option, I
Would wish to live, because I wish to die.
How like a little God I would converse
With men, let down awhile here to rehearse
Those joys above, till I had drawn up more,
Harbour'd their hearts upon thy haven's shore.
He only lives, who enthron'd in 's mansion, can
Yet condescend to sojourn with, for, man.
* * * * *

Oh how I strive, I wrestle to be rid
Of half myself stands in its own light! But bid
Thou dost my stay, and I'll obey
Till Thou shalt call, who art my all."—p. 193.

Graves, when they have been opened, have let abroad the infection which for generations they had covered.—p. 250.

An epidemic fever in the county of Mearns, which in the year 1781 raged about Montrose, was supposed to have arisen from the indiscretion of some country people, who, for some unexplained reason, opened the graves of those who died of the plague in the preceding century, and had been buried in the Moss of Arnhall.

Small pox, I believe, has in several cases been thus communicated. The infection might be retained as long as the hair lasts.

A more extraordinary case is noticed in Dr. Franklin's Works (vol. vi. p. 300) as having occurred in London about 1763. Several medical men, who assisted at the dissection of a mummy, died of a malignant fever, which it was supposed they caught from the dried and spiced Egyptian.

Infidelity and Popery.—p. 260.

Berkley's Euphranor, when arguing against the Minute Philosophers, says to them, "Suppose you should prevail and destroy this Protestant Church and Clergy; how could you come at the Popish? I am credibly informed there is a great

number of emissaries of the Church of Rome disguised in England: who can tell what harvest a Clergy so numerous, so subtle, and so well furnished with arguments to work on vulgar and uneducated minds, may be able to make in a country despoiled of all religion, and feeling the want of it? Who can tell whether the spirit of free-thinking ending with the opposition, and the vanity with the distinction, when the whole nation are alike infidels,—who can tell, I say, whether in such a juncture the men of genius themselves may not affect a new distinction, and be the first converts to Popery?" Lys. "And suppose they should...Between friends it would be no great matter. These are our maxims: in the first place we hold it would be best to have no religion at all: secondly, we hold that all religions are indifferent. If therefore, upon trial, we find the country cannot do without a religion, why not Popery as well as another? I know several ingenious men of our sect who, if we had a Popish Prince on the throne, would turn Papists to-morrow. This is a paradox. but I shall explain it. A Prince whom we compliment with our religion must be grateful." Euph. "I understand you. But what becomes of free-thinking all the while?" Lys. "Oh! we should have more than ever of that, for we should keep it all to ourselves. As for the amusement of retailing it, the want of this would be largely compensated by solid advantages of another kind." Euph. "It seems then, by this account, the tendency you observed in the nation towards something great and new, proves a tendency towards Popery and Slavery." Lys. "Mistake us not, good Euphranor. The thing first in our intention is consummate liberty. But if this will not do, and there must after all be such things tolerated as religion and government, we are wisely willing to make the best of both." Cri. "This puts me in mind of a thought I have often had. The Minute Philosophers are dupes of the Jesuits."—*Berkeley's Alciphron*, vol. i. p. 147.

Bishop Bedell.—p. 271.

The following extract from Burnett's Life of this excellent man, has a peculiar value at this time.

" He observed with much regret that the *English* had all along neglected the *Irish*, as a nation not only conquered but undisciplineable, and that the clergy had scarce considered them as a part of their charge, but had left them wholly into the hands of their own priests, without taking any other care of them but the making them pay their tithes. And indeed their priests were a strange sort of people, that knew generally nothing but the reading their offices, which were not so much as understood by many of them; and they taught the people nothing but the saying their *Paters* and *Aves* in Latin: so that the state both of the clergy and laity was such that it could not but raise great compassion in a man that had so tender a sense of the value of those souls that Christ had purchased with his blood; therefore he resolved to set about that Apostolical work of converting the natives with the zeal and care that so great an undertaking required. He knew the gaining on some of the more knowing of their priests was like to be the quickest way, for by their means he hoped to spread the knowledge of the reformed religion among the natives, or rather of the Christian religion, to speak more strictly. For they had no sort of notion of Christianity, but only knew that they were to depend upon their priests, and were to confess such of their actions as they call sins to them, and were to pay them tithes. The Bishop prevailed on several priests to change, and he was so well satisfied with the truth of their conversion, that he provided some of them ecclesiastical benefices, which was thought a strange thing, and was censured by many, as contrary to the interest of the *English* nation. For it now was believed that all those *Irish* converts

were still papists at heart, and might be so much the more dangerous than otherwise by that disguise which they had put on. But he on the other hand considered chiefly the duty of a Christian Bishop; he also thought the true interest of *England* was to gain the *Irish* to the knowledge of religion, and to bring them by the means of that, which only turns the heart, to love the *English* nation. And so he judged the wisdom of that course was apparent, as well as the piety of it. Since such as changed their religion would become thereby so odious to their own clergy, that this would provoke them to further degrees of zeal in gaining others to come over after them. And he took great care to work in those whom he trusted with the care of souls, a full conviction of the truth of religion, and a deep sense of the importance of it. And in this he was so happy, that of all the converts that he had raised to benefices, there was but one only that fell back when the rebellion broke out; and he not only apostatized, but both plundered and killed the *English* among the first. But no wonder if one murderer was among our Bishop's converts, since there was a traitor among the twelve that followed our Saviour. There was a convent of friars very near him, on whom he took much pains, with very good success. That he might furnish his converts with the means of instructing others, he made a short catechism to be printed in one sheet, being *English* on the one page, and *Irish* on the other; which contained the elements and most necessary things of the Christian religion, together with some forms of prayer, and some of the most instructing and edifying passages of Scripture. This he sent about all over his diocese, and it was received with great joy by many of the *Irish*, who seemed to be hungering and thirsting after righteousness, and received this beginning of knowledge so well, that it gave a good encouragement to hope well upon further endeavours. The Bishop did also set himself to learn the Irish tongue; and though it was too late

for a man of his years to learn to speak it, yet he came to understand it to such a degree as to compose a compleat grammar of it, (which was the first that ever was made, as I have been told,) and to be a critick in it: he also had Common Prayer read in *Irish* every *Sunday* in his cathedral for the benefit of the converts he had made, and was always present at it himself; and he engaged all his clergy to set up schools in their parishes; for there were so very few bred to read or write, that this obstructed the conversion of the nation very much. The New Testament and the Book of Common Prayer were already put in the *Irish* tongue; but he resolved to have the whole Bible, the *Old* Testament, as well as the New, put also into the hands of the *Irish;* and therefore he laboured much to find out one that understood the language so well that he might be employed in so sacred a work. And by the advice of the Primate, and several other eminent persons, he pitched on one *King*, that had been converted many years before, and was believed to be the elegantest writer of the *Irish* tongue then alive, both for prose and poetry. He was then about seventy; but notwithstanding his age and the disadvantages of his education, yet the Bishop thought him not only capable of this employment, but qualified for an higher character; therefore he put him in orders, and gave him a benefice in his diocese, and set him to work, in order to the translating the Bible, which he was to do from the *English* translation, since there were none of the nation to be found that knew any thing of the originals. The Bishop set himself so much to the revising of this work, that always after dinner or supper he read over a chapter; and as he compared the *Irish* translation with the *English*, so he compared the *English* with the *Hebrew* and the seventy interpreters, or with *Diodati's Italian* translation, which he valued highly; and he corrected the *Irish* where he found the *English* translation had failed. He thought the use of the Scriptures was the only

way to let the knowledge of religion in among the *Irish*, as it had first let the Reformation into the other parts of Europe. And he used to tell a passage of a sermon that he heard *Fulgentio* preach at *Venice*, with which he was much pleased. It was on these words of Christ: *Have ye not read?* and so he took occasion to tell the auditory, that if Christ were now to ask this question, *Have ye not read?* all the answer they could make to it was, *No: for they were not suffered to do it.* Upon which he taxed with great zeal the restraint put on the use of the Scriptures by the See of *Rome*. This was not unlike what the same person delivered in another sermon, preaching upon *Pilate's* question, *What is Truth?* He told them, at last, after many searches, he had found it out, and held out a New Testament, and said, *There it was in his hand;* but then he put it in his pocket, and said coldly, *But the book is prohibited;* which was so suited to the *Italian* genius, that it took mightily with the auditory. The Bishop had observed, that in the primitive times, as soon as nations, how barbarous soever they were, began to receive the Christian religion, they had the Scriptures translated into their vulgar tongues; and that all people were exhorted to study them; therefore he not only undertook and began this work, but followed it with so much industry, that in a very few years he finished the translation and resolved to set about the printing of it, for the bargain was made with one that engaged to perform it. And as he had been at the great trouble of examining the translation, so he resolved to run the venture of the impression, and took that expense upon himself.

Queen Elizabeth and Mountjoy.—p. 274.

Queen Elizabeth writes thus to Mountjoy in 1602, when that noble-minded person (one of the best and wisest men in an illustrious age,) would, if means had been afforded him, have laid the sure foundation of good government in Ireland: "Because We know your affection is so well mixed with understanding of the state We stand in both here and there, as you can well consider of what importance it is to Us to ease our kingdom of those great or rather infinite charges which we have thus long sustained, which still continuing in that height, would take away the true feeling of our victories, We have thought good to deliver you Our pleasure in that behalf; for it were almost as good for us to lack a great part of their reduction, as to be driven to that charge in keeping them, which our crown of England cannot endure, without the extreme diminution of the greatness and felicity thereof, and alienation of Our people's mind from Us, considering that for these only rebellions in Ireland, We have been forced to part with many of Our ancient possessions, which are part of Our flowers of Our Crown, and to draw from our subjects (a thing contrary to Our nature,) those great payments, which (but for the hope they had that this same should serve to work their future ease and respiration,) they would not so willingly have borne, nor We so justly could have imposed upon them." And she then gives directions for reduction and retrenchment. "If it had pleased her Majesty," says Mountjoy, "to have longer continued her army in greater strength, I should the better have provided for what these clouds do threaten, and sooner and more easily either have made this country a rased table, whereon she might have written her own laws, or have tied the ill-disposed and rebellious hands till I had surely planted such a government as would have overgrown and killed

any weeds that should have risen under it."—Fynes Moryson, Part ii. pp. 245—268.

Ireland and the Jews.—p. 277.

Harrington's scheme for establishing the Jews in Ireland is thus stated in his Introduction to the Oceana.

" Panopea, the soft mother of a slothful and pusillanimous people, is a neighbour island, antiently subjected by the arms of Oceana; since almost depopulated for shaking the yoke, and at length replenished with a new race. But (through what virtues of the soil, or vice of the air soever it be) they come still to degenerate. Wherefore, seeing it is neither likely to yield men fit for arms, nor necessary it should, it had been the interest of Oceana so to have disposed of this province, being both rich in the nature of the soil, and full of commodious ports for trade, that it might have been ordered for the best in relation to her purse; which, in my opinion, (if it had been thought upon in time,) might have been best done by planting it with Jews, allowing them their own rites and laws; for that would have brought them suddenly from all parts of the world, and in sufficient numbers. And though the Jews be now altogether for merchandize, yet in the land of Canaan (except since their exile, from whence they have not been landlords,) they were altogether for agriculture; and there is no cause why a man should doubt, but having a fruitful country, and excellent ports too, they would be good at both. Panopea well peopled would be worth a matter of four millions dry rents; that is besides the advantage of the agriculturer's trade, which, with a nation of that industry comes at least to as much more: wherefore, Panopea being farmed out to the Jews and their heirs for ever, for the pay of a provincial army to protect them during the term of seven years, and for two millions annual revenue from that time forward, besides the

customs, which would pay the provincial army, would have been a bargain of such advantage both to them and this commonwealth, as is not to be found otherwise by either. To receive the Jews after any other manner into a commonwealth, were to maim it; for they of all nations never incorporate, but taking up the room of a limb, are of no use or office to the body, while they suck the nourishment which would sustain a natural and useful member."

Our Ancestors knew this.—p. 284.

