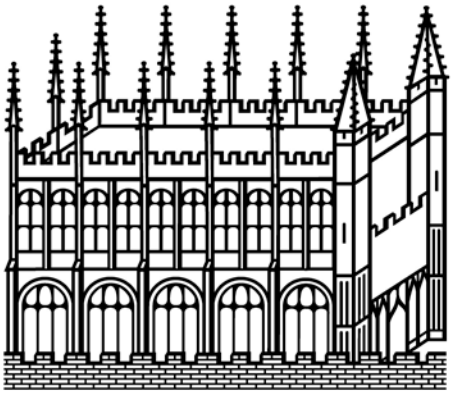

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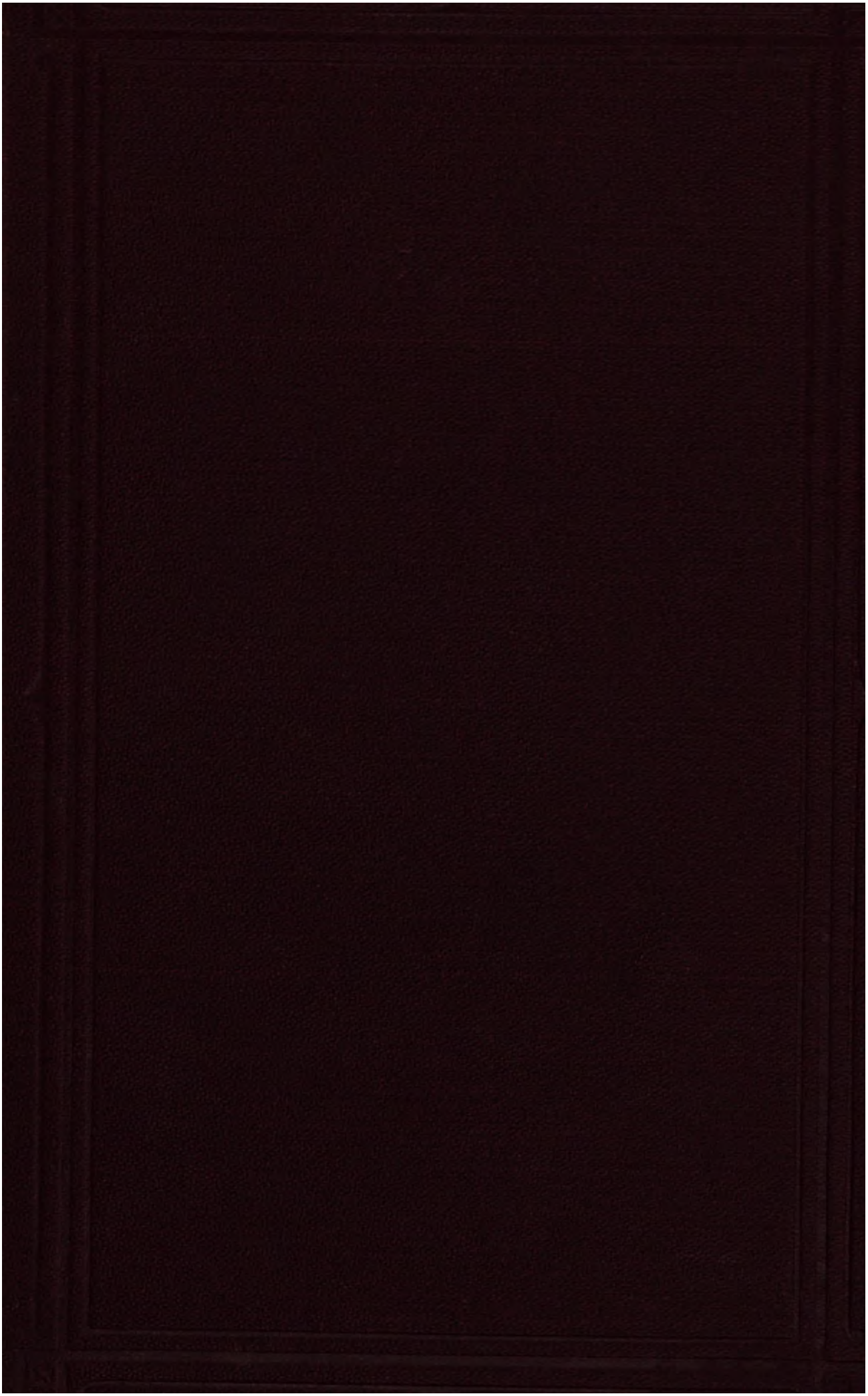

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MONARCHY DEFENDED.

A

Treatise for Revolutionary Times.

BY

JOHN VICKERS,

AUTHOR OF "THE SLAVERY QUARREL," "TINKER ÆSOP," ETC. ETC.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE objection which a large class of people, whose minds are wholly taken up with current politics, are sure to make against this book, if it should come at all under their notice, is that of its being an uncalled-for production. "Monarchy," they will say, "so far at least as our own country is concerned, wants no defending, unless it be on the platform of some small debating society. To draw up an elaborate treatise for the purpose of controverting its revolutionary assailants, is, from all present appearances, just as much of a needless and wasted effort as we should consider the fortification of Buckingham Palace with batteries of artillery."

If no defence of monarchy is to be published till such objectors shall be roused by the course of events to deem it an urgent popular want, the time will have gone by for it to have the smallest influence in checking the revolutionary teaching which is carried on in our midst with such vigour and success; and though written with tenfold more ability than the argument embodied in these pages,

it will be utterly useless. There are, indeed, another class of objectors, who will say that the war between Monarchism and Republicanism is already fought out in the field of literature, and that I, who have come to assist with my feeble efforts the beaten Monarchists, am too late, by a long march, to take any part in it.

If my object were merely to please the people, and obtain a literary success, the present moment could certainly not be considered at all opportune for the publication of a work of this kind, since it must be apparent to every observer of the signs of the times, that a strong current of popular prejudice has of late been running against Monarchists, and in favour of Republicans.

We are just now, I rejoice to say, on more friendly terms with our Republican cousins in America than we have been before at any time during the present century. A few months ago we were fêting General Grant in all parts of the country, and congratulating ourselves on the amicable settlement of the Alabama dispute and other vexatious matters which at one time threatened to involve the two nations in a calamitous war. If my countrymen, the elders of the great Anglo-Saxon family, instead of siding as partisans with the North and with the South in the fratricidal struggle of 1861–4, had taken up a mediatory position, and endeavoured to reconcile their kindred, as I, poor eccentric, with all my might urged them do, there would have been no Alabama dispute

to settle; the Civil War itself might have been abridged, if not entirely averted, and the Americans, instead of owing us another grudge, would have owed us a large debt of gratitude. There were faults on both sides. Let us be thankful that the bad feeling between our two nations has now at length been removed. At the same time, if I may be permitted to speak the plain truth, there is no country in the world but Republican America that would be capable of getting up such a rogue's lawsuit against a wealthy neighbour as that of the Alabama charges, and prosecuting it to a successful issue. If any monarchical power had, under similar circumstances, made such a demand of reparation from the English people, they would have rejected it with the utmost scorn, refused to pay a farthing, and the crowned Chief of the State who had encouraged his people to persist in their unreasonable demands, so far from being welcomed and fêted, would not have been permitted to show his face here. It seems that a Republican neighbour (who, however, is also a relative) may venture to steal a horse from us, while a Monarchical neighbour may hardly presume to look over the hedge.

Then, again, a twelvemonth has scarcely passed since the American people were celebrating, with much *éclat,* the Centennial of their famous Declaration of Independence, and our own people to a great extent were sharing in their joy, or regarding them with envy and admiration. Although we see Canada standing side by side with the United States,

and know that her prosperous inhabitants have steadily refused to follow their neighbours' Republican example, greatly preferring such a man as Lord Dufferin to mediate between their contending parties to any partisan chief of their own, there is here a wide-spread popular belief that the Americans owe their rapid increase in wealth, power, and dominion to the circumstance of their having revolted from the Mother Country a hundred years ago, and chosen to fight out their quarrels independently, rather than have them adjusted by her Monarchical influence. Their being so well satisfied with the Revolutionary War which separated them from England, and rejoicing over it every Fourth of July as a glorious achievement, naturally leads the world's simple spectators to believe that so much public joy would never be manifested, and for so long a period, if there were not underlying it a good substantial foundation of benefit. I have no doubt that we should have seen quite as much annual rejoicing in the Confederate States if they had succeeded some years ago in their unwise attempt to establish an independent republic. The fact is, that the world's grandest celebrations often commemorate its greatest calamities, while those peaceful events which have been of vast permanent benefit to mankind, such as the Union between England and Scotland, are not commemorated at all.

But probably no recent circumstance has contributed more to excite the sympathies of the

English people in favour of Republicanism than the political struggle between the Marshal President and the Republican Deputies, which, while I write, is still going on in France. Our Conservative and our Liberal press both correctly represent the popular feeling on this question, and seem to be pretty nearly agreed. Some of my political neighbours, who are considered stanch old Tories, have been very strongly denouncing the French Monarchists of late, and praising the Republicans. The general impression here seems to be that Monarchists and Republicans form two constitutional parties in France, agreeing in every respect with our own Conservatives and Liberals; and that if we could fancy Lord Beaconsfield's Government suffering a defeat, appealing to the country, and with the army at their back, obstinately continuing to hold office, notwithstanding there being a strong majority against them in the new Parliament, we should have in England an exact parallel to the present political situation in France.

This popular mistake is rather a wide one: the two cases can no more be considered parallel than the roads which cross each other. With us the voice of the majority is always respected, because a Constitutional Sovereign, born and educated to impartiality, presides over our affairs, holds the balance fairly between our great political parties, and gives the reins of government into the hands of that minister who, for the time being, shall possess the largest share of the nation's confidence.

The Sovereign's decision between the claims of rival ministers, is very much like the decision of a judge between rival litigants; it enables a man to yield indirectly to his opponent with a good grace, when otherwise a strong feeling of wounded pride would induce the party condemned by public opinion to question the extent of the popular verdict, and prolong the struggle rather than yield. Moreover, in this country a defeated ministerial party are always ready enough to vacate their dominant position, because they expect in a few years to regain it; they have the utmost confidence not only in their Sovereign's impartiality, but in the honour of their rivals, and know well that delivering up to them the keys of office is a very different thing from surrendering a fortress to an enemy. The Conservatives, on their accession to power in England, are not accustomed to make a clean sweep, and eject every Liberal, great and small, from his official post; and so the Liberals, when their turn of fortune comes, are never seen hurriedly passing a number of revolutionary measures, with the view to the perpetual exclusion of the Conservatives. The two parties, in short, respect and tolerate each other, and are not sworn, by all manner of violent means, to compass each other's destruction.

Prior to 1848, when France had a Constitutional Monarchy as nearly approaching to our own as it was then possible to make it, the rival political parties were learning to respect each other there, and readily give place to each other when public

opinion and the interest of the country required it. Who were the first to resort to violent measures, and break up this just and equitable arrangement? Certainly not the Monarchists, but the Revolutionists. The Parisian democracy, headed by such men as Ledru Rollin and Louis Blanc, said, "Since we are wholly right in our views, and our political opponents are altogether wrong, there can be no compromise between us, no peace with Conservatives; it is absurd to go on submitting our disputes to Royal arbitration; unless our hated enemies yield to our demands, we will at once declare war." They fought behind their barricades and triumphed. These people who so destroyed the Constitutional Monarchy and established a Republic that they might have things entirely their own way, had no more respect for legality and enlightened public opinion than had Louis Napoleon when, with a handful of desperate followers, he made his wild and reckless attempt to kindle the flames of insurrection at Strasburg and Boulogne. It was natural that this lawless adventurer should sympathize with other adventurers in the same line, and desire to cast in his lot with them; and the more powerful democracy which he soon after called to his assistance by universal suffrage for the suppression of the educated classes, felt, as might be expected, a strong sympathy for him, and elected him, a notorious constitution-breaker and revolutionist, to be the sovereign of France in preference to either of the sons of Louis Philippe, who had always bowed respectfully

to the decisions of the Parliament, and proved themselves law-abiding men.