"In all councils and conferences," said the Lord Keeper Sir Nicholas Bacon, addressing the House of Peers, in Queen Elizabeth's name,.. "in all councils and conferences, first and chiefly there should be sought the advancement of God's honour and glory, as the sure and infallible foundation whereupon the policy of every good public weal is to be erected and built; and as the straight line whereby it is principally to be directed and governed; and as the chief pillar and buttress wherewith it is continually to be sustained and maintained."

Desire of death.—p. 243.

"Albeit the glass of my years," says Sir George Mackenzie, "hath not yet turned five-and-twenty, yet the curiosity I have to know the different *limbos* of departed souls, and to view the card of the region of Death, would give me abundance of courage to encounter this King of Terrors, though I were a Pagan. But when I consider what joys are prepared for them who fear the Almighty, and what craziness attends such as sleep in Methusalem's cradle, I pity them who make long life one of the oftest repeated petitions of their Pater Noster."—*The Virtuoso, or Stoic. Moral Essays,* p. 81.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

TO

VOL. II.

St. Kentigern.—p. 5.

It appears from the brief notice of this saint, in that valuable little volume, the Cambrian Biography, that the fables concerning Kentigern were not current in Wales. "Cyndeyrn Garthwys, son of Owain ab Urien, or Kentigern, one of the most distinguished British saints, to whom several churches are dedicated. He lived about the middle of the sixth century. The Triads record that he was Chief Bishop, or Primate of the Northern Britons under Gwrthmwl, who was chief elder, under the sovereignty of Arthur; and that his see was at Penryn Rhionydd, a place situated probably in the neighbourhood of Glasgow. He seems to have had the ecclesiastical epithet of Mwyngu or Urbanus; hence he is called St. Mungo, in old authors."

There is a life of St. Kentigern among the Cotton MSS. (Vitellius, c. viii. 12.) by which it appears that he was also called Inglaschu.

Punishment of death for incontinence said in the Legend of St. Kentigern to have been established among the Picts.—p. 7.

The Jesuit F. Alford has a remark upon this subject, which is equally worthy of his sagacity and his candour,..of his sagacity in arguing from this part of the fable as if it were an historical fact, of his candour in the description which he gives of British morals after the Reformation. "*Vide Lector,* (he says,) *inter barbaros et infideles castissimam legem matrimoniis faventem: et puta falli eos, qui vel communes uxores, vel promiscuos amplexus, huic Insulæ affinxerunt. Si enim Britannorum incultissimi, ad montes et Septentrionem positi, quique ad civilitatem componi nunquam potuerunt, adeo modesti fuerunt; id multò rectius de Australibus sentiendum. Ut Saxo etiam matrimonia sanctè coluerit, dixi supra. Sic omni sæculo a castitatis laude commendari meruit Insula, donec nova lex, e duplici divortio uxoris Fideique nata, permisit omni ordini, instituto, sexui, præ Græciâ lascivire.*"—Annales Ecc. Anglo-Saxonicæ, t. ii. p. 20.

"*Men and brethren why marvel ye?*"—p. 16.

"*Viri fratres, quid admiramini, aspicientes verbum hoc? Credite mihi, antequam homo inobediens suo Conditori existeret, non solum animalia, sed etiam elementa obtemperabant illi. Nunc vero ob ipsius prævaricationem omnibus in adversa versis, leo lacerare, lupus devorare, serpens sauciare, aqua submergere, ignis comburere, aer corrumpere, terra sæpe ferrea effecta fame subruere consuevit; et ad cumulum consueti mali, homo non solum hominem sed ipse homo in seipso peccando contra seipsum sponte desævit. Sed quoniam plerique sancti in verâ innocentiâ, et purâ obedientiâ, in sanctitate, dilectione, fide et justitiâ coram*

Domino perfecti inventi sunt, quasi antiquum jus et naturale dominium a Domino recuperant, dum bestiis et elementis, morbis et mortibus imperare solent.—Acta Sanctorum, 13 Jan. t. i. 818.

The same thought, but not derived from this beautiful passage, is expressed in Roderick.

> As we put off
> The cares and passions of this fretful world,
> It may be too that we thus far approach
> To elder nature, and regain in part
> The privilege thro' sin in Eden lost.
> The timid hare soon learns that she may trust
> The solitary penitent; and birds
> Will light upon the hermit's harmless hand.

One of Borri's heretical fancies was an opinion, that saints even in this life have the same dominion over the animal world invested in them, as was enjoyed by Adam before his fall.—*Relazione della vita del Cav. Borri*, p. 357.

St. Kentigern's consecration.—p. 20.

Father Alford argues at some length, *more suo*, upon this part of the legend, in the hope of proving that the British church always acknowledged its dependence upon the Bishop of Rome. He has introduced a good illustration in support of this untenable position: "*Probatur etiam ex Eclipsi quam hic in Kentigerno habemus. Si enim Paganorum infestatio seu nubes, obscuritatem fecit, Solisque lucis influxum impedivit; adeo ut defectus ille notatus, et castigatus sit, et posteris in cautionem transcriptus; sequitur sudo cœlo, et amotis nubibus, nullum defectum, et omnia recta fuisse. Imo sequitur stante*

Eclipsi, debere sed non posse, astrum influere, debere sed non posse terram recipere influxum; non nativâ aliquâ, sed præter naturam causâ. Cum igitur hactenus Roma influxerit, ritusque dictaverit Insulæ, ut ostensum est; et modo Saxone omnia occupante dictata plene excipere non potuerit Insula; dic, sine tergiversatione, Britanniam de jure a Romani Solis influxu pendere; sed injuriâ privatam non potuisse perfectè solitoque more, lucis radium omnem excipere, sed in aliquo defecisse."—T. ii. p. 48.

Death of St. Kentigern.—p. 30.

Father Cressy professes to relate the manner of St. Kentigern's death from this very legend as it stands in Capgrave, and yet omits all mention of this miracle. Father Alford also *skips* it, though he says *videamus ut se ad mortem præparaverit, et in quâ demum fide mortuus, quia inde Britannorum omnium sensa colligam*—(T. ii. p. 149.) Undoubtedly the Jesuit was conscious, that the parts which he has dropt would have shown somewhat too plainly *in what faith* the whole legend was composed. St. Asaph is said to have written the life of his preceptor and predecessor. The Bollandists treat the British, and more especially the Irish, saints with a degree of freedom, which they are far from showing toward the atrocious legends of later ages. They qualify the history of St. Kentigern, saying—*si vera sunt quæ in ejus vitâ traduntur*, and thus license the reader to believe as little of it as he may think fit.

" These miracles of St. Kentigern, I the rather instance," says Stillingfleet, " because one being offended at the miracles contained in the lives of these saints as published by Capgrave, Bollandus offered him the life of St. Kentigern for a trial, and asked him what he disliked in it as he had published

it. When he had read it, saith Bollandus, he confessed if the lives of the saints were so published, they could not but please learned men!"—*Second Discourse in vindication of the Protestant ground of faith*, p. 540. Ed. 1673.

Saints of the blood-royal.—p. 30.

In his Instructions to the Archbishops and Bishops of Scotland, Charles I. charges them, " that in the Kalendar you keep such Catholic saints as are in the English; that you pester it not with too many, but such as you insert of the peculiar saints of that our kingdom that they be of the most approved; and here to have regard to those of the Blood-royal, and such Holy Bishops in every see most renowned: but in no case omit St. George and Patrick."—*Rushworth*, ii. 343.

St. Mungo's name occurs in a list of fairs, appended to the kalendar prefixed to the ' Psalmes of David in meter, with the prose, for the use of the kirk of Scotland.—Middelburgh, 1602.' This fair which was held at Glasgow contributed to keep the name alive.

St. Herbert.—p. 35.

This story is beautifully told by Bede, and not less beautifully in verse by Mr. Wordsworth; but Mr. Wordsworth has departed from the legend, which, as the annexed passage from Bede will shew, was designed for the honour of St. Cuthbert.

" *Erat enim quidam presbyter, vitæ et morum probitate venerabilis, nomine Herebertus, jamdudum viro Dei spiritalis amicitiæ fœdere copulatus; qui in insula stagni illius pergrandis, de quo Daruuentionis fluvii primordia erumpunt, vitam ducens*

solitariam, annis singulis eum visitare, et monita perpetuæ ab eo salutis audire solebat. Hic cum audiret eum ad civitatem Lugubaliam devenisse, venit ex more cupiens salutaribus ejus exhortationibus ad superna desideria magis magisque accendi. Qui dum sese alterutrum cælestis vitæ poculis ebriarent, dixit inter alia antistes, Memento frater Hereberte, ut modo quicquid opus habes, me interroges, mecumque loquaris, postquam enim abinvicem digressi fuerimus, non ultra nos in hoc sæculo carnis obtutibus invicem aspiciemus; certus sum namque, quia tempus meæ resolutionis instat, et velox est depositio tabernaculi mei. Qui hæc audiens, provolutus est ejus vestigiis, et fusis cum gemitu lachrymis, Obsecro, inquit, per Dominum, ne me deseras: sed tui memor sis fidelissimi sodalis, rogesque supernam pietatem, ut cui simul in terris servivimus, ad ejus videndam gratiam simul transeamus ad cœlos. Nosti etiam quia ad tui oris imperium semper vivere studui, et quicquid ignorantiâ vel fragilitate deliqui, æque ad tuæ voluntatis examen mox emendare curavi. Incubuit precibus antistes; statimque edoctus in spiritu impetrasse se quod petebat à Domino, Surge, inquit, frater mi, et noli plorare, sed gaudio gaude; quia quod rogavimus, superna nobis clementia donavit. Cujus promissi et prophetiæ veritatem sequens rerum astruxit eventus: quia et digredientes abinvicem non se ultra corporaliter viderunt, sed uno eodemque die, hoc est, Kalendarum Aprilium tertia decima, egredientes è corpore spiritus eorum, mox beata invicem visione conjuncti sunt, atque angelico ministerio pariter ad regnum cœleste translati. Sed Herebertus diutinâ prius infirmitate decoquitur, illâ ut credibile est dispensatione Dominicæ pietatis, ut si quid minus haberet meriti a beato Cudberto, suppleret hoc castigans longæ ægritudinis dolor, quatenus æquatus gratia suo intercessori, sicut uno eodemque tempore cum eo de corpore egredi, ita etiam una atque indissimili sede perpetuæ beatitudinis meruisset recipi."—Eccl. Hist. l. iv. c. 29. Cuthberti Vita, c. 28.

The passage is thus translated by Father Cressy. "There was a certain venerable *Priest*, named *Herbert*, who for many years before had been joined in spiritual friendship to the *Holy Bishop*. This man led a solitary life in a little island, situated in the vast lake out of which the river *Derwent* flows; and his custom was every year to visit the man of *God;* and to receive from him documents of piety and salvation. He being informed that St. Cuthbert was to make some stay in the foresaid *City*, came to him, as his manner had been, with a desire to be more inflamed in heavenly desires by his wholesome exhortations. They being thus met together, and interchangeably communicating to one another draughts of celestial wisdom, among other discourses, *St. Cuthbert* said to him, *Be mindful, Brother Herbert, to propose now to me whatsoever doubts you desire to be resolved in, for after we have parted, we shall never see one the other in this life. For I am assured that the time of my dissolution approaches, and that I shall very shortly put off this my mortal tabernacle.* The devout *Hermit*, having heard these words, cast himself at his feet, and with many tears and groans said, *I beseech you by our Lord, that you will not forsake nor forget your old companion, but make your petition to the Divine mercy, that as we have jointly served our Lord together on earth, we may likewise together pass out of this world to see his glory. For you know that I have always been diligent to conform my life to your admonitions, and likewise according to your will to correct whatsoever faults I have any time committed through ignorance or frailty.* Hereupon the *Holy Bishop* betook himself to prayer, and being inwardly taught in spirit, that his petitions were granted by our *Lord*, he said to him, *Arise, dear brother, weep no longer, but rather rejoice, for the Divine Clemency has mercifully granted our desires.*

"The truth of this *prophetical* promise was really confirmed by the event: for after they were parted they never saw one

the other corporally: and in the same moment of time their Spirits were delivered from their mortal bodies, and by the ministery of *Angels* translated to the beatifical vision of *God.* But the devout *Hermit*, before his death, was purified by a tedious and painful infirmity, which probably happened to him by a merciful divine dispensation, to the end that the torments of a long sickness might instrumentally supply the defect in which he came short of the Holy *Bishop's* merits, that so being made equal in *grace* with his pious *Intercessor*, he might not only in the same moment of time, but with an equal participation, enjoy eternal *glory* together with *him.*"—*Cressy's Church History of Britain*, p. 768.