Napoleon III., with all his guilt and violence, managed to obtain the confidence of a large majority of the French people; and the genuine French Monarchists, be it remembered, whether partisans of the Duke de Bordeaux or the Count de Paris, respected this majority that declared against them, with exemplary patience. The Orleanist princes, during their long period of exile, never once attempted to requite with evil the man who had confiscated their property, or raise an insurrection against him, in imitation of what he had tried to accomplish, without excuse or provocation, during the reign of their father, the late king. On the other hand, the Republicans were continually hatching insurrections, and conspiring to overthrow the Government of the Emperor by violent means, although they had no reasonable ground for complaint, and ought to have submitted to it very contentedly, since they were chiefly instrumental in its being established. He had acquired his despotic position by faithfully following their example, and consistently working on their own lines. They, in 1848, made a *coup d'état* against the French Parliament, on the ground that no parliament could fairly represent the nation unless elected by universal suffrage; he, in 1850, did precisely the same thing, and, in fact, re-established their own democratic basis of government. The results of this revolutionary experiment were satisfactory to him,

who rightly calculated on the ignorance and pliability of the rural democracy, but were extremely disappointing to them, who had greatly over-estimated the intelligence of their countrymen, or, rather, the extent of popular enlightenment; and it brought them abundant reason for humiliation and repentance, but afforded them no justification whatever for revolt.

Ever since February, 1848, France has been governed, not by two constitutional parties changing places, from time to time, at the helm of State, with the change of public opinion, but by two revolutionary powers yielding only to hard iron—the *military* and the *multitude*. They have continued to despise every kind of arbitration, and struggle obstinately one against the other, on the principle that might constitutes right. It was often said of Napoleon III. that he could not justly complain of the persistent attempts which were made against him by revolutionists, seeing that he had been a revolutionist himself. He resembled a chieftain of the old lawless times, who, having forcibly seized another man's estate, and obtained the respect and submission of the peasantry, found himself threatened in turn by other desperate adventurers, when he fain would be let alone in his stronghold and permitted to settle down to a life of peace and lawfulness. The Republicans who, in 1870, took advantage of the absence of his army on the frontiers to overthrow his Government and claim the French dominion for themselves, are now, with

the return of that army, in precisely the same uneasy and threatened position. They managed, even as he did, to gain over the fickle Tichbornite population in support of their claim; but as they, when called Irreconcilables, never showed the smallest respect for a universal-suffrage majority that declared against them, how can they expect any more consideration from their revolutionary foes, now that they have such a majority in their favour and begin to prate of Constitutional rights? The thousands of simple people in this country, who believe Gambetta to be a French Gladstone, naturally suppose that if he became the head of a ministry and were beaten by a small Conservative majority, he would instantly resign; but the Bonapartists, who know him better, rightly calculate on his crying, "No surrender," and making as obstinate a fight against an overwhelming force of Conservatives as he did against the German armies, and they think it would be downright madness to admit such a political desperado to the command of the Government citadel for a second time while they have the power to keep him out.

It will be a happy day for France when she again has a Constitutional Monarchy, and her men of combat, both Republican and Bonapartist, that now keep her in perpetual trouble, excitement, and alarm, shall give place to men of conciliation. This is not likely to be the case till a majority of her electors shall become sufficiently intelligent and moral to respect politicians of high character, and

no longer choose for their representatives the most violent revolutionists. And there seems little prospect of improving the French electorate to this extent, but by withdrawing the mass of hopeless ignorance infused into it by universal suffrage. The only alternative to a just but unpopular measure of disfranchisement would be to establish some kind of class suffrage, and thus permit the working population to return a third, or whatever might be considered its fair proportion of the representatives; and while giving it full power to make its claims heard and respected at the National judgment-seat, render it powerless to effect a revolution.

The enthusiasts who, with years of patient labour, succeed in rousing the people to make a democratic revolution, never dream of the counter-revolution—the inevitable recoil of their blow, which is sure to come. If we, in this country, were unwise enough to imitate the French by deposing our Sovereign, abolishing the House of Peers, and getting a Republican Parliament elected by universal suffrage (as many of those eloquent gentlemen who have been loudly denouncing Marshal Macmahon of late would persuade us to do), we should also very shortly have our military dictator—another unconstitutional Cromwell—to fight it out with the unruly mob.

I will merely add, that a considerable portion of the first five sections of this book has appeared before as an article in *Fraser's Magazine*.

MONARCHY DEFENDED.

I.—Ideal and Practical Politics.

When some clever Radical friends of mine recently invited me to join a Republican club, I declined doing so, but was not able at once to collect and arrange my thoughts so as to afford them a satisfactory reply. They had complimented me on my advanced views; they knew that I had, no more than themselves, any superstitious reverence for royalty; they knew that I was, equally with themselves, an earnest advocate of peace, economy, and justice—in short, something of a national reformer—and therefore considered me in every respect a likely person to join their association, and cordially work with them in the mighty task of overthrowing the Monarchy. The few and feeble objections that I was able to make at the time to their copious arguments seemed to leave them under the impression that there was nothing of any weight that could be urged, and that I felt rather conscious of this, and, with a little more persuasion, was in a fair way of becoming a good Republican. Consequently, I have been ever since expecting them to renew their proselytizing attempt on me, and have been deliberately preparing for it; and the reasons for maintaining a different position from their own, which should have been given them orally in the first

instance, I have now, at length, committed to writing, leaving them if they please to respond in the same way.

I am by no means sanguine that what I purpose to say on the subject of Monarchical government will convince all readers of an opposite opinion, who may have sufficient patience to follow me. In England people are often made Republicans, not by argument, but by circumstances; such as a hard, subordinate position, poverty, difficulty, and want of success; and, unless there be an entire change in their circumstances, no amount of reasoning will influence them greatly or effect any modification of their views. There are, also, sure to be amongst us a great many adolescent minds in a revolutionary condition, and for whatever period they remain so there is no getting them to calmly reconsider the whole question of politics, and their illusions must be permitted to have their free course. If accurate statistics on the subject could only be obtained, we should find that throughout the United Kingdom some thousands of thoughtful young men, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four, are every year becoming Republicans, and that the greater portion of these, as they marry and have children dependent on them, or get more knowledge of the world, form a more correct notion of what is wanted in the way of government, and finally return to Monarchism between the ages of thirty and forty. In a revolutionary newspaper that now lies before me, Mr. Bright is fiercely attacked by a youthful writer for being less of a Democrat, and more friendly to Monarchical institutions than in his earlier days; and should this writer ever reach Mr. Bright's age, and have a tithe of his political experience, a similar change will undoubtedly be observed in his own mind, and he will, perhaps,

come to say with Canning, "I am no more ashamed of having been a Republican than of having been a boy." But while he and those like him continue in their present immature and undeveloped mental condition, their passionate invectives must be patiently endured, for no reasoning by a person of riper judgment will commend itself to their tone of thought, or cause them to reason in the same way. To say that you cannot convince such ardent politicians of their errors is only saying that you cannot put old heads on young shoulders; all that can be done by argument is to render them help when their minds are on the sober turn, and they are disposed to avail themselves of controversial assistance.

In every department of human affairs clever, self-reliant people are constantly attempting impractical reforms and rushing into grave mistakes, simply from want of experience and distrust of the experience of others. Emerson, in one of his essays, has wisely remarked that when a gentleman, weary of city life, wishes to solace himself with rural retirement and the management of a farm, he need not be greatly troubled as to how he shall proceed with its cultivation, since the "custom of the country" will teach him; it being just as natural for the inhabitants to find out, from repeated experiments, the readiest mode of extracting food from their soil as for a river to find its easiest course to the sea. There are, however, certain persons of a scheming, theoretical turn of mind—would-be reformers, without the true reformer's sagacity—who, so far from modestly submitting to be guided in this way, seem always distrustful of the inherited wisdom which they find in a community, and confident that much of their established practice may with advantage be entirely departed from or revolutionized. In every profession conceited novices may be observed

persistently deviating from the beaten track, and not returning to it till they have found a good reason underlying it from costly experience of their own. Our leading Republicans are just such fly-away theorists of the political world, simply amateur statesmen, who are eager to launch out into bold experiments which would be certain to end in ruinous failure; and, because they are not allowed the opportunity of doing so, exhibit a good deal of soreness and mortification. It seems, indeed, almost a pity that there is not some country set apart for each political theorist to try his hand on in succession; but the world will not afford this, in order that Mr. Swinburne should become as successful in politics as he is in poetry, or Mr. Arch as skilful in making laws as he is known to be in constructing hedges: it would require not merely the spoiling of a few dozen pens or a few bill-hooks, but the sacrifice of some millions of human lives. What France has lost by turning her back on experienced statesmen, and yielding implicit faith in the big promises of revolutionary schemers, should suffice to warn all other nations against political quackery for a century.

In an able essay, which all revolutionists should read, Dr. Freeman has clearly shown that the various forms of government throughout the world which can claim to be successful, because adapted to the wants of the people, *grow*, and are not *made*. "In an imperfect world," says he, "some kind of government is needful, but what is the best kind of government for any particular community depends on endless circumstances, which are, perhaps, not exactly the same in any two communities. . . . . What is best in an early state of society may not be the best in a state of highly elaborate civilization. What is best for a single city may not be

best for a large nation. What is best for one race or climate may not be best for another race or climate. As a rule, again, setting aside mere tyranny or mere anarchy, that form of government is best for any particular society which the circumstances of its history have given it. I do not mean that such a government may not need great reforms; but when a nation, which is possessed of an historical form of government, makes from time to time such reforms as are needed, it is simply carrying on the process by which that form of government came into being. . . . . Most commonwealths have been formed rather by separation from an existing government than by revolution in an existing government. . . . . This process, which happens equally in the case of principalities and of commonwealths, may even go on in the case of principalities and commonwealths side by side. It has done so in the case of the States, Monarchic and Republican, which split off from the old German kingdom, and many of which have now come together again to form the new German Empire. Step by step, lieutenants of the king, landowners great and small, prelates, and ecclesiastical corporations, shook off the authority of the common sovereign till he became something between a nominal feudal lord and the president of a lax confederation. The new princes grew till, almost within our own day, some of them took upon themselves to become kings on their own account. But while this process was going on with principalities it was also going on with commonwealths. The free cities of Germany, the commonwealths of Switzerland, both cities and lands, have simply arisen in this way by the royal authority dying out, and by the local authority, aristocratic or democratic, thereby becoming sovereign. There was no

moment when the people of any German city or any Swiss canton deliberately said: 'We will be a Republic,' and drew up a wholly new constitution accordingly. They might, from time to time, have to make changes in the powers and constitution of their magistrates, councils, and assemblies, but there was no moment when they had to create magistrates, councils, and assemblies, all fresh to take the place of a royal power which they had altogether cast aside. . . . . In the thirteen hundred years of her history, Venice went through endless changes in her form of government, without ever absolutely starting afresh. It would be hard to fix the exact moment at which she ceased to be part of the dominions of the Eastern Cæsar. It would be equally hard to fix the exact moment at which the oligarchic element in her constitution finally swallowed up both the princely and popular elements. The law is the same, whether a prince is to be overthrown or a prince is to grow up; whether a people is to break down the privileges of an oligarchy, or an oligarchy is to set aside the ancient rights of the people. In either case, where the work has been lasting, we shall find that it has not been produced in a moment of revolution, not the work of theoretical reformers who have pulled down one thing to the ground and built up another in its place; it has been the work of those who, whether they were guided by a happy instinct or by a conscious conviction, practically knew that the system which they set up would be more stable and lasting if it could be made to grow out of the system which it supplanted. . . . .

"The first founders of the Dutch Commonwealth did not begin with any wish to abolish princely government, or even to throw off the authority of the particular prince whom so strange a chain of

accidents had given them. Had Philip of Spain chosen to govern his distant dependencies according to the law of justice, they would assuredly not have revolted. . . . . It was long before the revolted provinces formally threw off their allegiance to Philip; when they did so, their first object was to seek a prince elsewhere; they drifted into a Republic simply because neither England, France, nor Austria could give them a prince fit for their purpose. Then, again, a time came when the contrary process began to work, when, in the hereditary Stadtholder, a step was taken towards a return to princely rule.

"We may even go a step further, and appeal to the example of the great English Commonwealth beyond the ocean. The United States certainly separated themselves from the Crown of Great Britain by a single formal act; by an act which appealed largely to first principles; by an act which, compared with the history of the United Provinces, came early in the struggle of independence. But the example of the United States none the less shows that the most successful commonwealths are those where the State and the nation are founded together; where a government, which was formerly municipal, becomes sovereign by casting off the external power, and where no more change is made than is really needful for the object in hand. The separation of the United States from England was sudden as compared with the separation of Switzerland from the Empire, or even with that of the United Provinces from Spain. But it was not done hastily; the Declaration of Independence was not the first act of the war, still less was it the first act of the struggle. . . . . And in the Federal Constitution, which in the end was formed, we ought, under

the circumstances, to be more struck by its points of likeness than by its points of unlikeness to the constitution of the mother country. As at Rome, the kingly power was not abolished, it was simply transferred from an hereditary chief, holding his office for life, to an elective chief, holding his office for a term. . . . . By virtue of the Declaration of Independence, each of the colonies changed from a dependency into a sovereign State. But it was not thereby called on to break with the past and to begin its political life afresh. As with the Swiss Cantons, as with the Batavian Provinces, the governments which had before been dependent and municipal, went on as independent and sovereign. . . . . The change at the time was as small, the breach was as slight, as well could be under the circumstances. The gap between colonial America and independent America, though it involved not only a change in the form of government, but the formation of a new power and a new nation, is hardly so wide as the gap which divides France under her old kings from France under any of the shifting forms of government which have risen and fallen since her great Revolution."—(*The Growth of Commonwealths.*)

Similar views to these set forth by Dr. Freeman are maintained by some of the most thoughtful and philosophical writers in America. The New York *Nation*, of Oct. 9, 1873, in an article referring to the recent arrival there of Mr. Bradlaugh, on a lecturing tour, makes the following sensible remarks on the impractical aims of the various European revolutionists :—

"Mr. Bradlaugh, who has been for some years a very prominent Radical agitator in England, in behalf of various changes, both political, social, and religious, has come over here to add a plea for sym-

pathy for the English Republic to the numerous pleas addressed to us during the last year or two in behalf of the French Republic and the Spanish Republic. . . . . The belief is almost general in Europe, and is here widely spread, that this Republic —the only one of importance there is except Switzerland—was founded, after mature deliberation, by a body of eminent men upon the comparative merits of the various known forms of government, or, in other words, that Washington and Madison, and Jay and Hamilton, and the other Fathers, laid their heads together, and said, 'Go to, now, let us found a Republic,' and that anybody who wants, even in our day, to stand in the front rank of public benefactors ought to imitate them as far as possible, that is, set up Republics and reject Monarchies. But, in point of fact, the Fathers did nothing of the kind. They did not choose between rival forms of government. They provided the machinery for administering the form of government which American society produced. They had not much more choice about that matter than about the course of the Hudson. They did not go about lecturing against Monarchy and in favour of democracy; they simply took the existing materials and built of them such a political fabric as the community called for. They found Republican institutions existing, and they based on them just as much of a Republic as the manners and ideas of the time allowed. . . . . In other words, we have had in the United States no agitation in favour of having potatoes produce beans, but have confined ourselves to growing as good potatoes and as good beans as the climate and soil would permit. According to most European Republicans, however, a Republic can be prepared beforehand by any body of thinkers, however small, and then the masses be

driven into it and made to live in it, whatever their manners and ideas may be. It is in this little job that Gambetta and his friends are engaged in France, and Castelar and his friends in Spain. . . . . The great superstition of our day—for our day, too, has its superstitions—is that the world is to be saved by giving new names to old facts, or by reshuffling packs of cards; and we accordingly have bands of apostles who think they are going to light up the dark places of the earth by telling men that if they are very good and wise they will, in process of time, be able to elect a president instead of a king. The answer of the heathen to this gospel is a very natural one: 'When we are good and wise we shall do as we please, and shall not need your instruction.'"

The fact is, that our political, like our religious conversionists, refuse to recognize the natural diversities of mankind: they believe that all the great communities will find it for their advantage to adopt the same institutions, and, if subjected to a certain amount of preaching and proselytism, will soon become perfectly assimilated in their tastes and sentiments. In the eyes of the restless agitator, Republicanism is not simply a form of government suited to a class of people who happen to be placed in peculiar circumstances; it is the one true political faith by which all nations of the world may be regenerated and saved. And he has such extravagant conceptions of the glorious millennium of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity that will be brought about by the universal acceptance of this faith, that he can regard with very little patience or charitable feeling the sober authorities who continue to reject it, and will not scruple to justify the sweeping aside of such obstacles to the realization of his dreams by revolutionary force. In America, while there are many

cool-headed, practical politicians of the Washington type, who see clearly how their circumstances differ from those of the older nations of Europe, and act accordingly, a still larger number may be found who exactly resemble that other famous Republican Father—Mr. Secretary Paine—in believing that their system is equally well adapted for all existing communities, and in labouring to effect the conversion of the world. Every petty insurrection, every democratic movement that occurs on this side of the Atlantic forebodes, in their prophetic eyes, a general toppling of thrones—the coming final overthrow of the Babylon of kingcraft, while every European agitator who deigns to pay them a visit is sure to be greeted with a hearty welcome, and regarded as the President of a future Republic.

While in Germany and Italy some of the municipalities which had grown up under the protection of the monarchical power, as they acquired wealth and influence, made at length the not unreasonable demand that they should be left more and more to take care of themselves, and become independent or tributary Republics, Paris and other French municipalities in the eighteenth century put forth political claims which, in comparison, were altogether preposterous; it was not for local self-government, not to be left to mind their own affairs that they fought and struggled, but to extend their Republican system all over France. In short, the fierce civil war which the city people waged against the country people from 1789–93 was not at all for freedom, but for conquest, and while much fewer in numbers, they succeeded for some time, through the strategical advantage of being collected in commanding positions, but in the end were completely overpowered and discomfited. Since that period, the restless and excitable urban population has more

than once renewed the unwise struggle with the rural districts, to put down Monarchical rule and convert France into a vast municipality, only to find that this ancient and well-tried system, which grew up from the nation's wants, and serves so well to reconcile differences and bind town and country together, is still insuppressible. When, in 1870, a revolutionary minority took advantage of the national disasters, which culminated at Sedan, to force a Republic on France, Gambetta's secretary, in the circular which he addressed to the French prefects, bade them meet whatever objections might be made to the practicability of the new form of government by pointing to the example of the United States of America. The little knot of Puritan rioters who occasionally interrupt the services of a Ritualistic church, might quite as reasonably justify their proceedings by pointing to the example of some neighbouring Wesleyan or Presbyterian chapel. For the United States Government, it is well known, was not established by a forcible conversion of Monarchists, such as Cromwell, and afterwards Robespierre, vainly tried to effect in Europe, but by a segregation of Republicans. In order to follow truly the American example, Gambetta and his early friends should have done as Cabet did,—should have quietly crossed the Atlantic and founded a colony where there would have been no conflicting interests, and no monarchical opposition to the carrying out of their revolutionary designs. The present Republic, which a succession of political blunders and overwhelming calamities brought upon France, we hear often spoken of as a genuine success, but in reality the leading Republicans are not allowed to direct it, and it can only exist for a few years on sufferance. The French Monarchists deem it politic to tolerate for awhile the Republican

arrangements which have been casually thrust upon them till they can better settle their own differences; and were it not for the circumstance of their being divided by revolutionary events into three great rival parties, Marshal MacMahon would have long since acted the part of General Monk. There are not only internal, but strong external influences which tend for awhile to uphold the present system of government in France quite apart from any consideration of its intrinsic worth. The proud, martial people of that country are too much inclined to assume a dominant position in Europe when they are well united as only a monarchy can unite them; and the statesmen of England, Germany, and Italy would rather see them weakened, till they grow wiser, with internal dissensions and constantly occupied with their domestic affairs. So, likewise, almost the entire Protestant world, however much opposed to the principles of Louis Blanc and Gambetta, wishes to see a somewhat longer lease of power accorded to the government of their revolutionary founding, through fear that a restoration of the Monarchy or Empire, if brought about in the present state of European affairs, would dangerously strengthen the hands of the Pope. In short, the present third French Republic has lasted for a few years, not because France is permanently Republican: it was founded entirely on accidents, and is supported by expedients; and when new circumstances arise, so that it is no longer necessary for politicians to nurse it, we shall soon find it swept aside and repudiated, till another revolution shall give birth to a fourth Republic.

An able article has appeared in the *Fortnightly Review*, from the pen of Mr. James Cotter Morrison, entitled, "Is a Republic Possible in France?"

"Political opinions in France," says the writer, "are not so much opinions, conclusions drawn from experience as to the expediency of measures with a view to the public good, but faiths, real creeds held and preached with ardour, or even fanaticism, and refusing compromise or conciliation, like their theological congeners. Hence all attempts to progressively modify an existing order of things are rejected with energy and indignation. The wish is not to improve the actual system whatever it may be, but to replace it entirely by a new one which springs forth Minerva-like from the party which gets hold of power. . . . . The repeated revolutions have at last brought about such a complete solution of all political continuity in France that no one hopes for stability, no one believes in it. . . . . But observe the effect of this incessant change in the public mind and the conduct of public affairs. As party after party succeeds in grasping for a moment the reins of power, it works energetically to make up for lost time and for the time which it expects soon to lose again; it excludes rigorously from all posts of emolument and power everybody who does not belong to it. . . . . A change of *régime* in France brings always a new set of utterly untried men into office, and their inexperience is their least defect. Coming suddenly into power after years of hopeless opposition, they do not assume it with the deliberation of responsible statesmen, but rather in the character of exasperated theorists, hot with impatience to put in practice the dreams and utopias they have been concocting during years of seclusion and exile. To make as clean a sweep of the work of their predecessors as circumstances will allow; to obliterate their name and memory when it can be done, beginning, of course, with a rebaptism of

streets and public monuments; to harass the country by urging it in a direction contrary to that in which it has hitherto gone; to unflinchingly put in practice abstract doctrines, unknown or condemned by experience; to make light of obstacles and to crush opposition,—such is government by the revolutionary method, and a careful reproduction of the precedents set by the Great Revolution."

II.—Simple and Complex Societies.

To say that Monarchy is a great incubus on the shoulders of an industrial community, a mere national encumbrance, and that mankind would be greatly benefited by having all their monarchical systems clean swept away, is certainly a rash statement, even for an ardent Republican. In social organizations, as in those of the animal and vegetable kingdoms, nature never works without a purpose; there is no permanent development of force which can be considered accidental or unnecessary: if we examine a great many individuals, and still find each furnished with the same organic contrivance, we may reasonably presume this to be a useful provision, which cannot be eliminated without detriment. The very fact of a form of government having subsisted for so many ages, having weathered so many revolutionary storms, and being at this day so generally prevalent throughout the civilized world, is the all-sufficing proof of its being adapted to the wants of mankind. Monarchism is not merely a successful political

superstition, originating with one nation or race, and making its way by proselytizing enthusiasm till it has overspread half the globe: it is a government arrangement which has sprung up independently in every quarter, and has commended itself to the common sense of all the nations and races of the earth. Egyptians, Assyrians, Jews, Greeks, Romans, Teutons, Arabs, Turks, Hindoos, Chinese—however widely they may have differed in their traditions and in matters of taste and sentiment,—have all been reasoning Monarchists, just as they have all been agreed in the institution of some system of marriage, and in providing means for educating the young.

The germ of the Monarchy is the family under paternal government. In all countries a man is entitled to rule over his children, and the governing right which belongs to the natural parent is equally accorded to the step-father and foster-father. We know that in either case the head of a family is a ruler appointed by Fortune and not selected by Justice, and it may be that he is idle, drunken, improvident, cruel, and utterly unfit to have the management and training of those who are his subjects by birth, yet no sensible reformer would, on the ground of such an instance occurring now and then, think of advocating the complete overthrow of the family system. It is well known that the generality of fathers and mothers rule their children far better than the latter would rule themselves, and where we meet with neglected and misgoverned families, the proper remedy is not revolt, but the interposition of a higher paternal authority. The magisterial right which a nation claims in compelling street urchins to attend school, and establishing a policeman in every important street and village, is totally at variance with the pretended

equality of citizens, and is the ample justification of Monarchy.