Providence.—p. 40.

"To make our reliance upon Providence both pious and rational, we should in every great enterprize we take in hand, prepare all things with that care, diligence and activity, as if there were no such thing as Providence for us to depend upon; and again, when we have done all this, we should as wholly and humbly depend upon it, as if we had made no such preparations at all. And this is a rule of practice which will never fail, or shame any who shall venture all that they have or are upon it: for as a man by exerting his utmost force in any action or business, has all that an human strength can do for him therein; so in the next place, by quitting his confidence in the same, and placing it only in God, he is sure also of all that Omnipotence can do in his behalf."—*South*, iv. 27.

The Dissenters themselves have long been ashamed of those fanatical objections to the Established Church, which were the original grounds of their separation.—p. 51.

"I remember those blessed times," says the Ghost of Prynne, in one of T. Brown's Dialogues, "when every thing in the world that was displeasing and offensive to the brethren, went under the name of horrid, abominable, popish superstition:.. Organs and May poles; Bishops' Courts and the Bear Garden; surplices and long hair; cathedrals and play-houses; set-forms and painted glass; fonts and apostle-spoons; church music and bull baiting; altar rails and rosemary on brawn; nay, fiddles, Whitsun ale, pig at Bartholomew fair, plum-porridge, puppet-shews, carriers' bills, figures in gingerbread: and at last Moses and Aaron, the Decalogue, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer—

Hick. ... passed all for Antichristian carnal devices, rags of popery, things of human invention, set up by the man of sin to scandalize the saints and pervert the unstable.

Prynne. You say right; and so was every thing you can name, except a black satin cap.

Hick. Because it savoureth of gravity.

Prynne. A sack-posset.

Hick. For lo! it encourageth the minister in his ministry.

Prynne. A sir-loin of beef.

Hick. Because the saints are, verily, gross feeders.

Prynne. A long cloak.

Hick. Because, like charity, it covereth a multitude of sins.

Prynne. A long prayer.

Hick. Because widows and orphans are not palatable without 'em.

Prynne. A long allegory.

Hick. For behold it is very refreshing to the white aprons. Likewise, except long ears, Mr. Prynne. There I think I have bobbed you *(aside)*.

Prynne. An extempore sermon.

Hick. Because extempore nonsense is more excusable than studied nonsense.

Prynne. An ordinance of both Houses.

Hick. Because a king is virtually included in them.

Prynne. A fat capon and a bagpipe.

Hick. Because the one is a Geneva dish, and the other a Scotch covenanting instrument. Lastly, Mr. Prynne, to sum up all the evidence together, because we would not lose time; except committee men and lay elders; battle and murder; free quarter and famine; sequestrations and decimations; compositions and monthly excise; and all this was but necessary and requisite, in order to humble the profane, to mortify the ungodly, and pull down the pride of the wicked malignants; that so being sequestered from the vanities of this world, they might have nothing else to mind, but how to lick themselves whole in another.

Prynne. Then, my dear friend, we carried on the blessed work of the reformation, as far as zeal, inspired with interest, could carry it. We reformed the almanacks; new-christened the festivals; unsainted the apostles; set the chimes to psalm-tunes, and gutted the Bible of the Service book and Apocrypha. A crown, a cross, an angel, and bishop's head could not be endured, so much as in a sign. Our garters, bellows and warming-pans wore godly mottos; our band-boxes were lined with wholesome instructions, and even our trunks with the Assembly-men's sayings. Ribbons were converted to Bible strings.

Hick. And so were graces to long prayers, and churches to stables.

Prynne. Nay, in our zeal we visited the gardens and apothecaries' shops. So *Unguentum Apostolicum* was commanded to take a new name; and besides to find security for its good behaviour for the future. *Carduus Benedictus, Angelica, St. John's Wort,* and *Our Lady's Thistle,* were summoned before a class, and forthwith ordered to distinguish themselves by more sanctified appellations."—p. 292.

Sanderson in the Preface to his Fourteen Sermons (reprinted 1657) speaks of " those men, who being themselves of late years fallen out, grievously fallen out, (for what cause he says, I know not,) with the ancient Government, Liturgy and Ceremonies of the Church, are angry with all those that retain any good opinion of them. Whereunto yet themselves, when time was *seemed* to be, and if they dissembled not (which we are unwilling to believe) *were indeed* reasonably well-affected. For they submitted to the Government, used the Liturgy, and observed the Ceremonies appointed, according to Laws and Orders, and their own professed approbation of the same, as well by professed words from their mouths, as by subscription under their hands yet remaining upon record. What hath wrought this change in them, (evidence of reason or worldly interest,) and how far it hath wrought upon them (in reality, or but in compliance,) and in what order too, (by immediate assaults upon their judgment, or by dealing under-hand first with the affections,) themselves do, or should best know. It highly concerneth them, even as much as the peace of their consciences is worth, and much more than so, to be well assured that their hearts are upright in this affair. And in order thereunto, not to content themselves with a slight and overly examination: (there is more wickedness and deceitfulness in the hearts of all men, than most men are aware of;) but to make the most diligent, discreet and impartial search possible,

into the true causes and motions of this change. And for so much as fears and hopes have been ever found the fitt st and the readiest engines to work such feats, to inquire particularly what influences or operation either the fear of losing what they had, or the hope of getting more, might have in this work, towards the producing of such an effect. It will best become others to judge as charitably as they may; but doubtless it would be safest for them, to be very jealous over themselves, lest so great a change could not have been wrought in so short a space, without a strong infusion, either of the one, or the other, or both, into the medicine that wrought it. Especially since the conjuncture of time wherein this change happened, may very probably raise some suspicion that the *fear of the sword* might have, and the visible advantage some have found thereby since, as probably that the *hope of gain* had, some co-operation at least, with whatsoever was the principal cause of this so sudden a metamorphosis. If nor so, nor so, but that they find themselves clearly convinced in their judgments of their former error, and that they are fully persuaded they are now in a better way, than that wherein they formerly walked; it is happy for them; and I doubt not but they will find matter of rejoicing in it, if they be not mistaken (a thing not impossible,) in the trial of their own hearts. Of the sincerity whereof, the likeliest way to give satisfaction to the world, and to add some strengthening withall to their own assurance, is, by shewing compassion to those their brethren that cannot yet tell how to recover themselves out of the snare of the same common error, from which they are so happily escaped. At leastwise so far as not to despise them; nor to pass their censures upon them, with so much freedom and severity as some have done. If it be a fault, sure it is a very pardonable one, for a man in the change of times, to remain unchanged in his mind and opinion, and to hold to his former and (as he

thinketh) well-grounded principles, so long as he can neither apprehend any reason of sufficient strength to convince his understanding that he is in the wrong, or to manifest unto him the necessity of making such a change; nor is able with the best wit he hath, to discern any thing so lovely in the effects and consequents of such change since it was made, as might win over his affections to any tolerable liking thereof upon the *post fact.*"

The Presbyterians lapsed into Arianism first, then into Socinianism.—p. 53.

So their fellow Calvinists have done at Geneva, and in New England, verifying thus the opinion which Bishop Bull expressed, in his sermon upon the usefulness and necessity of prescribed forms of prayer. "Prescribed prayers in the church are necessary to secure the established doctrine and faith of the church. If the ministers of the church be left to themselves, to pray as they list, they will be very apt, (and it will be very difficult for them to avoid it) to vent their own private opinions and notions in points of religion in their prayers; for men will pray as they think and believe, and all their doctrines will have a tincture of their private notions and conceptions, which may not be always sound and orthodox. Heterodoxes, false doctrines, yea, and heresies, may be propagated by prayer as well as preaching, and by the former perhaps more effectually than by the latter. For when poor ignorant people shall hear their minister venting a notion in his address to Almighty God, they will be apt to conclude, and not without reason, that he is fully assured of the truth of it, yea that he hath very good grounds for it, or else he would not dare to utter it to the face of God himself.

And thus the confidence of the minister easily at first begets in the simple hearer a good opinion of it, which by degrees grows to a steadfast belief and persuasion. But now, on the other side, set forms of prayer, composed and prescribed by the wisdom of the Church, are an excellent defence and security against innovations in faith. For to be sure the Church will take care that her Liturgy and Common Prayers shall not contradict or interfere with her Articles of Religion, but rather confirm them, and by prudent methods insinuate the knowledge and belief of them into the hearers. Indeed the ancient Liturgies were so framed, that they were a kind of system of orthodox divinity, and antidotes against heresy. And in this the Liturgy of our Church comes behind none of the ancient Liturgies. For therein we are obliged to confess the faith of all the ancient creeds. But more especially our frequent doxologies to the most holy and ever-blessed Trinity, do abundantly secure us against Arianism and Socinianism, the prevailing heresies of our unhappy times, and of all other heresies the most dangerous. In short, no heretic can heartily join in the offices of prayer and praise, and confessions of faith, prescribed in the Liturgy of our Church. But on the other side, in those congregations where there is no prescribed Liturgy, or office of public prayer, no creed or confession of faith to be rehearsed, all sorts of heretics may easily, and without discovery, find shelter to themselves. Which is one and the main reason, I doubt not, why at this day the Arians and Socinians among us are all declared enemies to the public worship of the Church of England, as it is by law established, and shake hands with the Dissenters. For they know full well, that as long as our Liturgy stands, their heresies can never prevail."—Vol. i. p. 338.

The practice of travelling to solicit orders for goods began among the Quakers, as an incidental consequence of the life led by their errant-preachers.—p. 57.

Francis Bugg, of unsavoury name, tells us this. "We no sooner had our liberty," he says, "but all our London preachers spread themselves, like locusts, all over England and Wales; some went east, some west, yea, north and south; and being generally tradesmen, we not only got our quarters free, our horses free and well maintained in our travels; a silver watch here, a beaver there, a piece of hair-camblet, and sometimes other things; but moreover... we got into great trades; and by spreading ourselves in the country, into great acquaintance, and thereby received orders of the best of the country tradesmen, for parcels, whilst the Protestant tradesmen in London, who had not this advantage, stood still, and in their shops had little to do, whilst we filled our coffers. Witness Thomas Greene, for one instance, whose wife would scarce suffer him at home, she being willing (according to the proverb) to 'make hay whilst the sun shines;' insomuch that in a little time he raised his small beginning to many thousands. Since I printed this, Thomas Greene is dead, and died worth, as is said, six or eight thousand pounds, who was a poor mason when he set up for a preaching Quaker." —*The Pilgrim's Progress from Quakerism to Christianity*, p. 215.

There is a stir of business among them,.. a perpetual bustle of confederacy.—p. 59.

I am tempted here to transcribe a lively passage from the letter of a friend.

"I am sick," she says, "of the very sound of societies,

committees, associations, &c. &c. and all the joint-stock companies for religious purposes, to such extravagances do they proceed, and so is the world gone after them! particularly the female part of it,.. always well-pleased to find itself of consequence, and certainly an indefatigable engine when set to work, and the wheels well oiled with flattery,.. which the saints of your sex supply very profusely and with good policy, in the organization of their female branch societies! One lady is *president* of this, another *vice* of that association. Then what with secretaries, treasurers, collectors, tract-bearers, expounders; heaven have mercy on us! all womankind is whirling round in a vortex of religious dissipation: and their energies once roused pass my comprehension,.. their unwearied activity of body and mind... or rather of animal spirits. Go where one will the subject is forced upon one. One lady's drawing-room is full of little charity boxes, placed here and there amongst the ornamental litter. Another keeps a stall of trumpery knickknacks, 'Ladies' work,' to lay her visitors under contribution. Another asks you to work for her. And there a whole bevy of damsels sit congregated together, pasting and painting, and sewing and gilding, and what not, to get up a booth at the next religious fair. All this pious activity is going on round me, and no wonder if it bewilders my brain, and offends my taste, and (I hope) right feeling, because when I see its ill effects on society,.. on domestic comfort,.. in the neglect of private duties,.. and the obtrusiveness of religious pretensions, I feel sure that there is something unsound in the foundation of these crazy castles. Lately men were employed to walk about—with banners begging for the Jews, and directing people to the Ladies' Repository in aid of the funds for their conversion: and we had a fair here for something similar. Pray do not encourage this mania, or you will deserve that it should spread to Keswick."

The Church in other reformed countries starved by the Government.—p. 89.

" Look abroad," says that good man, Edward Waterhous, in his ' Apology for Learning,' (p. 106,) " Look abroad, and see what a ministry *small allowances* have left in the reformed Churches of France, Holland, Germany, Switzerland! I speak of the generality of them, their professors and some few of the rest of them, whose fathers and marriages, or other casualties, have left or made fortunate, are eminent. But from the most, their learning is lost with their lands and glebes. God wot, they are fain to crouch to unlearned men, (who have wit enough to get and hold wealth,) almost in the language of Eli's sons, ' *put me, I pray thee, into one of the priests' offices; that I may eat a piece of bread.*' "

There was some danger of the same kind in England, even after the Restoration. " If we consider the treatment of the clergy in these nations," says South, " since popery was driven out, both as to the language and usage which they find from most about them; I do from all that I have read, heard, or seen, confidently aver (and I wish I could speak it loud enough to reach all the corners and quarters of the whole world,) that there is no nation or people under heaven, Christian or not Christian, which despise, hate, and trample upon their clergy or priesthood comparably to the English. So that (as matters have been carried,) it is really no small argument of the predominance of conscience over interest, that there are yet parents who can be willing to breed up any of their sons (if hopefully endowed) to so discouraged and discouraging a profession."—Vol. iv. 141.

"*That cold business in which a man mispends the better part of life.*"—p. 94.

"Is it not a madness for a rational soul, for whom all the world was created, to observe nothing in this world, but whether another manages his process well; with what harmony strikes another man's pulse; or how to brigue the favour of a minion? acts so extrinsic to the nature of an immaterial creature, such as the soul, that if men got not money by these employments, they would themselves condemn them as ridiculous."—*Sir George Mackenzie's Essays*, 107.

Religious education in Switzerland.—p. 99.

In Vevey the youth of both sexes go through a two-years course of religious instruction. "This duty is allotted to one clergyman in the town as his exclusive charge, with a full and regular stipend from the Government for its peculiar performance. A gratuity, suitable to the circumstances of the instructed, follows its completion; but this is wholly optional, and matter of complimentary civility."—*Webb's Minutes of Remarks on Subjects Picturesque, Moral and Miscellaneous, made in a course along the Rhine, and during a residence in Switzerland and Italy, in the years* 1822 *and* 1823. Vol. i. 81.

After observing in his remarks made at Vevey, that education is compulsorily enforced upon all classes, from the very poorest upwards, this very amusing, singular, right-headed, right-hearted writer proceeds to say; "it is surely not so much the reading and writing, and arithmetic, learned by the poor at these schools.. truly valuable acquisitions though these are.. as the moral discipline inculcated in the process of their acquirement, that constitutes the main

utility of this education. The moral lessons thus taught, and the habits acquired during several years training are efficient for life. The man upholds for his own control the restraints first imposed for the comfort and welfare of the child. And the universality of the discipline, is the establishment of propriety, sobriety and morals, co-extensive with the State's population. Combine with this, as they ought ever to be combined, the lessons of religion; and then with all man's proneness to depravity, what a basis is there not laid for a whole nation's prosperity, and the pursuit of man's loftiest destinies!"—Vol. i. 90.

Church property.—p. 123.

Berkeley with his characteristic sagacity has asked,

"Whether there be not two general methods, whereby men become sharers in the national stock of wealth or power,.. industry and inheritance? and whether it would be wise in a civil society to lessen that share which is allotted to merit and industry?

"Whether all ways of spending a fortune be of equal benefit to the public? and what sort of men are aptest to run into an improper expense?

"If the revenues allotted for the encouragement of religion and learning were made hereditary, in the hands of a dozen lay lords, and as many over-grown commoners, whether the public would be much the better for it?

"Whether the Church's patrimony belongs to one tribe alone? and whether every man's son, brother, or himself, may not, if he pleases, be qualified to share therein?

"What is there in the clergy to create a jealousy in the public! Or what would the public lose, by it, if every squire in the land wore a black coat, said his prayers, and was obliged to reside?"—Querist, § 338—342.

Poor scholars.—p. 130.

" O Giggleswick," says the scholar in Randolph's Aristippus, " thou happy place of education! ... O what had become of me, if I had not gone barefoot to my præceptor, with a satchel at my back!"

And again in the same strain, " the whole University is full of your honest fellows, that breaking loose from a Yorkshire belfrey, have walked to Cambridge with satchels on their shoulders."

Intended College at Durham.—p. 145.

George Fox, with characteristic complacency, takes to himself the credit of frustrating this design. He says in his Journal (first edition, p. 281.) ... " we came to Durham (A. D. 1657,) where was a *Man* come down from *London*, to set up a *College* there, to make *Ministers* of *Christ*, as they said: I went, with some others, to reason with the *Man*, and to let him see, ' That to teach Men *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin*, and the *Seven Arts*,' which was all but the *Teachings* of the *Natural Man*, was not ' the *Way* to make them *Ministers* of *Christ*.' For the *Languages* began at *Babel:* and to the *Greeks*, that spake *Greek*, as their *Mother-Tongue*, the *Preaching* of the *Cross of Christ* was *foolishness;* and to the *Jews*, that spake *Hebrew*, as their *Mother-Tongue*, *Christ* was a *stumbling-block*. And as for the *Romans*, who had the *Latin* and *Italian*, they *persecuted* the *Christians;* and *Pilat*, one of the *Roman Governours*, set *Hebrew*, *Greek*, and *Latin* a top of Christ, when he *Crucified* him. So he might see, the many *Languages* began at Babel, and they set them a *top* of *Christ* the *Word* when they *Crucified* him. And *John* the *Divine* who preached the *Word*, that was in the beginning,

said, *That the Beast, and the Whore have Power over* Tongues *and* Languages, *and they are as Waters.* Thus, I told him, he might see, the *Whore* and *Beast* have Power over the *Tongues* and the many *Languages*, which are in *Mystery Babylon:* for they began at *Babel;* and the *Persecutors* of *Christ Jesus* set them over him, when he was *Crucified* by them: but he is *Risen* over them all, who was before them all. Now (said I to this Man) Dost thou think to make *Ministers* of *Christ* by these natural, confused *Languages* which sprang from *Babel*, are admired in *Babylon* and set a top of *Christ*, the *Life*, by a *Persecutor?* Oh no! So the man confest to many of these things. Then we shewed him further, 'That *Christ* made his *Ministers* himself, and gave *gifts* unto them; and bid them *Pray to the Lord of the* Harvest, *to send forth Labourers.* And *Peter* and *John*, though unlearned and ignorant (as to *School-learning)* preached *Christ Jesus* the *Word*, which was in the beginning, before *Babel* was. *Paul* also was made an *Apostle* not of *Man*, nor by *Man*, neither received he the *Gospel* from *Man*, but from *Jesus Christ;* who is the same now, and so is his *Gospel*, as it was at that *Day.*' When we had thus discoursed with the *Man*, he became very *loving* and *tender:* and after he had considered further of it, he never set up his *College.*"

Sewell who takes the matter in as simple a light as George Fox himself, says the man was " puzzled a little by this."

In every country, however poor, there is something of "free Nature's grace."—p. 148.

That lively and gentle-hearted writer, Ligon, says in his History of Barbadoes, " there is no place so void and empty, where some lawful pleasure is not to be had, for a man that

hath a free heart, and a good conscience." (p. 3.) Poor fellow he wrote these words in a prison!

> I care not, Fortune, what you me deny:
> You cannot rob me of free Nature's grace;
> You cannot shut the windows of the sky,
> Through which Aurora shows her brightening face;
> You cannot bar my constant feet to trace
> The woods and lawns, by living stream, at eve;
> Let health my nerves and finer fibres brace,
> And I their toys to the great children leave,
> Of fancy, reason, virtue, nought can me bereave.
>
> *Castle of Indolence.* Canto 2. st. 3.

The origin of this beautiful and well known passage is, I think, to be found in Patrick's Parable of the Pilgrim, a book in which, though the Parable is poorly imagined and ill-sustained, there is a great deal of sound instruction conveyed in a sober, manly, and not unfrequently, a felicitous manner. The passage which Thompson probably had in his mind, is this: the Pilgrims, "as they passed by a fair field, espied a poor man in very ragged clothes, under a large beech tree, who was listening to the music which the birds made in the neighbouring grove, and sometimes whistled himself to bear them company in their melodies. They were much taken with the innocence of his looks, and the contentment which they thought they read in his face" . . . . they enter into conversation with him, and he says . . . " this music which you saw me listening to, this music of God's own creating, gives me the greater ravishment, because I consider that none can rob me of it, and leave me my liberty and life. They that have taken away my goods, cannot hinder the earth from putting forth the flowers, nor the trees from yielding their fruit, nor the birds from singing among the branches; no,

nor me from entertaining myself with all these pleasures,... at least from being contented."—p. 406.

You feel as if in another region,...almost in another world.—p. 149.

This feeling is beautifully expressed in a very pleasing volume, which ought to send some of our tourists to Ireland. Describing a scene among the mountains of Donegal, the writer says, " you seemed lifted as it were out of the turmoil of the world into some planetary Paradise, into some such place as the Apostle in the Apocalypse was invited to, when the voice said ' come up hither !' You might have supposed that sound had no existence here; were it not that now and then a hawk shrieked while cowering over the mountain top, or a lamb bleated beneath as it ran to its mother. I could have gone to sleep here, and dreamt of heaven purchased for poor sinners like me, by a Saviour's blood." I did at any rate praise the God of nature and of grace, and draw near to him in Christ, grateful for all his blessings, and all his wonders of creating and redeeming love!"

Sketches in Ireland: descriptive of interesting and hitherto unnoticed districts in the North and South.—p. 10.

Readers who have not seen this little volume may thank me for recommending it to their notice.

Llywarch Hen.—p. 151.

His remaining poems were published with a literal translation, by Mr. William Owen, in 1792. Their authenticity has been proved by Mr. Turner, and they are exceedingly curious, as some of the oldest remains of Keltic poetry.

They are also of some historical value. The loss of his sons he imputes to some indiscretion of his own, concerning which there is probably no tradition extant, as his translator has given no comment upon the passage.

Four-and-twenty sons, the offspring of my body;
By the means of my tongue they were slain:
Justly come is my budget of misfortunes.

The general strain of these poems is as melancholy as it is rude. He laments for his friends, his patrons, and his children, and complains of old age, infirmity, and sickness.

Before I appeared with crutches, I was eloquent,
Before I appeared with crutches I was bold,
I was admitted into the congress house.
Before I appeared on crutches I was comely;
My lance was the foremost of the spears;
My round back was first in vigour. I am heavy;
I am wretched.—
My wooden crook be thou a contented branch
To support a mourning old man.
Llywarch accustomed much to talk,
My wooden crook, thou hardy branch,
Bear with me.—
My wooden crook be thou steady,
So that thou mayest support me the better.—
Feeble is the aged; slowly doth he move.
What I loved when I was a youth are hateful to me now,
The stranger's daughter and the grey steed:
Am I not for them unmeet?
The four most hateful things to me through life,
They have met together with one accord,
The cough, old age, sickness and grief.
I am old, I am alone, I am decrepid and cold,

After the sumptuous bed of honour,
I am wretched, I am triply bent.
Those that loved me once, now love me not.
Young virgins love me not. I am resorted to by none.
I cannot move myself along.
Ah Death, why will he not befriend me?
I am befriended by neither sleep nor gladness.
Wretched is the fate that was fated
For Llywarch, on the night he was born,
Long pains without being delivered of his load of trouble.