In all countries it has been the aim of legislators to divide society into two ranks—the wise and the simple, the provident and the improvident,—and to set the former over the latter as guardians and conservers of wealth. In Republics the upper rank is usually composed of the heads of families, or of all people over twenty-one, twenty-five, or at whatever age they acquire the position and privilege of electors. Monarchism is in reality a reform of this primitive paternal government in the direction of Justice; it draws a line between superior and inferior parents, between the more civilized and less civilized, between those who confer much benefit on the State and those who render it meaner service, and gives the former a position of authority over the latter to correct the evils which arise from their incapacity and neglect. Even in the improved governing order which is thus established there will be unavoidable defects; there will be a certain percentage of incompetent rulers, men who stand on the wrong side of the dividing line; but this imperfect assortment is to be remedied, so far as that may be possible, not by removing or lowering the line and ceasing to distinguish the simple from the wise by any other test than that of age, but by a more strict judicial selection. Republicans have made a great clamour about the Rights of Man, estimating manhood by mere bodily bulk and year-numbering, and confounding the savage with the sage; they forget altogether that there is such a principle as the *Rights of Mind* to be taken into consideration; and if justice is not always done to this principle under an hereditary Monarchy, there is no such entire slight of it as may be seen in a country where heads are counted and not weighed,

and where the enlightened few are sunk as lost gems beneath an overwhelming flood of fanatics, fools, rogues, and roughs.

The most reasonable and satisfactory democracy that I am acquainted with is that of a Benefit Club, established in the neighbouring village by a party of agricultural labourers. The members of this club meet together on a footing of perfect equality; they contribute exactly alike towards the support of their society, and therefore one is not entitled to any more voice or influence than another in its management. When once, however, the labourer leaves his club and returns to his family he is in an entirely different position. He becomes, in fact, an aristocrat, and claims to be lord over his children, however great their numerical superiority. Again, when from ruling his household he proceeds to his daily task on the farm, he asks for no equal voice in directing its cultivation, but is guided by his master, as his own children look to guidance from him. The whole pyramid of our Monarchical community is so built up, terrace above terrace, and the democratic relationship can only be justly and profitably instituted where people stand together on the same plane and recognize no diversities of rank or position. In order to have a complete national democracy we must become either Communists or Colonists; we must pull down our present social structure to the ground, or go forth beyond the border of civilization and begin to build afresh in the wilderness. Indeed, those who would succeed in the formation of such a fraternal society on a small scale, must be not only on a level in respect to circumstances, but allied in sentiment. It would doubtless be possible to select, from any part of Europe, twelve good, honest men, who, if sent with their families to found a new colony in some lonely

island of the Pacific, would be able, for a time at least, to present to the world a veritable democratic Utopia. There would be no crime among them, nor any violent disputes; consequently, beyond the paternal rule of each family, no coercive measures would be required for maintaining public order. The elders would meet together occasionally, in a deliberative assembly, to arrange about the construction of roads and a few other matters, and nothing further in the way of government would be required. But let these same colonists, after making such an experiment, return to their native country—to Germany, Russia, England, or Spain—and there mix again in a great national community full of disorderly elements and conflicting interests, and they would be wanting in discernment to think of changing its complicated and costly form of government for one of their own simple Republican pattern. If really wise men, instead of setting to work as agitators and revolutionists to sow discontent and add to the difficulties of those who are responsible for maintaining public order, they would rather be disposed to labour for promoting such an improvement in education and morals as should reduce the spirit of lawlessness, and serve to lighten their rulers' task. In order that a burdensome military Monarchy shall be reformed and simplified, there must first be a reformation of the people; the external means of restraint which are brought to bear on their turbulence and fierce dissensions cannot safely be removed, or relaxed, till they are more enlightened and have acquired a greater mastery over themselves. Those philanthropists who expect greatly to ameliorate the condition of the people by subverting the government system which has grown up out of their habits, feelings, and history, and is the true exponent of their social progress, begin

their reforming work at the wrong end, and produce nothing but trouble and confusion.

It is clear that a strictly democratic or Republican form of government is suited for a simply constituted society, for a people mainly of one sort, such as may be found in a new religious sect or a sectarian colony; it will also naturally be adopted by any people in a loose, unorganized condition, which is generally the case with an independent colonial or purely commercial community. Wherever there exists a free commercial city, a free colony, a body of Nonconformist settlers, or a gold-diggers' camp, you may expect to find some kind of Republic established. On the other hand, where you have a large complex society composed of people of different races and creeds, and of very various tastes and degrees of culture, of conservative and progressive parties, of agricultural, manufacturing, and trading interests, of provident and improvident, moral, immoral, and criminal classes, the whole can only be effectively bound together by the strong, mediating, and balancing government which we call a Monarchy.

It may happen that such a government is overthrown by war, or by some violent internal commotion, and cannot, till after the lapse of a considerable time, be reconstructed, and then a Republic must be established as a makeshift, just as when a house has been demolished, the inmates who escape may be forced to set up a tent, or, when a vessel is wrecked, the crew take to boats or a raft. This is the unhappy predicament in which the people of France have been repeatedly placed in the present century; and the lamentable thing is that fanatical revolutionists should persistently plot to bring about such a state of affairs, and obstinately prolong it to the nation's great harm, in the hope of giving permanence to their own political dreams.

The Genius of Republicanism, not content with regulating her little groups of kindred people who congregate here and there, is exceedingly ambitious, and aims at ruling the entire world. She goes forth and says: "I will establish harmony among men by reforming and simplifying them, and reducing them to a condition of equality. There shall no longer be divers classes, opposing sects, and conflicting interests to fill the earth with confusion, but one enlightened brotherhood, prosperous, contented, and free." When, however, she gets an opportunity to carry out her reforming plans in a complex community, a terrible civil warfare ensues, accompanied by incalculable suffering and misery; and it is, after all, a fight against nature, which, instead of eventually reducing the diversity of minds to a uniform pattern, invariably leaves them as discordant and unlike as before.

The more sober and practical Genius of Monarchism says: "I will get men to live together in peace by judging their controversies, by reconciling their opposite views and interests, by moderating their partisan and class strife, by protecting the good and gentle and restraining the violent, by promoting merit and degrading unworthiness, so that, with all their inequalities of mind and condition, they shall come to respect my just mediation, and mutually respect one another." And in this reasonable undertaking she has been fairly successful all the world over, as the history of civilization will testify. Where nothing but savage turbulence and anarchy formerly existed, she has organized and educated our great national communities, and without any special preaching and proselytism, without avowedly aiming further than to constrain people of opposite dispositions to live and work together in concord, she has diffused a spirit of toleration

and charity among them, and put them in the sure path of progress.

It is a well-known law of nature that no two simple elements can mix permanently without a compromise of their distinguishing qualities being effected: the colorist cannot put a white and a red liquid together without producing a pink; the metallurgist has never been able to melt copper and zinc in the same crucible without forming a composition of brass; and neither has a marriage between a European and negro ever produced any other offspring than that of a mulatto. The same law asserts itself no less peremptorily in the moral than in the physical world; the religion and the politics of a community cannot remain unchanged if they unite themselves by conquest or confederation with another people, whose genius and tone of thought are wholly unlike their own. It is from clearly recognizing this great natural law that Monarchism has achieved all its success, and it is from obstinately refusing to recognize it that Republicanism owes its repeated failures. To construct a substantial, complex community out of a variety of human elements is to accomplish a great and beneficial work; to reduce a complex society into a simple one, as Robespierre and other Revolutionists have repeatedly attempted to do with their levelling legislation and massacres, is to imitate the folly of the alchymist, who vainly endeavours to convert an alloy into pure gold. In whatever way two different races or sections of people come into contact, whether as friends or as foes, their minds will be mutually changed by the intercourse; the result which is often looked for—a conversion wholly on one side—is never seen.

The only possible means of obtaining a pure religious or political society in this composite world of

ours is by the separating and assorting process. A class of animals, when peaceably inclined, and unable to compromise their differences with those of another species, usually herd apart by themselves. It is so with the varieties of our own race; disaffected Monarchists emigrate beyond the border of their nation and establish Republics; those members of a great national church, whose strong, independent views render them unable to conform to its regulation tenets for the sake of catholic unity, find a simplicity and purity of sentiment which accords with their own, in secession; and thus have originated, from time to time, all the reforming sects. But every religious, and every political community, however simple in its origin, if it endures for any length of time, and continues to increase by proselytism or conquest, is sure to become more complex, and, consequently, will completely outgrow its founders' simple government arrangements. Then, with whatever respect or veneration those first institutions may be regarded, they are bound to give place to others which are adapted to the society's altered circumstances, as may be seen nowhere more clearly than in the history of the great Christian Churches.

The primitive Galilean Christians who separated from the Jewish Church, were, like the Essenes, strict Communists; but they differed from the latter sect in being far more eager to add to their numbers by proselytism, and becoming less and less strict in imposing on those who joined them the original terms of admission. The Essenes so far understood human nature as to know that some amount of education was necessary to prepare proselytes to renounce their worldly affections and adhere faithfully to the new manner of life. They were accustomed to adopt poor children for the

purpose of giving them an early and careful training in their religion, and no grown-up person was admitted into fellowship until he had first been subjected to a long period of probationary discipline. The Christians, however, were zealous preachers and not educationists; they were so completely occupied in going about the world and extending their church's border by spiritual conquest, that they could give no time to the thorough cultivation of the ground which had been already enclosed. By many devout men, the miraculous virtue imparted by baptism and the laying on of hands was supposed to be all that was needed to regenerate the convert and transform his whole character and habits of life. Consequently, what they effected by their far-and-wide preaching and baptizing with water, was often a mere surface conversion. By the end of the first century a multitude of people of all nations and various schools of thought, professed themselves Christians by believing in Jesus, but their religious sentiments were of a widely different complexion from those of the primitive disciples. During the second century some of the most zealous and influential Christians had been brought up as Stoics, Platonists, and Pythagoreans, and they all imparted to the community more or less of their educational bias, so that the Church which commenced in Galilee as a homogeneous brotherhood, now became a Babel of sects. The ablest minds who wished for some bond of unity and concord between these divided worshippers, knew that it could only be brought about by means of a representative council, and assemblies of this kind were accordingly convened from time to time to settle the principal matters in dispute, and decide on authoritative writings. Various compromises of Jew and Gentile

doctrine were thus effected, but at each succeeding council the Gentile element had with further propagandism increased in strength, and the majority of voices carried Christianity a step further off from the primitive faith and practice of the Galileans. When established, at length, by Constantine as the religion of the Roman Empire, the Church had by the final triumph of its proselytism become a monstrous growth that would have been quite unrecognizable by the little communistic society with whom it originated; it was no longer a religious sheepfold, but a huge menagerie, containing such a variety of gentle and savage species that the primitive gregarian law was wholly inadequate to make them live together in tolerable harmony. Jesus commanded His disciples to associate as a democratic brotherhood, and "call no man master," but the time at length arrived when, having revolted against High-Priests, Sanhedrims, Proconsuls, and Cæsars, the once simple community had become so complex that they required a High-Priest, a Sanhedrim, and a Cæsar of their own to balance and reconcile their party differences. In short, to settle all the rancorous disputes which were continually breaking out, and hold the European, Asiatic, and African churches together in some kind of doctrinal agreement, it was necessary to have a supreme judge or final court of appeal established somewhere, and a papacy or Monarchical form of church government became inevitable.

When the Reformation at length arrived in the sixteenth century, there were two distinct Protestant parties arrayed against the Church of Rome. The contention of the Monarchical Protestants was a just and reasonable one; they sought to establish the great principle of the independence of national churches. The statesmen of England, Germany,

and Sweden argued with the representatives of the Papal Court to this effect:—"The Church of Rome is well governed, and in all its doctrinal developments it has faithfully followed the decision of the great councils and embodied the views of the Christian majority, but, like the Roman Empire, it is too ambitious, and in making such a wide grasp at all the nations of the world, must inevitably overreach itself and be rent asunder. It is all very well to set forth the advantages of a united Christendom, but the communities which now profess the Christian faith differ so widely in race, language, and culture, that they are no more fitted for concerted action, or being organized under one ruling head, than sheep are fitted to herd with reindeer. If the Roman Empire could be restored and the Northern nations of Europe were, by great educational efforts, got to adopt the Latin language and render homage to one political chief, you might reasonably expect them to be directed in religious matters by one central episcopal authority; but so long as each nation is resolved to be politically independent, it should be permitted to have its own church government, or there will always be a clashing of authorities and endless confusion. The only real and satisfactory union that Christendom is at present capable of, is a friendly alliance of the various national churches, each manifesting a tolerant and teachable spirit, and neither of them assuming any superiority, or attempting to enforce in a tyrannous manner its peculiarities of doctrine and discipline on the rest."