I annex also some extracts from his verses on the Cuckoo.

Sitting to rest on a hill, cruelly inclined is my mind,
And yet it doth not impel me onward:
Short is my journey and my dwelling wretched.

Sharply blows the gale, it is base punishment to live,
When the trees array themselves in their summer finery;
Violent is my pain this day.

I am no follower of the chace, I keep no hound,
I cannot move myself abroad.
As long as it seemeth good to the Cuckoo, let her sing!

The loud-voiced Cuckoo sings with the dove
Her melodious notes in the dales of Cuawg;
* "Better the liberal than the miser."

By the waters of Cuawg the Cuckoos sing
On the blossom-covered branches;
Woe to the sick that hears their contented notes!

By the waters of Cuawg Cuckoos are singing:
To my mind grating is the sound.
Oh may others that hear not sicken like me!

* It seems, says Mr. Owen, that this proverb is to be considered a song of the Cuckoo,—*Gwell corawg na çybydd.*

Have I not listened to the Cuckoo, on the tree encircled
with ivy,
And did it not cause me to hang down my shield!
But hateful is what I loved. If I loved, hence shall it cease.

On a hill that overlooked the merry oak,
I have listened to the song of birds,
The loud Cuckoo that is in every lover's thoughts.

Sweet songstress with her song of content, her voice
creates longing:
She is fated to wander; like the hawk scuds
The loud Cuckoo by the waters of Cuawg.

* * * *

The birds are clamorous, the beach is wet:
Let the leaves fall, the exile is unconcerned;
I will not conceal it: I am sick this night.

The birds are clamorous, the strand is wet:
Clear is the welkin, high swells the wave.
The heart is palsied with longing.

The birds are clamorous, the strand is wet,
Bright is the wave, taking its ample range....

Clamorous are the birds on the scent of the prey;
Loud is the cry of the dogs in the desert....

When the harbinger of summer comes, every varied
seed is gay.
When the warriors hasten to the conflict,
I do not go, infirmity prevents me.

When the summer comes, glorious on the impatient steeds
Seem the warriors, when hastening to the field of battle;
I shall not go, infirmity keeps me back.

There are frequent expressions of religious belief in these poems, but Llywarch never appears to derive consolation from it.

The Shepherd Lord Clifford.—p. 158.

" So in the condition of a shepherd's boy at Lonsborrow, where his mother then lived for the most part, did this Lord Clifford spend his youth, till he was about fourteen years of age, about which time his mother's father, Henry Bromflett, Lord Vesey, deceased. But a little after his death it came to be rumoured, at the Court, that his daughter's two sons were alive; about which their mother was examined: but her answer was, that she had given directions to send them both beyond seas, to be bred there; and she did not know whether they were dead or alive.

" And as this Henry Lord Clifford did grow to more years, he was still the more capable of his danger, if he had been discovered. And therefore presently after his grandfather, the Lord Vesey, was dead, the said rumour of his being alive, being more and more whispered at the Court, made his said loving mother, by the means of her second husband, Sir Lancelot Threlkeld, to send him away with the said shepherds and their wives into Cumberland, to be kept as a shepherd there, sometimes at Threlkeld, and amongst his father-in-law's kindred, and sometimes upon the borders of Scotland, where they took lands, purposely for these shepherds that had the custody of him; where many times his father-in-law came purposely to visit him, and sometimes his mother, though very secretely. By which mean kind of breeding this inconvenience befell him, that he could neither write nor read; for they durst not bring him up in any kind of learning, lest by it his birth should be discovered. Yet

after he came to his lands and honours he learnt to write his name * only.

" Notwithstanding which disadvantage, after he came to be possessed again, and restored to the enjoyment of his father's estate, he came to be a very wise man, and a very good manager of his estate and fortunes.

" This Henry Lord Clifford, after he came to be possessed of his said estate, was a great builder and repairer of all his castles in the North, which had gone to decay when he came to enjoy them ; for they had been in stranger's hands about twenty-four or twenty-five years. Skipton Castle and the lands about it, had been given to William Stanley, by King Edward IV., which William Stanley's head was cut off about the tenth year of King Henry VII. ; and Westmoreland was given by Edward IV., to his brother Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who was afterwards King of England, and was slain in battle, the 22nd of August, 1485.

" This Henry Lord Clifford did, after he came to his estate, exceedingly delight in astronomy, and the contemplation of the course of the stars, which it is likely he was seasoned in during the course of his shepherd's life. He built a great part of Barden Tower (which is now much decayed,) and there he lived much ; which it is thought he did the rather because in that place he had furnished himself with instruments for that study.

" He was a plain man, and lived for the most part a country life, and came seldom either to the Court or London, but when he was called thither to sit in them as a peer of the realm, in which Parliament, it is reported he behaved himself wisely, and nobly, and like a good Englishman.

* By a fac-simile in Nicolson and Burn's History of Westmoreland, it should seem that his sign manual went no farther than the first letter of his name, the remainder being supplied by another hand.—Vol. i. 286.

"About the twenty-first year of Henry VII., he, the said Lord Clifford, was in some disgrace with the said King; so as the said King caused him to bring him into Court all his evidences, to show by what right he held his lands in Westmoreland, and the sheriffwick of that county: as appears by some records, which pleadings and records did much help forward to the manifestation of the title of Anne, Countess Dowager of Pembroke, to the said lands and sheriffwick.

"This Henry Lord Clifford, by the prudent management of his estate, grew to be a very rich man, both in money, chattels, and goods, and great store of grounds.

"But he was very unfortunate in having great unkindness between himself and his oldest son Henry Clifford, for some seven or eight years before his death. For that son, after his mother, Anne St. John, Lady Clifford, her death, and that his father was married again to a second wife, grew into great anger against his father's wife, and his father's servants, as appears by some letters which are still extant; which anger betwixt them was a great misfortune to them both, and to all that appertained unto them.

"The unhappy feeling on the part of this son towards his father, seems however to have had a deeper cause than the displeasure which a second marriage might have occasioned. For in these faithful records it is said, that towards the latter end of his mother's life, 'her husband was unkind to her, and had two or three base children by another woman; so as by reason of that, and her husband taking part with some of the Commons about taxes, against the said King Henry VII., in the latter end of his reign, he was in some disgrace with the said king.'"

The shepherd Lord is said to have been more beholden for the restoration of his estates to the relationship of this wife with Henry VII., than to any gratitude on that king's part, for the services and the sufferings of the House of

Clifford in the Lancastrian cause. This lady, 'Anne St. John, only daughter to Sir John St. John of Bletso, was cousin-german to King Henry VII., for her father was half-brother to that king's mother, Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby. Which king did then restore the said Lord Clifford to his lands and honours, and estate, the rather because he did then marry that cousin-germain of his, for though the said king favoured him, because his father and grandfather were slain in the service of the House of Lancaster, yet by tradition it is resolved, that the cause chiefly why he recovered his lands and honours, was because he married the said king's cousin-german, Anne St. John.'

"This Anne St. John, Lady Clifford, of whom we now treat, was a woman of great goodness and piety, and devotion, and lived for the most part a country life, in her husband's castles in the North, during the time she lived his wife, which was about twenty-one years.

"This wife of his was so great a housewife, as that she caused tapestry hangings to be made, which was then a rare thing here in England; and some of them are remaining until this time, with the arms of herself and husband wrought in them."

Summary of the Lives of the Veteriponts and Cliffords, &c. MSS.

Second marriage of Isabella de Berkeley.—p. 166.

By the old Spanish laws, a deed of gift might be revoked, if the person in whose favour it was made, had afterwards shown himself ungrateful by speaking ill of the donor, *faziendole grand desonra de palabra;* but a mother who having made a gift to her son after she was left a widow, contracted a second marriage, could not annul the grant

upon this plea. Such was the feeling concerning second marriage.—*Partida* 5. *Tit.* 4. *Ley* 10.

Thomas Lord Clifford.—p. 168.

Buchanan accuses him (I know not on what authority) of having assassinated Douglas at Dantzic, in consequence of an enmity arising from his claims to the Douglas estates, as having been granted to his grandfather by Edward Balliol. "*Eodem anno Gulielmus Duglassius, Nithiæ Regulus, (quem diximus virtutis erga generum à Rege ascitum,) Dantisci ad Vistulam occisus fuit, percussoribus à Cliffordo Anglo in eum submissis. Duglassius enim rebus domi tranquillis, ne in ocio languesceret, in Borussiam ad bellum sacrum profectus, tale specimen virtutis dedit, ut universæ classi, quæ maxima et ornatissima erat, præficeretur. Ortâ vero altercatione cum Anglo, ex antiquâ æmulatione eum honorem molestè ferente, ad certamen singulare ab eo fuit provocatus. Provocator secum cogitans, in quam ancipitem martis aleam se demissurus esset, hominem per sicarios tollendum curat.*"—Rev. Scot. l. ix. § 67.

In the summary of the Lives of the Cliffords, it is properly observed upon this foul charge, that "the malice between the two nations was so great then, as this may well be false." The motive of cowardice which Buchanan assigns, may safely be pronounced to be so; a Clifford who went to the Vistula, for the mere sake of war, was not a man to shrink from a single combat.

Buchanan is certainly wrong in the date which he has given, which is 1390; Clifford's father died July 13, 1391, and it was not till after his father's death that he went to serve with the Teutonic knights.

Political influence of the Pulpit.—p. 205.

"It was observed of Queen Elizabeth, that when she had any business to bring about amongst the people, she used to *tune the pulpits*, as her saying was; that is to say, to have some preachers in and about London, and other great auditories in the kingdom, ready at command to cry up her design, as well in their public sermons, as their private conferences."—*Heylyn's Life of Laud*, p. 153.

Hobbes had a great dislike to the Universities, which, he said, were the core of rebellion: but he said also, that perhaps, the only course which could "make our peace amongst ourselves constant, was to discipline them well, that they might send out well-principled preachers." No man ever more clearly perceived that power can be permanently maintained only by opinion. "For if men know not their duty, what is there can force them to obey the laws? An army you'll say.. but what shall force the army? Was not the Trained Bands an army? Were they not Janizaries that not long ago slew Osman in his own palace at Constantinople?" —*Behemoth. Moral and Pol. Works*, p. 516.

The vulgar clamour against those clergy who have manfully and dutifully stood forth in defence of the Protestant Establishment, may be sufficiently answered in the words of that excellent man, Robert Nelson; "It is at all times the indispensable obligation of all the bishops and pastors of the Church, to behave themselves with an holy boldness and undaunted resolution, in the affairs of God and religion, without being awed or biassed by the torrent of the times, or made sordidly to crouch to a prevailing power of worldly politicians, who are for carrying on their own sinister designs at any rate, though always under the most specious pretexts." —*Life of Bishop Bull*, p. 356. Ed. 1827.

We may be thankful that the Church of England is, at this time, according to the prayer of her own true poet:...

For her defence, replenished with a band
Of strenuous champions, in scholastic arts
Thoroughly disciplined: nor (if in course
Of the revolving world's disturbances
Cause should recur, which righteous Heaven avert!
To meet such trial,) from their spiritual lives
Degenerate, who, constrained to wield the sword
Of disputation, shrunk not, tho' assailed
With hostile din, and combating in sight
Of angry umpires, partial and unjust.

Wordsworth's Excursions, p. 252.

Increase of Nobles.—p. 212.

Major Beake, in Richard Cromwell's Parliament, spoke thus upon the question of giving the Protector the power of creating peers.

"You have no cause to fear the new nobility... Suppose the single person should nominate five hundred peers, or more, to grow up over us and overtop us, such a numerous nobility will rather strengthen your hands than his; for by experience we found the numerous nobility of King James was the destruction of his son. When King Charles began to multiply lords, they struck in with you, and deserted the king.

"Though God in his providence hath taken away the nobility, yet what God doth providentially, he not always approves. That he did approve it, is not clear to me. To untie this knot, we may say he did not do it approvingly. I take the single person and the Commons as two scales, the

House of Lords as the beam. Both scales are subject to factions, and tyranny, and extravagances. The beam is prudential. The power for seven hundred years transmitted to them, they have as much right to as the gentleman has to his cloak. Usage is a good right, if ancient. If nothing be right but what is natural, he hath not right to his victuals, his meat and drink: so that there is but a *tantum non* to make it natural. It is so twisted with the Constitution, that five hundred for one upon the poll, would be for a House of Lords. The Parliament might as well take away *meum* and *tuum* as a House of Lords."—*Burton's Journal*, iii. 362.

Number of the House of Commons.—p. 235.

This subject was incidentally noticed in the debates upon the union with Ireland. Mr. Grey observed that in the plan of Parliamentary reform, which he had brought forward, it was not proposed to increase the number of members; and that the plan proposed by Mr. Pitt went upon the principle of preserving the number the same, by extinguishing a number of boroughs, to balance the number of members that were to be introduced by a more popular election. (Parl. History, xxxv. p. 70-1.) "As to that number," said he, "which may be convenient for a deliberative assembly, I should consider 558, *(that of the House before the Union,)* a number as great as would be consistent with order. The human voice even may afford some criterion, as the number ought not to be greater than could be able to hear the discussion. It has rarely happened of late, indeed, that the attendance has been great, or that parties have been very nicely balanced; if, however, the attendance were to be regular, and an additional hundred members were to be in-

troduced, it would be quite impossible for you, Sir, with all that wisdom, dignity, and firmness by which you are distinguished, to preserve order amidst the conflict of nicely balanced parties." (Ib. 99.) He suggested, therefore, " that forty-four of the most decayed boroughs should be struck off, which would lead to a vacancy of eighty-eight members; that the ratio at which Ireland was to have one hundred members, should be preserved, which, for the remainder 478, would give 85 for that country."—Ib. 101.

The gloss of Drusius upon a verse of St. James, (Μη πολλοὶ διδάσκαλοι γίνεσθε, ἀδελφοί μου, iii. 1.) may here be remembered and applied; " *Summa summarum; quo pauciores sunt magistri, eo melius agitur cum populo. Nam ut medicorum olim Cariam, ita doctorum et magistrorum nunc multitudo perdit rempublicam. Utinam vanus sim!*"—Quoted by Bishop Bull, vol. i. 139.

Intellectual obliquity of vision.—p. 244.

" There is a squint eye that looks side-long; to look upon riches and honours on the left hand, and long life here, on the right, is a squint eye. There is a squint eye that looks upwards and downwards; to look after God and Mammon is a squint eye. There are squint eyes that look upon one another; to look upon one's own beauty, or wisdom, or power, is a squint eye. The direct look is to look inward upon their own conscience; not with Nebuchadnezzar; ' Is not this great Babylon which I have built by the might of my power, and for the honour of my majesty?' but with David, *Quid retribuam!* for if thou look upon them with a clear eye, thou wilt see that though thou hast them, thou hast but

found them,... thou hast them but by chance, by contingency, by fortune."—*Donne's Sermons*, lxx. p. 711.

Clothmakers.—p. 249.

"I hear say there is a certain cunning come up in mixing of wares. How say you, were it not a wonder to hear that Clothmakers should become Poticaries;.. yea, and as I hear say, in such a place whereas they have professed the Gospel, and the word of God most earnestly of a long time? See how busy the Devil is to slander the word of God! Thus the poor Gospel goeth to wreck. If his cloth be seventeen yards long, he will set him on a rack, and stretch him out with ropes, and rack him till the sinews shrink again, while he hath brought him to eighteen yards. When they have brought him to that perfection, they have a pretty feat to thick him again. He makes me a powder for it, and plays the Poticary; they call it flock-powder: they do so incorporate it to the cloth, that it is wonderful to consider; truly a good invention. Oh that so goodly wits should be so ill applied! they may well deceive the people, but they cannot deceive God. They were wont to make beds of flocks, and it was a good bed too: now they have turned flocks into powder to play the false thieves with it. O wicked Devil! what can he not invent to blaspheme God's word? These mixtures come of covetousness. They are plain theft. Woe worth that these flocks should slander the word of God: as He said to the Jews, the wine is mingled with water, so might he have said to us of this land, thy cloth is mingled with flock-powder."—*Latimer.*

St. Paul's School.—p. 255.

Upon this subject Erasmus speaks more fully in his Dialogue *De Pronunciatione.*

Ursus. *Proinde Joannes Coletus, vir æternâ dignus memoriâ, quum templo divi Pauli scholam puerilem addidisset, nullâ curâ magis torquebatur, quam in quos ejus rei præfecturam delegaret. Episcopi judicant hanc rem indignam suâ solicitudine. Scholasteres censibus recipiendis se potius quam scholæ curandæ datos arbitratur, et pulchre sibi videntur suo functi officio, si ludimagistros non deciment. In collegiis canonicorum fere semper deterior pars superat. Magistratus vel judicio carent, vel indulgent privatis affectibus.* Leo. *Quid tandem consilii reperit?* Urs. *Hominem conjugatum et liberis divitem scholæ præfecit: provisionem delegavit aliquot e civibus laicis, quorum probitatem habere sibi videbatur exploratam, ut ab his in hæredes proximos derivetur.* Leo. *Num eâ providentiâ securum reddidit?* Urs. *Minime; sed his aiebat sibi videri minimum esse periculi, ut tum habebant res humanæ.*

There is no profession which may more truly deserve to be called liberal, when carried on by a just and honourable man.—p. 256.

A writer who has been condemned by Dryden to be held in worse remembrance than he deserved, has left this character of an English Merchant resident in foreign parts.

" He is one, who goes abroad with a stock of honour, as well as money, to traffick with and manage either bravely; being a master and not a slave to wealth, and such a master as honours it by commands, making it only to serve to noble ends. He neither sticks at trivial expense nor gain, nor

anticipates poverty for fear of being poor, (like those who kill themselves for fear of death,) nor accelerates it by vain glory of appearing rich, (like those who guild over ruinous palaces,) but look in his *accompts* and *warehouse*, and you find him a wealthy merchant, but look in all the rest of his *house* and *family*, and you find him a noble and gallant-minded gentleman. In brief, he neither starves the channel with penuriousness, nor exhausts the spring with prodigality, but has a particular art to keep a full stream still running, and the fount still full, so as we may well say of him in these dead times, that there is none lives but he; who whilst greatest landed men are outed of all they have, as long as the sea is open, is sure of his coming in. To conclude, he is the honour of his nation abroad, and therefore his nation should be very dishonourable and unworthy, should it not always honour him."—*Fleckno's Relation of Ten Years travels*, p. 89.

Few appreciate the blessings of competence and leisure.—p. 257.

" It is the sin of many of the gentry, whom God hath furnished with means and abilities to do much good, to spend their whole days and lives in an unprofitable course of doing either nothing, or as good as nothing, or worse than nothing. I cannot be so either stupid, as not to apprehend; or rigorous, as not to allow, a difference in the manner of employment, and in other circumstances thereto belonging, between those that are nobly or generously born and bred, and those of the meaner and ordinary rank. Manual and servile, and mechanic trades and arts are for men of a lower condition. But yet no man is born, no man should be bred, unto idleness. There are generous and ingenuous and liberal employ-

ments, sortable to the greatest births and educations. For some man, whom God hath blessed with power and authority in his country, with fair livings and large revenues, with a numerous family of servants, retainers, and tenants, and the like, it may be a sufficient calling, and enough to take up his whole time, even to keep hospitality, and to order and overlook his family, and to dispose of his lands and rents, and to make peace and preserve love and neighbourhood among them that live near or under him. He that doth but this as he ought to do, or is otherwise industrious for the common good, must be acknowledged a worthy member of the commonwealth, and his course of life, a calling (although perhaps not so toilsome, yet) *in suo genere* as necessary and profitable, as that of the husbandman, merchant, lawyer, minister, or any other.

" But for our meer, or parcel-gallants, who live in no settled course of life, but spend half the day in sleeping, half the night in gaming, and the rest of their time in other pleasures and vanities, to as little purpose as they can devise, as if they were born for nothing else but to eat and drink, and snort and sport; who are spruce and trim as the lillies, (Solomon in all his royalty was not clothed like one of these;) yet they neither sow, nor reap, nor carry into the barn; they neither labour, nor spin, nor do any thing else for the good of human society; let them blush, there is not the poorest contemptible creature that crieth oysters and kitchenstuff in the streets, but deserveth his bread better than they, and his course of life is of better esteem with God, and every sober wise man, than theirs. A horse that is neither good for the way, nor the cart, nor the race, nor the wars, nor any other service; let him be of never so good a breed, never so well marked and shaped, yet he is but a jade; his master setteth no store by him, thinketh his meat ill-bestowed upon him; every man will say better knock him on the head than keep

him; his skin, though not much worth, is yet better worth than the whole beast besides.

"Consider this, you that are of noble or generous birth. Look unto the rock whence you were hewn, and to the pit whence you were digged. Search your pedigrees; collect the scattered monuments and histories of your ancestors, and observe by what steps your worthy progenitors raised their houses to the height of gentry, or nobility. Scarce shall you find a man of them that gave any accession, or brought any noted eminency to his house, but either serving in the camp, or sweating at the bar, or waiting at Court, or adventuring on the seas, or trucking in his shop, or some other way industriously bestirring himself in some settled calling and course of life. You usurp their arms, if you inherit not their virtues; and those ensigns of honour and gentry, which they by industry atchieved, sit no otherwise upon your shoulders, than as rich trappings upon asses' backs, which serve but to render the poor beast more ridiculous. If you by brutish sensuality, and spending your time in swinish luxury, stain the colours and embase the metals of those badges of your gentry and nobility, which you claim by descent; think, when we worship or honour you, we do but flout you; and know the titles we in courtesy give you, we bestow upon their memory, whose degenerate offspring you are, and whose arms you unworthily bear; and they do no more belong to you, than the reverence the good man did to Isis, belonged to the ass that carried her image."—*Sanderson. Fourteen Sermons.* 248.

Nunneries.—p. 305.

"We are apt," says Mr. Barrow, in his Remarks on Madeira (Voyage to Cochin-china) "to attach a lively interest to young females who are thus so cruelly, as we suppose, separated for ever from all society, except that of each other: but it is extremely doubtful if they possess those exalted sentiments, nice feelings and sound understandings, which prevail among females of those countries where they are allowed to enjoy unrestrained freedom."—True. But can it be doubted whether they possess *natural* feelings? the question is not concerning *nice* ones. Nunneries are useful as Bedlams, which crazy women choose for themselves; but they are not Bedlams; they are Prisons; and it is not necessary that women should possess exalted sentiments, for them to be very miserable in confinement.

Books from New England.—p. 335.

Two of these are of some importance in the history of Quakerism, and of great rarity in the Bibliotheca Quakeriana. It is a pleasing example of the literary intercourse subsisting between New England and the Mother Country, that these books should have been procured by one man of letters in Massachusetts for the use of another at the foot of Skiddaw. I am obliged for them to my friend Professor Ticknor—one of those persons who were more especially in my mind when I spoke in the Introduction (p. 3.) of American travellers in England.

I subjoin the titles of these books, as characteristic in their kind.

George Fox digged out of his Burrowes. Or an offer of Disputation on fourteen Proposals made this last summer,

1672, (so called) unto G. Fox, then present on Rode Island in New England, by R(oger) W(illiams.) As also how, G. Fox slily departing, the Disputation went on, being managed three days at Newport on Rode Island, and one day at Providence, between John Stubs, John Burnet, (Burnyeat) and William Edmundson, on the one part, and R. W. on the other. In which many quotations out of G. Fox and Ed. Burrowes Book in folio are alledged, with an appendix of some scores of G. F., his simple lame answers to his opposites in that Book, quoted and replyed to. By R. W. of Providence in N. E.—Boston. Printed by John Foster, 1676. Small 4to.