On the other hand, the Republican Protestants were not at all endeavouring to establish among the great Christian community of nations, freedom, tolerance, and mutual respect, but were aiming, each sect in its own way, to set up a new dominant

creed, which should eventually destroy all others out of the world. They wanted to overthrow not only the Papacy but all ecclesiastical authorities, and reduce the complex Christendom of sixteen centuries' growth to the primitive simplicity of the apostolic brotherhood: and, if either of them had succeeded in rapidly converting millions and becoming a majority in Europe, as they all expected to do, a new Papacy, with every objectionable feature of the old, would have been the inevitable result. The principal charge which they brought against the Roman Church was not its world-grasping *ambition*, but its *corruption*, which, in reality, was only the complexity which the early ambitious proselytism necessarily produced. The Pope and Cardinals never met together in solemn conclave and said, "Go to now; let us corrupt Christianity." They simply took the prevailing Christian opinions, and did the best they could to reconcile them and mould them into a harmonious scheme of doctrine, so that the Christian communities might live together in peace. Indeed, they were no more responsible for the composite character of the widespread Christian belief that they had to deal with, than Michael Angelo was responsible for the vast variety of the materials that he found brought ready to his hand for constructing the Church of St. Peter's. The religion of a people, just as much as their language, will necessarily be modified by their mingling with another nation or race. There may be some few scholars in this country who regret that our English language has lost its primitive Anglo-Saxon purity, but they would hardly think of declaring all its foreign admixture to have been arbitrarily introduced by the grammarians and lexicographers, still less would they think of restoring it to the standard of the Heptarchy, by proclaiming it the universal

language, and propagating it as widely as possible in other lands. Yet not a whit more reasonable were the Republican Protestants, who declaimed against what they considered the culpable corruptions of the Church of Rome, and undertook to resimplify the complexity of modern Christendom. The rulers of the great Latin communion had all along followed the example which had been set them by the first apostolic council, of having Christian orthodoxy determined by the voice of the majority. And every Protestant sect at the present day maintains that the majority has a right to settle all questions that arise within its own pale, although it will not extend the same rule to the wider circle of the nation or the Christian world. Then, modern Protestant missionaries, while declaiming against the extensive introduction of Pagan doctrines and rites into the Roman Church, are themselves, by unremitting proselytism, raising up precisely the same kind of mongrel religion in China and other countries. In short, if Christianity, from being complicated by such a multitude of heathen conversions, must be called corrupt, it has been corrupted by the Pauls, the Augustines, the Xaviers, and the Morrisons, who, with the sincere intention of performing on heathenism the transmutation miracle of the alchymist, have, after much trouble and pains, only succeeded in producing an amalgam.

We are not concerned here with any religious disputes or systems of doctrine, only in their relation to the growth of societies and forms of government. All ambitious communities that are eager to extend themselves widely, and at the same time desirous to preserve the simplicity and purity of their institutions, find in time that these two great aims are totally irreconcilable, and that one of them must necessarily be sacrificed to the other. The Jews,

being resolved before all things on keeping their religion pure and unbroken, have long since learnt to distrust the old proselytism (which Max Muller would now have them revive) and have come to manifest a wise hesitation about admitting strangers into their fold. "Trust a converted family," says one of the Rabbis, "but not till after twenty generations." It is rightly believed that no man can become a thorough Jew unless he is educated in the religion from his birth, nor even then except he inherits the religious sentiments and predilections of the Jewish race. And the Jews, though scattered by a commercial instinct all over the world, have, in consequence of keeping up their Hebrew education and their ceremonial hedge of thorns, and being chary of Gentile admixture, maintained themselves a homogeneous people, a genuine brotherhood, holding faithfully to the same doctrine and form of worship, and being incapable of splitting up into a number of hostile sects to worry and persecute each other. The Quakers and some other Christian communities have in like manner preserved their original Republican simplicity by contenting themselves with a stationary position, and renouncing their early enthusiasm for sending forth missionaries to effect the conversion of the world. An able Welsh minister, at a recent meeting of the Congregational Union at Bradford, said, "We cannot be heedless about the character of the men that we admit to our churches, because we know that these men will have a power in the rule of those churches." It is only by this caution with regard to the admission of converts that each sectarian church is enabled to maintain itself a select society of kindred minds and hold fast to its primitive institutions. And the same consideration which induces a religious sect to avoid indiscrimi-

nate proselytism, equally serves to restrain a homogeneous nation from expanding itself widely by foreign conquest. Some years ago, when a number of ambitious Americans were clamouring for the annexation of Mexico to the United States, a few of their more sensible countrymen moderated this craving for additional territory by showing that such an extensive absorption of an inferior race would complicate American politics far more seriously than the Irish immigration had done, and in all probability lead in a little time to the overthrow of their Republican Government.

The great American nation is, however, becoming complicated fast enough to produce the political result which some of its citizens dread, without any conquest of Mexico. The first English settlers, both in the older and newer States, were for the most part small cultivators, people of one class, and well suited, by a similarity of habits, feelings, and interests, to live together peaceably, and settle their public business by a democratic convention. But this primitive social equality no longer exists; some of the descendants of those patriarchal husbandmen have, with industry and thrift, grown rich, and others have with corresponding vices become poor, and they now stand related to each other as masters and servants, employers and employed. Moreover, an extensive immigration of European labourers and mechanics has long been going on; in the large cities there are now not only thousands of unemployed and destitute people depending on charity, but a dangerous criminal class requiring strong coercive measures for their repression; there may be seen in certain quarters new and fanatical religious sects springing up; there is a considerable amount of hostile feeling between the English, Irish, German, and Negro races; and there is a growing

rivalry between agricultural, manufacturing, and railway interests, all tending to carry American society further from its primitive simplicity. And not only is the population of each State becoming more complex in itself, but the various States are, with the tightening bonds of the Union, gradually being welded into one, like the provinces of a European nation, and are so forming together a great sum of social complexity, which only the machinery of a Monarchical government can effectually balance and control. The great fratricidal struggle resulting from Mr. Lincoln's election, in which the Southern rod of hickory was broken by the Northern rod of iron, the long train of disorders which have followed since, and the recent destructive railway riots, clearly prove the utter unfitness of a Republican government to maintain harmony in a great complex community; the continuance of that system for a much longer period in the United States will be impossible, the return to the political arrangements of the older nations of the world inevitable.

We know that in America there are plenty of politicians who are constantly reversing this prediction, who from time to time keep setting forth their opinion with the utmost confidence that England is destined to become a Republic. It is, however, indisputable, that while all children come to resemble their parents more and more in habit and disposition, parents are not seen to get younger or make any imitative approach to their children. Every human society, however simple in its origin, is sure to grow more complex, but there is no legislative or other means of reducing a complex society to its primitive simplicity. In a *Fortnightly Review* article on "The Future of France," M. Laveleye says: "Throughout the interval from Aristotle to Montesquieu all

those who have gone to the bottom of political questions have declared that without equality of condition democracy cannot subsist, that it advances to its downfall as soon as ever inequality becomes too visible. Inequality breeds discontent in the classes that are least well off, they wish to apply a remedy by means of the law. Those who are better off resist. Civil war flames out, and from anarchy comes despotism. In 1857 Macaulay foretold that the United States would pass through this ordeal. . . . . In the United States the danger pointed out by Macaulay does not yet break out, because there is plenty of room there for all the world '*au banquet de la vie,*' and because everybody is either a proprietor, or may become one, and in any case make very large earnings. But sooner or later the trial awaits all civilized societies. Everywhere the suffrage is being extended until it becomes universal. After that the moment comes when the people wishes to use its right of law-making, to change the laws which regulate the distribution of wealth. Then the struggle bursts forth, in which freedom perishes."

It is the opinion of some political writers that the whole civilized world, with America in the van, is marching towards the goal of Democracy, and that the progress of the movement in every country is exactly in proportion to the growth of popular enlightenment. They point in proof of this to the superior intelligence of the urban population of Europe to that of the rural districts, and the democratic changes which have been brought about in the Government system of England and other countries in consequence. It is quite true that the subordinate members of every community—the children of a household, for instance—as they increase in intelligence, rightly claim to make their opinions

heard, and exercise a greater share in the direction of their common affairs. And their claims may and ought to be satisfied to a reasonable extent, as by the widening of the suffrage, without giving them such a disproportionate and overwhelming influence as will be sure to bring about a revolution. Those who believe that national education will equalize intellectual power, and that our successive Parliamentary reforms will eventuate in a pure Democracy, reason from observations which are much too limited, and their theory is altogether erroneous. Communities do not really become Democratic according as they advance in civilization, but in proportion as circumstances permit them to live *in an unorganized condition.* Why are the Americans at present more Democratic than the Germans? Not because they are a more cultivated and enlightened people, but because they have the undisturbed run of a whole continent, and are perfectly secure from invasion. If the two peoples could, by some means, change places, their politics would, in accordance with their altered circumstances, change also.

An English urban community, subsisting on commerce, is more Democratic than a rural community which cultivates the soil, not mainly, as some fancy, from its higher intelligence, but from its lower organization, which permits every man to be comparatively independent of his neighbour, as in a gold-diggers' camp, and allows many to live by gambling, swindling, and criminality. All healthy social progress is constructive, that is, in the direction of unity and order, in the way of economizing our individual powers by placing men where they can exercise their special talent to best advantage for the good of the community, and every movement in the contrary direction is only a

step back towards the independence and anarchy of savage life. The feudal system was originally a wise attempt to transfer the military organization of a state to the cultivation of the soil and other industrial purposes, and had it been possible to carry it out thoroughly, it would have embraced not only the entire production, but the distribution of national wealth, and left no room for the scrambling mobs of commerce to cluster here and there, as parasitical growths, and diffuse their revolutionary leaven. What we now want in every country of Europe, when permanent peace has once been secured, is a reformed industrial Monarchy, to rearrange and marshal our forces for the common welfare of society, and deliver us from our modern fox-like, freebooting pests, as the military Monarchy delivered our ancestors from wolfish brigands. The superfluous wealth which fortune has strewn in favoured localities is not really a blessing to a country, but a curse, so long as it permits people to live in a state of anarchy and immorality. In many of our rural parishes, which are considered poor districts, we may see a tolerably well-organized community; the people all earn their living by honest industry, and though not high fed, have a healthy and cheerful appearance; not a single idler, swindler, or thief is among them, for such parasites could not there find subsistence. But let us suppose a rich gold-field to be discovered on the border of one of those parishes, and we should soon witness a little revolution, such as has happened in some of the agricultural districts of Australia; farmers, ploughmen, shepherds, carpenters, smiths, would at once leave their occupations and go off with a rush to the diggings. Here, then, would be a real Democratic movement, an undoubted advance towards liberty and equality, but it would have a

demoralizing influence, and be exactly the reverse of true social progress. The disorganization which we have supposed to be suddenly produced on a small scale by the discovery of a gold-field is really being gradually effected on a large scale by the concentrated wealth of our coal-fields and great commercial towns. A steady migration has long been going on from the agricultural districts to these places of profusion by which English Democracy has acquired its present strength and importance; but so far from any real social progress being effected thereby, it has only led to an increase of the elements of anarchy, and a deterioration of the physical and moral health of the people. Indeed, a large number of those who flock into our towns, as of those who emigrate to American cities, are the dregs of the rural population moving to more congenial quarters—gambling adventurers, idlers, and persons of loose character, who will be attracted to any spot where they may have a chance of acquiring the means of subsistence without persevering industry, and get abundant freedom and opportunity to lead disorderly lives. The English rogue is just as ardent a worshipper of liberty as the Spanish robber; he likes to move about freely and escape observation, glories in a disorganized society, whose condition approximates to the confusion attending a metropolitan fire, and enables him to prey easily on the industrious; and he finds as good shelter from justice in his brick wilderness as the brigand obtains among his mountains.