A New England Fire Brand quenched, being an Answer unto a Slanderous Book entituled George Fox digged out of his Burrowes, &c. Printed at Boston in the year 1676, by Roger Williams of Providence in New England. Which he dedicateth to the King with desires that, if the Most High please, Old and New England may flourish when the Pope and Mahomet, Rome and Constantinople are in their ashes. Of a Dispute upon 14 of his Proposals held and debated betwixt him, the said Roger Williams on the one part, and John Stubs, William Edmundson, and John Burnyeat on the other, at Providence and Newport in Rode Island in the year 1672. In which his cavils are refuted, and his Reflections reproved. In two parts. As also an Answer to R. W.'s appendix, &c. with a Postscript confuting his blasphemous assertions, viz. of the Blood of Christ that was shed, its being corruptible and corrupted; and that Salvation was by a man that was corruptible, &c. Whereunto is added a Catalogue of his Railery, Lies, scorn, and blasphemies: and his Temporizing Spirit made manifest. Also the Letters of W. Coddington of Rode Island, and R. Scot of Providence in New England concerning R. W. And lastly some Testimonies of Ancient and Modern Authors concerning the light, scriptures, Rule, and the Soul of Man. By George Fox and John Burnyeat. Printed in the year 1679.

Enjoyment of Books.—p. 343.

There is a beautiful passage in Machiavelli's Letters, describing the delight which he enjoyed in his studies. After a lively picture of his daily occupations in the country, he says, *Venuta la sera mi ritorno a casa, ed entro in mio Scrittojo; ed in sull' uscio mi spoglio quella veste contadina, piena di fango e di loto, e mi metto panni reali e curiali, e rivestito condecentemente entro nelle antiche corti degli antichi uomini, dove da loro ricevuto amorevolmente mi pasco di quel cibo che* solum *è mio, e che io nacqui per lui; dove io non mi vergogno parlare con loro, e domandare della ragione delle loro azioni; e quelli per loro umanità mi rispondono; e non sento per quattro ore di tempo alcuna noja. Sdimentico ogni affanno, non temo la povertà, non mi sbigottisce la morte; tutto mi trasferisco in loro. E perchè Dante dice "che non fu scienza senza ritener lo inteso," io ho notato quello di che per la loro conversazione ho fatto capitale, e composto un opuscolo* de Principatibus, *dove io mi profondo quanto io posso nelle cogitazioni di questo subietto, disputando che cosa è principato, di quali spezie sono, come e' si acquistano, come e' si mantengono, perchè e' si perdono; e si vi piacque mai alcun mio ghiribizzo, questo non vi dovrebbe dispiacere; e ad un principe, e massime ad un principe nuovo, dovrebbe essere accetto*—Opere di Machiavelli. 1813. Vol. viii. p. 96.

Erasmus writes upon the same subject, with as much truth and feeling as Machiavelli; but there is less life in the letter, more of the author, and less of the man.

"*Quid verum faciam rogas? Amicis operam do, horum consuetudine gratissimâ memet oblecto. Quos tu tandem amicos mihi jactitas, inquis, homuncio levissime? An quisquam te visum aut auditum velit? Equidem non diffiteor fortunatorum amicos esse plurimos: at nec pauperibus desunt amici et quidem isti*

non paulo tum certiores tum commodiores. Cum his me concludo in angulum aliquem, et turbam ventorum fugiens, aut cum illis dulcia quædam mussito, aut eos aliquid insusurrantes audio, cum his non secus ac mecum loquor. An quicquam his commodius? Arcana ipsi sua celant nunquam, commissa summâ cum fide continent: nihil foras quæ liberius inter familiares effundere solemus, renunciant: vocati præsto sunt, invocati non ingerunt sese: jussi loquuntur, injussi tacent: loquuntur quæ voles, quantum voles, quoad voles; nihil assentantur, fingunt nihil, nihil dissimulant; vitia tua tibi liberè indicant, nemini obtrectant: aut jucunda dicunt, aut salutaria: secundis in rebus moderantur, consolantur in afflictis, cum fortunâ minime variantur: in omnia pericula te sequuntur, ad extremos usque rogos perdurant: nihil illis inter ipsos candidius. Committo subinde, nunc hos, nunc illos, mihi asciscens, omnibus æquus. Cum his amiculis optime N . . sepultus delitesco. Quas ego tandem opes, aut quæ sceptra cum hâc desidiâ commutavero? Verum ne nostra te fallat metaphora, quicquid de amiculis hactenus sum locutus, de libris dictum intelligas, quorum familiaritas me plane beatum effecit, hoc solo infortunatum, quod non tecum mihi hæc felicitas contigerit."—L. iv. Ep. 31. p. 297.

Multiplication of Books.—p. 349.

Leibnitz looked forward to the time when this would become an evil, and proposed a plan for preserving what should be most worthy of preservation; . . but he foresaw also how difficult it would be to determine this.

"*Excerpendæ essent ex scriptoribus, non solum quæ* semel *sed etiam quæ* primum *dicta sunt a quolibet auctore. Incipiendum vero ab antiquissimis, sic perspicere liceret quid a quovis*

statutum. Non tamen quævis, sed humano generi instruendo inservientia, delibanda forent. Si mundus adhuc mille annos durabit, et tot libri, ut hodie, conscribentur, vereor, ne e Bibliothecis integræ civitates fiant: sed injuria temporum et casus varii multas perdent. Opus itaque esset, ut e scriptoribus singularibus et archetypis, qui alios non exscripserunt, Eclogæ Photianæ *conficerentur, res memorabiles ipsis autorum verbis exponentes; Quænam autem res sint alicujus momenti; non cuivis ob diversitatem ingeniorum et disciplinarum dijudicare licet.*"—Mantissa Miscellaneorum Leibnitianorum § 26.

A point of honour among certain of the Italians in the 16th century to be ignorant.—p. 362.

This appears from a passage in the curious Dialogues of Lodovico Domenichi (Vinegia, 1662.)

GHE. *Hanno ancho un' altra infamia gli huomini litterati; e questo è che non sono stimati nobili, riputandosi hoggidi cosa mecanica e vile lo attendere a gli studi delle buone lettere.*

HER. *Questa è openione del vulgo.*

GHE. *Anzi ci sono de gli huomini nati nobilmente, i quali si recherebbono a vergogna sapere pure solamente scrivere il nome loro, non che lettere.*

BAT. *Costoro che voi ci havete ricordati non son pur degni di chiamarsi huomini, non che gentili, e di corte. Ma lasciamo ire simili gentaglie, a gran torto hoggidi favorite da alcuni principi.*—p. 11.

But Domenichi himself thought learning had been vulgarized too much. This appears in his *Dialogo della stampa.*

"*l'abondanza che la stampa ha fatto venir de' libri, è stata cagione di molti inconvenienti.*

LOL. *Et quali son questi disordini?*

Coc. *Prima, molte persone nate vilmente, lequali con maggiore utilità del mondo si sarebbono potute impiegare in molti esercitii mecanici, et degni degli animi et corpi loro, tirate dalla gran commodità di studiare, si son posto a leggere: onde n' è poi seguito, che gl' huomini nobili, et dotti, sono stati poco apprezzati et meno premiati. Et molti sdegnando d' haver compagni le piu vili brigate nelle scienze, hanno lasciato affatto ogni buona disciplina, et cosi si sono marciti nell' ocio e nella lascivia. In questo modo la dignita, et la riputatione dello studio delle lettere e venuta mancando: et cessati sono ancho i premi, poi che s'è potuto vedere la gran facilità, et la poca fatica, che è nel venir dotti et letterati.*—Ib. 383.

The Spaniards also in that age despised learning, as a thing incompatible with a soldier's habits. Speaking of the ancient Philosophers, Pietro Martire says, in an Epistle to the Archbishop of Toledo, *Ingens latumque chaos inter præteritos præsentesque magistros fateor; sed non strictius inter auditores sentio interesse. Illi namque ab atavis illiteratum hominem à beluâ nil distare crediderunt, eamque sibi in maternis uteris opinionem induebant; Hispaniæ contra juvenes ab avis proavisque, ad nostram usque tempestatem, eum minoris esse faciendum, qui literas sectetur, falso arbitrati sunt, quia militiæ, cui soli invigilare honorificum putant, literas esse impedimento hactenus crediderunt.*—Ep. cii. p. 59.

And again—*Existimabat namque nobilitas atque absurde arbitrabatur, militari disciplinæ literas adversari. Inde ab illis tanquam ab hoste infensissimo, tergiversata est hactenus, ex instituto majorum.*—Ep. ciii. 59.

Cataloguing travellers.—p. 371.

Feller says of Leibnitz, *Cum Anno* 1671, *iter in Galliam ingrederetur*, Monconysii Itinerarium, *tanquam viæ monstratorem in indagandis rebus literariis, physicis et mathematicis, secum asportavit. Memini illustrem virum optasse aliquando, ut de rebus hodiernis, visu dignis, similis liber conficeretur ; vel ex Itinerariis colligerentur ad emendationem generis humani profutura, aut in rebus moralibus, politicis, &c. imitabilia, quum et Barbari sæpius optimis institutis abundarent.*—Supplementum Vitæ Leibnitianæ.

Travellers putting out money on their own lives. p. 376.

"Being newly returned home, I thought the going into more remote parts would be of little use to me, yet I had an itching desire to see *Jerusalem*, the fountain of Religion, and *Constantinople*, of old the seat of Christian Emperors, and now the seat of the Turkish *Ottoman*. Being of this mind when I returned into *England*, it happened that my brother *Henry* was then beginning that voyage, having to that purpose put out some four hundred pounds, to be repaid twelve hundred pounds upon his return from those two cities, and to lose it if he died in the journey. I say he had thus put out the most part of his small estate, which in *England* is no better with gentlemen's younger sons, nor so good, as with bastards in other places, as well for the English law most unmeasureably favouring elder brothers, as (let me boldly say it) for the ignorant pride of fathers, who, to advance their eldest sons, drive the rest to desperate courses, and make them unable to live, or to spend any money in getting understanding

and experience; so as they being in wants, and yet more miserable by their gentry and plentiful education, must needs rush into all vices; for all wise men confess, that nothing is more contrary to goodness than poverty. My brother being partner with other gentlemen in this fortune, thought this putting out of money to be an honest means of gaining, at least the charges of his journey, and the rather, because it had not then been heard in *England*, that any man had gone this long journey by land, nor any like it, (excepting only Master *John Wrath*, whom I name for honour,) and more especially he thought this gain most honest and just, if this journey were compared with other base adventures for gain, which long before this time had been, and were then in use. And I confess, that this his resolution did not at the first dislike me. For I remembered, that this manner of gain, had of old been in use among the inhabitants of the Low Countries, and the Sea Coasts of *Germany* (and so it is yet in use with them.)—

"Being led with these reasons, I liked his counsel, and made myself his consort in that journey. And I had now given out upon like condition money to some few friends, when perceiving the common opinion in this point to be much differing from mine, and thereupon better considering this matter, and observing (as a stranger that had been long out of my country) that these kinds of adventures were grown very frequent, whereof some were indecent, some ridiculous, and that they were in great part undertaken by bankrupts, and men of base condition, I might easily judge that in short time they would become disgraceful, whereupon I changed my mind.

"Only I gave out one hundred pound to receive three hundred at my return among my brethren, and some few kinsmen and dearest friends, of whom I would not shame to confess that I received so much of gift. And lest by spending upon the stock my patrimony should be wasted, I moreover gave out to five friends, one hundred pound, with condition that

they should have it if I died, or after three years should repay it with one hundred and fifty pound again if I returned; which I hold a disadvantageous adventure to the giver of the money. Neither did I exact this money of any man by suit of law after my return, which they willingly and presently paid me, only some few excepted, who retaining the very money I gave them, dealt not therein so gentleman-like with me, as I did with them. And by the great expenses of my journey, much increased by the ill accidents of my brother's death, and my own sickness, the three hundred and fifty pounds I was to receive of gain after my return; and the one hundred pounds which my brother and I carried in our purses, would not satisfy the five hundred pound we had spent, (though my brother died within the compass of the first year;) but I was forced to pay the rest out of my own patrimony.