If the present abnormal growth of our towns were to continue for many years, Democracy would acquire thereby a proportionately increased strength, and the municipal or Republican form of government would prevail to such an extent that England might eventually quite cease to be Monarchical, and

become a sort of enlarged Venice. But there are many indications that such will not be the case; a coal-rush, though of much greater duration than a gold-rush, cannot last for ever; our well-worked mineral fields will, after a while, be much less productive than those of Southern Russia, China, and America, and our factories and forges, which even now have formidable rivals springing up in those regions, will cease to manufacture for the world. When we export less cloth and iron, we shall import less corn and sugar, our commerce will decline along with our manufactures, and agriculture will regain the natural pre-eminence that it once held here, and still retains in most other countries. The greater evenness thus effected in the distribution of the world's industries will be advantageous to mankind at large, and will have a salutary influence on the constitution of society in England, and not prove the nation's downfall, as some timid people are apt to suppose. The gradual reduction of some of our overgrown cities by increased emigration to the Colonies, which must come sooner or later, will be nothing worse than the dispersion of what Cobbett called "great wens" in the social body, and will be a curative process, not a symptom of the nation's decay or decrepitude.

Even if there should be no decline in the commercial and manufacturing populations of our large towns which have given Democracy its present strength, they are everywhere, with the advance of intelligence, becoming better organized and consequently less Democratic. Commerce is in various ways being regulated by our Government in the interest of the general public; the mob of petty traders are gradually giving place to the concerted and orderly march of co-operative societies and large well-conducted establishments. Probably, in

time, the distribution of merchandise will be completely taken out of the hands of rogues and gamblers, and effectually organized under the Board of Trade, and then there will be no more of that demoralizing irregularity in industrial operations arising from the fluctuations and periods of distress which over-speculation produces. At any rate, there is sure to be a check to the growth of tumultuous Democracy in this country, whether it come by the way of an improved or a diminished population, by an increase of wisdom, or a decline of wealth. Organization, whether military or industrial, must at length get the better of disorganization. In the universal competition of races and peoples, those who economize their efforts in the most masterly concert are destined to win, and the time will at length arrive when, even in wide America, a mob community of uncaptained individualists will no longer be able to exist.

III.—The Basis of Hereditary Headship.

In a *gregaric* society people come together for a common object, but maintain independent action, just as a flock of birds or animals associate; one member has no power or authority over another; all meet on a footing of equality. An *organic* society, on the other hand, is based on human dissimilarity, or the fact of people being unlike-gifted; the object of the members is to economize their various powers of mind and muscle by concerted action, and this can only be effectually accomplished by their having a directing *head*.

The first step that can be taken to build up an organic society from independent human elements is that of *popular selection*: the man who shows decided superiority as a warrior, a teacher, or an artisan, is sure to be resorted to by those who need his services, and thus he acquires a following and a recognized position among men. Should the professional duties which devolve on him continue to increase, so that he is no longer equal to the task of discharging them alone, he will be compelled to seek for capable assistants, but he will not confide their appointment to the people. Another system of place-giving is now introduced by him—that of *government selection;* he looks about with a master's discerning eye, and those whom he considers most competent to render him efficient help, and extend his sphere of labour, he chooses for himself. Thus the patriarch Moses, when overburdened with his magisterial duties, did not call on his followers to place subordinates around him, but, relying on his own superior judgment, "chose able men out of all Israel, and made them heads over the people, rulers of thousands, rulers of hundreds, rulers of fifties, and rulers of tens. And they judged the people at all seasons; the hard causes they brought unto Moses, but every small matter they judged themselves" (Exod. xviii. 25, 26). Precisely the same order of social construction has continued down to our own time: the first able man among the multitude is *pushed up* into a ruling position by the popular support which he receives, and when he has once gained this high seat of command, he looks about him to discern capacity in others, and *pulls up* beside him his professional aids. The modern head of a firm, the chief of a party, or the leader of a sect, after being selected by a large number of customers, adherents, or followers who gather about

him, invariably becomes himself the selector of further qualified men. The multitude are extremely slow to recognize peculiar merit, especially in the higher branches of human work. Whenever we see the founder of a sect with a large number of followers, we may rest assured that these people did not come together all at once and manifest their faith in him by a simultaneous vote: they were attracted to him slowly, one after another, and it probably took several years for the whole body to come to a decision respecting his leadership. Should he, therefore, at length require one or more assistant-teachers to give a wider diffusion to his doctrine, his dull, unready disciples, rather than take upon themselves the responsibility of making a prompt selection, would naturally prefer to leave their appointment to him. Moreover, it would be impossible for the leader and his subordinates to work together harmoniously in any other way; if they all obtained their offices independently of each other by popular selection, it would lead to rivalry, cross purposes, and the speedy disruption of the community.

So long as the founder of the society, party, or business stands erect in the midst thereof, and places his assistants around him as so many firm buttresses, his work is secure, for any single failure on their part will generally be remedied with little difficulty; but when he at length fails himself or is removed by death, unless some wise arrangement be made for his replacement, the whole structure comes to the ground. This keeping up a permanent centre-post to the edifice has always been considered one of the greatest difficulties of social architecture, but it is usually and most successfully accomplished by some system of government selection. Moses not only chose from time to time all the subordinate rulers that were necessary to assist him in the

government of Israel, but appointed his own successor, Joshua, and thus established a self-repairing and stable hierarchy. Had he left it for the people to put another leader in his place, they would not have been unanimous nor even satisfied after their decision; the whole camp would have been thrown into confusion by the wrangling of opposition voices, and would probably have been broken up and dispersed by civil war. The prophets of our own age, in view of approaching death, endeavour to keep their followers together and give permanence to their mission in precisely the same wise manner as that of the Hebrew patriarch. The successful founder of a journal hardly ever fails to appoint a capable man to sit in his chair and carry on his enterprise with zeal and prudence after he is gone, and the multitude of readers, who have been instructed at regular periods by their invisible teacher, almost fancy him to be immortal, for they never miss him, so quietly does he pass away from them, and wisely insure in other hands the continuance of his work.

This privilege of appointing a successor, universally accorded to the founder of an institution or society, gave rise at an early period to *heirship*, which is simply government selection restricted and defined by law. Generally speaking, where a man who has acquired an honourable position happens to have an able or promising son, there is no other person so fitted to succeed him and give that permanency to his labours which the public interest requires. For not only is the son likely to inherit largely the parent's cast of mind, but to possess his confidence and love, and to be moulded by his education, and the special attention given to him will occasion no jealousy among others of equal merit. Moreover, those who serve or assist the

father will also be accustomed to respect their master's son, and will be found more ready to transfer their allegiance to him than to any other selected successor. Therefore, however impartial or public-spirited he may be in looking about for a capable person to continue his work, he can hardly avoid, *cæteris paribus*, giving his son the preference, if only with the view to afford the greatest satisfaction and put away occasion for jealousy and strife. But the selection may not be sufficiently circumscribed to secure this desirable result, even when it is confined to one family, if that family has more than one eligible member. In the early ages of Monarchism, where an old king had half a dozen warlike sons, and they were pretty nearly equal in their chances of succeeding him, each of the young princes was sure to be surrounded by a band of partisans, who were constantly intriguing and plotting to get their favourite seated on the throne. This was the case with David's family; and when that popular and powerful ruler at length appointed Solomon to be his successor, the latter did not believe that his father's decision would be universally respected, nor feel himself secure till his rival, Adonijah, was slain. Indeed, it was not safe in those days for any king to have a capable brother, or even an ambitious son, that a discontented faction might fasten on and put at the head of a revolt; and therefore, in royal families, murders and executions were of frequent occurrence, and however cruel in themselves, often saved the nation from the greater cruelty that would have accompanied a civil war. A great change for the better has gradually been effected in Monarchical government; a modern European sovereign does not kill his brothers, nor regard them with jealousy; they help to give stability to his throne, and the sons that he may have

are not the heads of as many different factions, but are united in one patriotic work. This is because legislative wisdom has everywhere laid down a strict law of succession, so that there shall be no more room for strife and intrigue, and no longer any doubt in the mind of the people as to who their future ruler shall be. In France and in Spain this law has certainly been of late years disregarded, but the confusion and troubles that have arisen in consequence are a warning to other countries, and confirm in a most striking manner its real worth. It has been repeatedly proved, both in ancient and modern times, that there is no advantage to a nation in having two or more candidates for the throne, because, however much superior one of these may be over his rivals in virtue and capacity, his claims on this score will never be universally admitted. It is not the best prince but the best partisan that is sure to be the favourite with each political section of the people.

"Let justice and not fortune rule; let every post in the State be held by the fittest man," is the cry of Republicans, and a very good theoretical cry too; but it is a most difficult thing in practice to choose the fittest public servant on all occasions, and still more difficult to get a prejudiced and divided community to confirm your choice. Many who are opposed to the principle of hereditary government have been constrained to admit that fortune may have at least as much sway in a Republic as under a Monarchy. The leading politicians of the great rival parties which divide America, in seeking a likely candidate to run for the Presidency, never dream of selecting their wisest and ablest man; all that they hope to do is to find a convenient military hero who happens to be popular at the time, or to pitch upon some respectable Brown,

Wilson, or Walker, who, from not being widely known, will have little prejudice to encounter, and cause the least division in their ranks. Every nation must have a chief man by some mode of selection, as well as a chief city, and it is of much importance that these ruling pivots which it turns upon should be permanently fixed. It is not necessary that either king or capital should claim at the outset any decided natural superiority, but each will, by virtue of holding a high government position, acquire in time some corresponding capacity for it, and more than that, will obtain an immense prestige, so as to put all thought of dividing the country by a dangerous rivalry out of the question.

Does justice always prevail over fortune in those Republican States where the soldiers are selected by lot and their officers promoted by seniority? Is it not often seen there that the rustic conscript who is sent into the army is one of the least martial men of the district? A Republican will tell you that there is no help for this; that it would cause a riot if a colonel went into every village to choose the conscripts by the measure of his military eye; that it is necessary to fix on some form of selection, which, if it does not always send the fittest man to serve in the army, will at least send a good average man and *afford satisfaction to the people.* Precisely the same reasons may be urged for maintaining the hereditary system of which an hereditary monarch forms the keystone. It does not always put the most capable man on a throne or into an estate, we admit, but does more justice to capacity than would be obtained from either drawing of lots or election, and at the same time puts away occasion for strife, and produces more general satisfaction than could be got from any other arrangement. So long as people are not sufficiently enlightened,

patient, and forbearing to allow of strict justice being administered in every case, we must be content with approximate justice. Where equity is not yet attainable, it is well if we can have the regulation of undeviating law. In order that heirship should be superseded in the construction of society, it is indispensable that there should be established the regular subordination of a hierarchy, and for the determining of merit a competent tribunal which will command universal respect. Some such tribunal we actually have in our Imperial Government, so far as its jurisdiction extends in the appointment of servants of the State. Under its master eye the Church, the Law, the Army, the Navy, and the Civil Service are wisely and honestly built up. The selection of an admiral, a bishop, a judge, or an inspector is never made without a genuine desire to promote merit, and is seldom regarded by the public with dissatisfaction. The same may be said with respect to the colonial governors, or deputy kings, who rule the immense territory comprised in the outlying provinces of the British Empire. Shall we find that Republican presidents have on the average superior statesmanlike qualities to those of the able proconsuls whom England sends out to mediate between parties and reconcile conflicting interests in Canada, India, South Africa, and Australia? The Imperial throne cannot be filled in the same way just because it is independent, because it is not subordinate. The king, like an ordinary master, may, with the help of advisers, appoint all the officers belonging to his establishment, but can only be appointed himself by the law of hereditary succession. If, indeed, the States of Europe could agree to appoint each other's kings, or could be united for their mutual welfare by confederation,

the system of Government selection, which works so well with respect to our colonial rulers, might become universal, and many of the untoward accidents pertaining to heirship would be happily surmounted. But when are we likely to arrive at these cosmopolitan arrangements? and what is to be done in the mean time?

IV.—Partisanship and Impartiality.

Of the three modes of establishing sovereignty, or putting a man at the head of a nation—*popular selection*, as in the United States, *Government selection*, as in Canada, and *heirship*, as in Brazil, —the former is, with regard to the meting out of even-handed justice to all citizens, decidedly the most objectionable, because it places in the chief magistrate's chair a stanch partisan. We have already seen that when a number of people gather about some religious or political leader in whom they have especial confidence, they segregate or assort themselves into a simple society; they constitute a sect or a party, and the man of their common choice is quite competent to undertake the judgment of their controversies and the reconciliation of their strifes. But should there arise any dispute between them and another body of people, their leader, it is clear, would not be the proper person to look to for its arrangement; an arbitrator of neutral or independent position would be required. In a contention between any two Dissenting congregations an eminent representative

of either party could not well be accepted as a judge. So the Church of England, being a large complex community formed of parties which differ widely in their views, could not possibly obtain the rule of a fitting president by popular selection, because a strong partisan, a decided Ritualist or Evangelical, would thus get appointed, and under his one-sided sway the Church would be full of discord and in perpetual danger of being rent asunder by persecution and secession. The archbishop whom we see placed at its head by the Imperial Government is invariably a moderate or neutral man, who aims at reconciling the great clerical parties and getting them to work amicably together; and his paternal judgment, if it does not immediately silence dissensions in the Church, never fails to command respect, soften the rancour of controversy, and promote a more tolerant and charitable feeling. As we are not likely very soon to confederate with the rest of Europe, and get the ruler of the nation selected for us by some such superior judgment as that by which we now obtain the ruler of our National Church, we can do nothing more wisely than abide by our old Monarchy, and make the best of our luck in a succession of hereditary kings.

For what is the most essential qualification that we ought to look for in a monarch or chief magistrate? Not that he should be a man of brilliant parts, a great general, a powerful orator, or gifted writer, capable of winning, by his clever performances in some particular line, unbounded admiration and applause. The grand requisite in the character of a sovereign is that he should be thoroughly *impartial*, that he should stand as a common centre of reconciliation for all parties, and hold the balance fairly between all the contending

forces that happen to divide the community. In sporting matches it is well known to be often a matter of much difficulty to select a tolerably satisfactory umpire, and it is not the first-rate player that is sought for to fill this office, but the unbiassed man with a competent knowledge of the game. The crowned chief who acts as arbitrator in our great political contests should be similarly qualified; and an able Liberal or Conservative leader cannot possibly be so well fitted for the duty as one who has been specially trained from youth to keep aloof from partisan movements, and is in a position to command the respect of both sides. Such a man is not to be obtained from the Parliamentary magnates who owe their eminence to popular selection. The very first requirement that is looked for in every candidate for representing the people of Whigborough or Toryshire is a distinct profession of partiality. It is evident that a statesman who is compelled to take up Liberal or Conservative prejudices from the commencement of his career, though he may come in time to make a very good prime minister, can never constitute a satisfactory king. And Monarchical nations, when occasionally left by some turn of fortune without a ruler, have generally preferred to invite a foreign prince to occupy their throne and moderate their party strife, rather than trust this duty to the most upright and able politician that could be found among themselves. It is impossible that the leader of a dominant faction, such as that of the old Yorkists or Lancastrians, should rule over a divided nation with strict fairness, inspire general confidence, and be capable of healing its dissensions. And the man who is placed at the head of a Republic, whether by voting or fighting, must necessarily have the same inflexible bias; and, even

if he be as honest as Cromwell, is equally bound to favour his own partisans, and have very little consideration for their hated opponents. Those who want modern instances of the one-sided and ill-balanced condition of Democratic communities have only to cast their eyes on the chronic disorders which exist among the Republics of Spanish America. The politician who is elected president in any of these States is sure to be a successful advocate or a successful soldier, the victorious chief of one of the great parties into which the country happens to be divided; and therefore he is compelled in some measure to play the tyrant towards the vanquished, and feed his hungry followers with official spoils. It is on this account that the defeated party at a presidential election never bear their defeat well. Many who have to lose office and living at each transfer of power suffer almost as much as a conquered people deprived of their lands. When, besides, their passions are strongly roused, there is always a probability of their attempting to reverse the electoral decision by an appeal to arms. Such a revolutionary struggle has once occurred in the United States, with its more orderly and intelligent English population, and is likely, before the lapse of many years, to be repeated. Mr. Lincoln, on being put in office by the Abolitionists, was well disposed to act fairly between North and South, so far as his party would let him; but the people of the Southern States could not be got to believe in the impartiality of a magistrate elected by their political opponents, and therefore, after being outvoted, fought for independence, but only to be out-weaponed and suffer worse. It requires two parties for war and three for peace, and the great advantage of a Monarchy over a Republic is that it

provides a judicial third party to mediate in all domestic contests; and it is on this account that the good people of Canada, far more sensible than American journalists, who are fond of offering them advice, continue loyal to their sovereign, and hold in such high esteem the British connection.

Where the ruler of a nation is an elected partisan, there is not only more government partiality in the filling of offices, but general bribery and corruption prevail to a much greater extent than is found to be the case under an hereditary Monarchy. It is an immense advantage for a nation to have in its midst a stable hereditary throne, which will abide securely through all its varying moods and changes of fortune, which cannot be shaken by all the surging to and fro of its party strife. Fortunate are the people of England, Prussia, Austria, and Russia, in having such a secure seat provided for their sovereign, and unfortunate are the people of France in possessing a government chair which is extremely rickety and liable to be easily thrown down. In the former countries there may be violent agitations, ministerial changes, national humiliations and defeats, but no confusion follows; in the latter, no sooner does a season of trouble or adversity arrive than it produces a revolution. It is generally admitted that Napoleon III. had personally some good qualifications as a ruler, even by those who strongly disapprove of the means by which he attained power. He was an enlightened and thoughtful man, who had seen much of the world; he had aptitude for business, much knowledge of character, and general freedom from prejudice; he was brave, generous, conciliatory; he was earnestly bent on promoting the material prosperity of France, and the concord and happiness of her people; and, could we suppose

him seated on a strong, immovable throne, he would have proved, on the whole, an admirable sovereign. But he was soon made sensible, by certain unpleasant shocks and vibrations, that his position was not a very secure one, and thenceforth, instead of applying his undivided attention to the work of ruling France justly, his first and chief aim was to give more stability to his shaky throne, and leave a firm seat for his successor. Therefore, bribery was freely resorted to, in order to diminish the opposition of influential Legitimists, Orleanists, and Republicans. The army was humoured and flattered to secure its fidelity, and the whole French people were bribed by pandering to their love of martial glory, and their ambition to recover the European pre-eminence which they had formerly enjoyed. He was well aware that he had not been elected to rule France for any superior governing capacity or other intrinsic merits which he was supposed to possess; he knew that his only recommendation was the prestige of his uncle's victories, and that he must himself gather laurels and add to that prestige in order to strengthen his position. A hard task, truly, had this Democratic emperor to provide martial entertainments for a vain, restless, theatrical nation; to look around and wage war, as opportunity occurred, and revive the recollections of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena. Still, he bravely applied himself to it, and as long as success attended him his victories really bolstered up his throne; but this could not go on for ever, and no sooner did fortune turn against him than he was instantly overwhelmed by a storm of popular displeasure and hurled to the ground.

V.—Hereditary and Elective Incompetence.

Republicans, in declaiming against Monarchical institutions, have a great deal to say about the evil of *hereditary incompetence*, and their argument on this score might have considerable weight if among themselves there were no such thing as *elective incompetence*. We have already seen that the chief magistrate, who is placed over a State by popular selection, must necessarily be the head of a party, and therefore a man of strong bias. Do we, however, find that this very serious lack of impartiality is invariably compensated by decidedly superior ability? The people at large, the general multitude, are notoriously incapable of judging professional merit of any kind save by results; they could not appoint a fit man to command a vessel, or lead an army, till after having full proof of the voyages that he had made or the victories that he had won. Least of all can they be expected to point to the individual best qualified for the Presidency of a Republic, in which office the candidate, from the nature of the case, will necessarily be unable to produce any credentials of previous experience. We know that in London, and all places where professional excellence is cultivated, a man without some certificate of this kind has a very small chance of obtaining employment; trained dulness is invariably preferred by the experienced organizer of labour to untrained cleverness. In America, and especially in the newly-settled parts, it is different; there being, as in all rude, unorganized societies, but little division of labour at present attainable, excellence in one particular branch is not so much looked for as

aptness in many. The backwoods farmer is frequently compelled to be his own mason, carpenter, shoemaker, tailor, and smith, and every poor settler in the neighbourhood, who is engaged as a help, must be ready at many things—must be a man or a maid of all work. It is this versatility, necessitated by circumstances, that has made the Americans averse to a strictly professional life, and has produced a vagrant, unsettled habit in their character. The experience of ages teaches us that those who want to make much progress in a given direction must start early in life, and not wander from the path; but the generality of Americans seem to think it no disadvantage for a man to have a late start, or to waste his time by dodging about in many devious ways. Hence it is common enough among them to meet with people who have pursued three or four different callings in their time, while the man who has kept steadily to one occupation all his life through is something of a rarity. In an ill-organized community, where the individual citizens resemble so many loose rolling stones, rather than the built-up stones of a harmonious structure, where the constitution of society is a universal card-shuffle, where parsons become doctors, and doctors lawyers, and lawyers generals, and generals editors, and *vice versâ*, it is not to be expected that the governing profession should be of a very high order, or composed of only well-trained and strictly-qualified men. It is, indeed, in respect to preparatory culture and regular gradations of merit, in a more rudimentary condition than any other; for a shrewd political upstart, who can make a telling partisan speech, may, with two or three lucky strokes in the direction of the popular current, become a member of Congress, with the chance of by-and-by being chosen President of the Republic. Americans are accustomed

to speak with pride of the possibility of people in their country rising from the condition of humble mechanics to the highest office of the State, as in the case of two recent Presidents, one having been in early life a woodcutter and the other a tailor. We are always glad to see humble merit advanced in any sphere, and high incompetence degraded, but there is certainly nothing to boast of in the fact of men unknown to fame being suddenly elevated to rule over a great nation for a few years, and then sent back into obscurity again; such freaks of fortune are the reverse of creditable to any community. The Americans not only place a rude, unhandy novice at the helm of their vessel of State, but take care that he shall not remain there long enough to discharge the duty skilfully or acquire anything like a mastery of his work. When once he has served a tolerable apprenticeship, and gathered a little experience that might be invaluable to him in future years, his Presidential term is up, and he is forthwith sent away to forget his political lessons in rustic retirement, that another bungler may occupy his place. In short, their system, so far from tending to promote the highest order of government efficiency, is admirably calculated to prevent the growth of mature statesmanship, and subject the nation to a perpetual reign of lubberly incompetence. A Cabinet Minister, with the long-service certificate and ripe experience of a Peel, a Russell, a Derby, or a Gladstone, is not to be found in their ever-changing household, nor in that of any other Republic; and neither have their subordinate officers of the State any better prospect by way of training or length of tenure for the attainment of professional excellence.

"On entering the House of Representatives at Washington," says De Tocqueville, "one is struck

by the vulgar demeanour of that great assembly. The eye frequently does not discover a man of celebrity within its walls. Its members are almost all obscure individuals whose names present no associations to the mind; they are mostly village lawyers, men in trade, or even persons belonging to the lower classes of society. . . . . In nations in which the principle of election extends to every place in the State, no political career can, properly speaking, be said to exist. Men are promoted as if by chance to the rank which they enjoy, and they are by no means sure of long enjoying it. The consequence is that in tranquil times public functions offer but few lures to ambition. In the United States the persons who engage in the perplexities of political life are individuals of very moderate pretensions. The pursuit of wealth generally diverts men of talent from the pursuit of power, and it very frequently happens that a man does not undertake to direct the fortune of the State until he has discovered his incompetence to conduct his own affairs. The vast number of very ordinary men who occupy public situations is quite as attributable to these causes as to the bad choice of the democracy. I am not sure that the people would return the men of superior abilities who might solicit their support, but it is certain that men of this description do not come forward." (*Democracy in America*, p. 239.)