"Gentle reader, I will no longer trouble thee with these trifles: only in the behalf of them, who for a reasonable gain, and upon long journies, and not upon ridiculous adventures, have put out their money in this sort. Give leave to me (howsoever I desisted from that course) to add this:—All manners of attire came first into the city and country from the court, which being once received by the common people, and by very stage-players themselves, the courtiers justly cast off, and take new fashions, (though somewhat too curiously;) and whosoever wears the old, men look upon him as upon a picture in arras hangings. For it is proverbially said, that we may eat according to our own appetites, but in our apparrel must follow the fashion of the multitude, with whom we live. But in the meantime it is no reproach to any, who of old did wear those garments, when they were in fashion. In like sort, many dances and measures are used in Court, but when they come to be vulgar and to be used upon very stages, Courtiers and Gentlemen think them uncomely to be

used; yet it is no reproach to any man who formerly had skill therein. To conclude, (that I may not trouble you with like examples, which are infinite,) I say that this manner of giving out money upon these adventures, was first used in Court, and among the very Noblemen; and when any of them showed thereby extraordinary strength, the most censorious approved it, but when any performed a long journey, with courage and discretion, no man was found who did not more or less commend it, according to the condition of the journey performed. Now in this age, if bankrupts, stage-players, and men of base condition, have drawn this custom into contempt, I grant that Courtiers and Gentlemen have reason to forbear it, yet know not why they should be blamed, who have thus put out their money in another age, when this custom was approved. A man may justly say it is great injustice, that our actions should be measured by opinion, and not by reason; but when a man leaves any custom that hath been approved, lest he should oppose himself to the common people, a monster of many heads, the most envious hath nothing whereat they may justly carp. And if any measure may be imposed to detractors, surely they must spare them, who undertake long voyages, full of great dangers, who do not put out their money in Taverns, or at feasts to any man without distinction, but dispose of their money with their friends upon reasonable adventure of gain, (which in absence they cannot otherwise dispose to profit:) Finally, who being not rich by patrimony, take these journies only for experience, and to be enabled to that expense, do condition this reasonable gain. I say the detractors must spare these, and distinguish them from others, who make cursory journies, without any desire to better their understanding thereby, and more from those, who in these courses rather make trial of their bodies' strength, than of their minds' ability. And most of all from those, who expose themselves to the scorn of men,

by base and ridiculous adventures, or that little differ from self-murderers, in undertaking desperate actions for gain."—*Fynes Moryson's Itinerary*, Part i. p. 198.

Such speculations appear to have been called *Adventures upon Return.* They led to wild wagering undertakings, of which no man engaged in more, or more hazardous ones than Taylor, the Water Poet. The last journey performed from a like motive was probably that of Jerusalem Whalley.

St. Appollonia.—p. 379.

" But as for your tethe I wene if they aked well, ye wold yourself think it a thing worthy and not to simple, to ask help of St. Appolyn and of God to. Ye mary, quod he, and of the Devyll to, rather than fayle, as the Lombard did for the gowte; that when he had long called upon God and our Lady, and all the holy company of Heaven, and yet felt himself never the better, he began at last to call for help as fast upon the Devyll. And when his wife and his frends sore abashed and astonyed, rebuked him for calling on the Devyll which he wist well was nought, and if that he holpe him it shold be for no good, he cried out as loud as he could, *hogni aiuto e bono,* all is good that helpeth. And so, I wene, wolde I, quod he, call on the Devyll and all, rather than abyde in payne. Nay, quod I, whatsoever ye say, I cannot think ye wolde byleve in the Devyll as that Lumbard did: ye wolde rather fare like another, that whan the frere apposed him in confession, whether he meddled anything with witchcraft, or necromancy, or had any byleve in the Devyll, he answered him, *Credere en le Dyable my syr no. Io graund fatyge a credere in Dio.* Byleve in the Devyll, quod he, naye, naye Sir, I have

work enough to byleve in God, I. And so wolde I wene that ye were far from all bylevying in the Devyl; ye have so much work to byleve in himself, that ye be lothe methink to meddle much with his Saints."—*Sir T. More's Dialoge*, p. 78.

St. Uncumber.—p. 379.

This appellation was given to St. Wilgefortis, famous for her beard. The reason is whimsical, and might entitle her to be the Patroness of the Scotch Lawyers.

" St. Loy we make an horseleche; and must let our horse rather renne unshod and marre his hoofe, than to sho him on his day: which we must for that point more religiously kepe high and holy than Ester day. And bycause one smyth is to few at a forge, we set St. Ipolitus to helpe him. And on St. Stevyns day we must let all our horses blood with a knyfe, bycause St. Stephen was kylled with stones. St. Appolyne we make a tothe-drawer, and may speke to her of nothing but of sore teeth. St. Sythe women set to seek their keys. St. Roke we set to see to the great sykenes, bycause he had a sore. And with him they joyn St. Sebastian, bycause he was martyred with arrowes. Some serve for the eye onely. And some for a sore breast. St. Germayne onely for children; and yet will he not ones loke at them, but if the mother bring with them a white lofe, and a pot of good ale. And yet is he wiser than St. Wylgeforte, for she, good soul, is as they say served and content with otys. Whereof I cannot perceive the reason, but if it be bycause she shold provyde an horse for an evil housbonde to ride to the Devyll upon: for that is the thing that she is so sought for, as they say. In so much that women hath therefore chaunged her name, and in stede of St. Wylgeforte call her St. Uncumber, by-

cause they reken that for a pecke of otys she will not fayle to uncomber theym of theyr housbondys."—*Sir T. More's Dialoge*, p. 76.

Sir Thomas More's Poems.—p. 395.

Sir Thomas is mentioned by Taylor the Water Poet as one of those poets whose verses were still in repute: the list which Taylor gives is curious for this reason, that all the other names, Dyer's excepted, retain their reputation.

In Paper many a Poet now survives,
Or else their lines had perished with their lives.
Old Chaucer, Gower, and Sir Thomas More,
Sir Philip Sidney who the laurel wore;
Spenser and Shakspeare did in art excel,
Sir Edward Dyer, Greene, Nash, Daniel,
Silvester, Beaumont, Sir John Harrington;
Forgetfulness their works would over-run,
But that in Paper they immortally
Do live in spite of Death, and cannot die.

And many there are living at this day
Which do in Paper their true worth display
As Davis, Drayton, and the learned Donne,
Johnson and Chapman, Marston, Middleton,
With Rowley, Fletcher, Wither, Massinger,
Heywood, and all the rest where'er they are,
Must say their lines but for the paper sheet
Had scarcely ground whereon to set their feet.

Praise of Hemp Seed.

Sir Thomas More's latter thoughts of his Utopia.—p. 396.

"As touching Moria, in which Erasmus under the name and person of Moria (whyche worde in greke sygnyfyeth foly) doth merely towche and reprove suche fautes and folyes as he founde in any kynde of people, perusynge every state and condycyon spyrytuall and temporall, levynge almost none untouched, by whych boke Tyndale sayth, that yf it were in englyshe, every man sholde then well se that I was then ferre otherwyse mynded then I now wryte: yf thys be trew, then the more cause have I to thanke God of amendement. But surely this is untrew. For God be thanked, I never hadde that mynde in my lyfe to have holy Sayntes ymages, or theyr holy relykes out of reverence. Nor yf thare were any suche thynge in Moria, that thynge coude not yet make any man se that I were myself of that mynde, the boke beynge made by a nother man though he were my derlynge never so dere. How be it that boke of Moria doeth in dede but jeste uppon the abuses of suche thynges, after the manner of the dysours parte in a playe, and yet not so farre neyther by a greate deale, as the messenger doth in my dyalog, whyche I have yet suffered to stande styll in my dyaloge, and that rather yet by the counsayle of other men then of my selfe.

"For, all be yt that yt be lawfull to any man to mysselyke the mysseuse of every good thynge, and that in my dyaloge there not onely those evyll thynges rehersed, but answered also and soyled, and the goodnes of the thyng self well used is playnely confyrmed and proved: yet hath Tyndale by erronyouse bokes, in settynge forth Luthers pestylent heresyes, so envenemed the hartes of lewdly disposed persones, that men can not almost now speke of such thynges in so mych as a play, but that such evyll herers wax a grete dele the worse.

"And therefore in these dayes in which Tyndale hath (God amende hym!) with thenfeccion of his contagyouse he-

resyies, so sore poysened malycyouse and newfangle folks, that the kynges hyghnes, and not wythout the counsayle and advyce not of his nobles only, wyth his other counsaylours attendynge uppon his gracys person, but also of the ryght vertuouse and specyall well lerned men of eyther unyversyte and other partyes of the realme specyally called thereto, hathe after dylygent and longe consyderacyon hadde therein, ben fayne for the whyle to prohybyte the scrypture of God to be suffered in englyshe tonge amonge the peoples handes, leste evyll folke by false drawyng of every good thynge they rede in to the colour and mayntenauns of theyr owne fonde fantasyes, and turnynge all hony in to poisyn, myght both dedly do hurte unto theym selfe, and sprede also that infeccyone farther a brode: I saye therfore, in these dayes in whyche men by theyr owne defaute mysseconstre and take harme of the very scripture of God, untyll menne better amende, yf any man wolde now translate Moria in to Englyshe, or some workes eyther that I have my selfe wryten ere this, all be yt there be none harme therein, folke yet beynge (as they be) geven to take harme of that that is good, I wolde not onely my derlynges bokes, but myne owne also, helpe to burne them both wyth myne own handes, rather then folke sholde (though thorow theyr own faute) take any harme of them, seynge that I se them lykely in these days so to do."—*Confutacyon of Tyndal's Answer*, 128.

Moral use of Poetry.—p. 399.

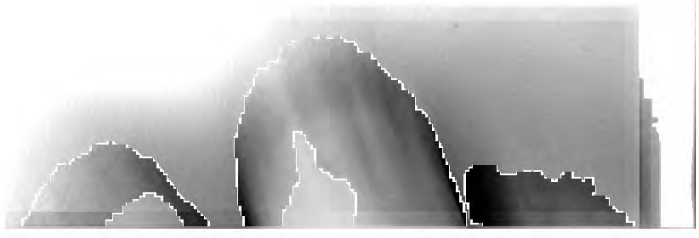
With how much greater force does this apply to religion!

Nous savons où nous sommes parvenus, ce que nous sommes devenus, malgré les principes de religion et de morale que l'on a cherché vainement à nous inculquer dès l'enfance, et à nous faire pratiquer parfaitement: mais au moins nous avons

connu la verité et nos devoirs; qui sait combien nous serions tombés encore plus bas si cela n'avait pas eu lieu? qui peut dire jusqu' où arriverait notre perversité, si l'on nous prêchait une fausse doctrine toute contraire à la religion et à la morale?—Louis Buonaparte. Documens Historiques sur la Hollande. ii. 194.

If I looked to secondary causes alone, my fears would preponderate.—p. 426.

"Our whole system," says Horace Walpole, writing in 1783, "is become a disjointed chaos, and time must digest it—or blow it up shortly. I see no way into it; nor expect any thing favourable but from chance, that often stops confusion on a sudden. To restore us by any system, it would require as ingle head furnished with wisdom, temper, address, fortitude, full and undivided power, and sincere patriotism divested of all personal views. Where is that prodigy to be found?—and how should it have the power if it had all the rest? and if it had the power, how could it be divested of that power again? and if it were not, how long would it retain its virtues? Power and wisdom would soon unite, like Antony and Augustus, to annihilate their colleague virtue, for being a poor creature like Lepidus."—*Letters*, vol. iv. 338.

END OF VOL. I.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY C. ROWORTH, BELL YARD,
TEMPLE BAR.