The blunders which have frequently resulted in our own country from the appointment by popular selection of parish officers, who require for the due performance of their work a certain amount of professional knowledge, were ably exposed some twenty years ago by Mr. Chadwick, in his *Reorganization of the Civil Service*. A gifted essayist of that period thus gives the pith of his argument. "The people only know capacity by what is called

public speaking, and they suppose, perhaps, that because a man can talk fluently and abuse everybody, he must be a very honest, clever fellow, and just the man for a perfect government. A man who can make a smart speech, and criticise other people's doings, will surely be able to defy criticism in his own! Here is a grocer who speaks well, and is always ready to leave his counter and give the public the benefit of his tongue. What a capital surveyor of a parish he would make. . . . . Better a simple man of moderate abilities, regularly trained and formally qualified for a profession, than a smart agitator who has it all to learn after he has received the appointment. It seems to be a prevailing opinion that some professions require no learning or knowledge of the subject at all. Broken-down tradesmen, who could not manage their own affairs, are often recommended for public trusts for no other reason than compassion. . . . . Bankruptcy, insolvency, failure in trade, public speechifying, agitatoring, almost anything but practical talent, is the common inducement for popular constituencies in the local election of officers. Nor is it possible that the people, or any large portion of the people, can ascertain by any examination the fitness of any man for a work that requires a certain amount of either legal or scientific knowledge, seeing it may be that a man may talk very fluently at a public meeting, and yet not be even acquainted with book-keeping, not even qualified to give an account of monetary transactions of a complicated nature, not even practical enough to know the length, width, and thickness of a statute brick, and how many bricks it would take to build a wall of an area of 10,000 feet and a brick and a half thick. The blunders into which towns have inevitably fallen hitherto in the choice of local officers are so great and so numerous

that, since the appointment of the General Board of Health, no less than sixty-nine towns have voluntarily resigned their local patronage into the hands of the Board, that they might be sure of having men appointed with some knowledge of the work they had to do. This is all very reasonable; indeed, we know nothing more stupid than that popular system of employing ignorant men to make choice of skilled men, as if ignorance were the superior and judge of intelligence. The only plausible argument in favour of choice by numbers lies in the supposed necessary honesty of the numbers. But this is a manifold delusion as hitherto practised, and in America, where the system is still more universalized, the corruption is enormous." (*Family Herald*, vol. xii. 780.)

With respect to the worse condition of the American Civil Service, arising from the fact that the chief of the State, who owes his place to popular selection, is also of necessity the head of a party, let us now hear the evidence of Americans themselves. "Offices have been unnecessarily multiplied," says Mr. Moncure Conway, "in order that Presidents might reward their friends or gain support for the future, by filling such with influential persons. . . . It has become the settled rule of every President upon his election to remove nearly every official in the Government. Every post-office in America changes hands, every ambassador and consul is recalled, and in order that the new President may reward those who have, and punish those who have not, supported him, hardly a member of the Civil Service—none in any important office—can ever remain longer than four years, or just long enough to have gained a proper knowledge of his office and duties. Setting aside the expensiveness of this Presidential principle, that 'to the victors belong

the spoils,' and apart even from the continual accession of crudity to replace experience implied in it, there is even a worse result in the temptation it offers every office-holder to devote his four years' tenure simply to money-making, in the face of a sure and speedy discharge." (*Republican Superstitions*, p. 105.) "Our Civil Service," says Mr. Horace Smith, in the *Fortnightly Review*, "is the worst that I know anything about, but its inherent vices cannot be fully appreciated till one has been brought into the neighbourhood of a better. I count it among the greatest advantages an American can derive from a visit to England, that he has the opportunity to put the two systems side by side, and to learn the detestable vices of his own by comparison." (*Impressions of England by an American.*)

In a theoretical Republic we have a perfect reign of justice presented to our view; all the best and wisest men of the nation are supposed to come to the top; every office-holder is a virtuous patriot, toiling cheerfully and making many personal sacrifices for his country's good, and no such anomaly as that of our "titled nincompoops" could possibly exist. When, however, we cast our eyes across the Atlantic on the great "model" in actual existence, an entirely different picture may be seen; not only is there a greater amount of official bungling than in any European country, but rampant roguery is everywhere obtaining place and power, and cunningly feathering its nest at the nation's expense. Nor are tyrants unknown in any of those ill-governed American countries which boast of their freedom from kings. Justly says *Chambers's Information*: "The weak point in all Republics is that the most noisy and forward, who are usually the most ignorant, gain the ascendency, and, under colour of consti-

tutional privilege, tyrannize over the more quietly disposed and intelligent."

Whatever Republicans may say about the imbecility of our born rulers, it is evident that there is a far greater amount of government incompetence arising from popular selection than from heirship. "Wisdom is not hereditary," they tell us over and over again; but how much truth is there in this prominent article of their creed? Naturalists have clearly demonstrated that all human qualities, both mental and physical, *are* hereditary; they have shown that the son of a blacksmith will generally be found to have a stronger arm than the son of a watchsmith, and that the accountant's boy will, in nine cases out of ten, be quicker in calculating than his schoolfellows, whose parents are artisans. The Jew is sometimes said to be a born trader—that is, he inherits the commercial wisdom of his ancestors, and stands on a vantage-ground in his special avocation, so that very few people can successfully compete with him. There are certain professions in this country, such as mining, fishing, and agriculture, which may be considered hereditary, as they usually descend from father to son; but no one will venture to assert that on this account they are less skilfully and efficiently conducted. Amateur farmers, excepting in very rare cases, cannot match those who have been regularly bred to the business; not one amateur in a hundred is able to extract a living from the land, or even to get, at the end of the year, a small percentage of profit. If a national Board of Agriculture were established for directing the cultivation of the soil, the sons of farmers would doubtless still be found generally succeeding their fathers, even as now. The fact of a man being the son of a successful farmer, and carefully brought up to his father's occupation, will be found, in most

instances, a better voucher of competency than any certificate which might be furnished by an Agricultural College. But let us imagine all Government selection to be set aside, and our hereditary system of agriculture to be superseded by a Democratic system; let us suppose the farmers of every parish in the United Kingdom to be elected by the people thereof, as town surveyors have been frequently elected, and the revolution would be great; the British plough would be turned upside down; the farms would soon be taken from their present experienced cultivators and given to local agitators, itinerant preachers, spouting grocers, tailors, and shoemakers—men full of glorious schemes of reform and unbounded professions of liberality, but with no more knowledge of soil and seasons and agricultural economy than the poor Chartist weavers who were planted on Feargus O'Connor's Buckinghamshire allotments. They would set out with the high aim of achieving such miracles of improvement on the practice of their dull predecessors as should fill the world with admiration, and would end with an exhibition of universal blundering and failure. Undoubtedly an immense stimulus would be given to the cultivation of the flowers of rhetoric throughout the country, but there would be a deplorable falling-off in the growth of corn.

If the cultivator of a farm is likely to understand his business the more readily from its having been followed by his father and grandfather before him, his patron or superintendent, the landlord, may be expected to inherit professional aptitude in an equal degree, and so may his sovereign or land-ruler-in-chief. We know, indeed, that the higher officers of our agricultural army are not all Bedfords, Portlands, Derbys, Ducies, and Spencers; we know that some of them are grossly incompetent and

remiss in discharging their duty—much more so than the generality of their subordinates; but this arises, not from their failing to inherit the energy and ability of their ancestors, but from their having too much leisure and independence, and being inadequately trained to adapt themselves to new circumstances and enter on new work. Nothing endangers the moral health of even heroic men more than a period of prolonged relaxation, such as the fatal Capuan indolence which so enervated the fine army of Hannibal. Those who have not the sagacity to seek occupation for themselves as a medicine are almost certain to drift into luxurious habits, and fall a prey to the allurements of vice. Three hundred years ago our martial aristocracy, in their feudal castles, protecting agriculture from freebooters, were in a similar position to the regiment abroad, fighting against Kaffirs and Maories. Now, being relieved from that service by the cessation of brigandage and internal strife, they are as the regiment idling at home, and strongly tempted to indulge in drinking, gambling, and debauchery. Happily, they have not all given themselves up to the pursuit of pleasure and sport; a majority of them, and, to all appearance, an increasing majority, have struck into new paths of usefulness, and are serving their country with great ability, both at home and abroad. As to those who are content to live as lazy hereditary pensioners on the services which were rendered by their remote ancestors, the nation, whose disorderly spirit is in a great measure to blame for this, ought to provide some means of reforming them or weeding them out from the rest. When a young farmer has been spoilt by his father's prosperity, and has come to fancy that he may take his ease as a fine gentleman and leave the business to take care of itself, he will soon receive

notice to quit, or will be brought down to his true level by bankruptcy, so that the country will not suffer long from his incompetence. But a profligate peer is not so readily brought to book in these days of irresponsibility and liberty to do what one likes; though he will not be permitted to misgovern a colony, he may misrule an estate, which is a little home province, as much as he pleases, or entirely absent himself from it, and lead a dissolute life in some foreign city, without subjecting himself to so much as a mild remonstrance from the Government. This is an abuse of political power which seriously wants correcting. The landlord's office should not be permitted to lapse into a sinecure just because the military duties which attached to it in feudal times are no longer required; other public services are needed, and unless faithfully performed, as we see they can be performed, the officer should be required to sell his commission, or by some means short of confiscation should be removed from his post. A Hebrew sage said long ago, "There is an evil which I have seen under the sun as an error that cometh from the ruler. Folly is set in great dignity, and the wise sit in low place. I have seen servants upon horses, and princes walking as servants upon the earth." (Eccles. x. 5—7.) So Professor Huxley, noticing the continuance of this evil, said recently, in his inaugural address at the Midland Institute, "What is to be lamented is not that society wants means to assist capacity to rise to its proper position, but that there are no means by which incapacity can be made to descend from positions for which it is unfit. There are noble lords who would have been poachers, gamekeepers, and billiard-markers if they had not been kept afloat by our social corks." The English aristocracy would, doubtless, be improved by an occasional

degradation quite as much as by promotions. They frequently have an accession of new blood, and if they could only purge off as readily that which has become distempered and corrupt, they would present to the world such a robust and healthy social body as must command universal respect. Even now, however, there are no politicians in any country more honest and patriotic than those who sit in our House of Peers, and they are, in a very marked manner, improving.

Carlyle, the admirer of Cromwell and hater of incompetence, says of our aristocracy, before their period of relaxation and corruption arrived:—

"English kings, from the Conquest down to the times of Charles I., had actually, in a good degree, so far as they knew, been in the habit of appointing as peers those who *deserved* to be appointed. In general, those peers of theirs were all royal men of a sort, with minds full of justice, valour, and humanity, and all kinds of qualities which men ought to have who rule over others. And then their genealogy, the kind of sons and descendants they had, this also was remarkable, for there is a great deal more in genealogies than is generally believed at present. I never heard tell of any clever man who came of entirely stupid people. If you look around among the families of your acquaintance, you will see such cases in all directions. I know that my own experience is steadily that way. I can trace the father and the son and the grandson, and the family stamp is quite distinctly legible on each of them. So that it goes for a great deal, the hereditary principle in government, as in other things, and it must be recognized as soon as there is any fixity in things." (*Inaugural Address at Edinburgh*, p. 23.)

Emerson, with all the Republican prejudices of

his country clinging to him, is constrained to see and admit that, in spite of the vices which have lowered our nobility since "the baron educated only for war, finding himself idle at home, grew fat and wanton and a sorry brute," they are now in a mending and hopeful condition, and there is ample virtue within them to effect their salvation.

"The English nobles," says he, "are high-spirited, active, educated men, born to wealth and power, who have run through every country, and kept in every country the best company; have seen every secret of art and nature; and when men of any ability or ambition, have been consulted in the conduct of every important action. You cannot wield great agencies without lending yourself to them, and when it happens that the spirit of the earl meets his rank and duties, we have the best examples of behaviour. Power of any kind readily appears in the manners, and beneficent power—*le talent de bien faire*—gives a majesty which cannot be concealed or resisted. . . . . They survey society as from the top of St. Paul's, and if they never hear plain truth from men [they are much less flattered than the working class] they see the best of everything in every kind; and they see things so grouped and massed as to infer easily the sum and genus instead of tedious particularities. Their good behaviour deserves all its fame, and they have that simplicity and that air of repose which are the finest ornament of greatness. . . . . They have the sense of superiority, the absence of all the ambitious effort which disgusts in the aspiring classes; a pure tone of thought and feeling, and the power to command, among their other luxuries, the presence of the most accomplished men in their festive meetings." (*English Traits*, p. 104.)

Taine, a not less able and eminent French writer, takes the following view of our aristocracy:—

"The gentlemen, the squires, the barons, the feudal chieftains of England have not become, as ours under Louis XV., simply privileged persons, ornamental parasites, hurtful in the end. . . . . They have continued in communication with the people; they have opened their ranks to men of talent; they have taken recruits from among the cream of the untitled; they have continued commanding or directing personages, or at least influential in the parish and the State. For that purpose they have accommodated themselves to their age and their part; they have been administrators, patrons, promoters of reforms, good managers of public affairs, diligent, instructed, capable men, the most enlightened, the most independent, the most useful citizens of the country. . . . . All our establishments [*i.e.* in France]—Republic, Empire, Monarchy—are provisional, resembling the great drop-scenes which in turn fill an empty stage, disappearing and reappearing on occasion. We see them descend and reascend with a sort of indifference. We are inconvenienced on account of the noise, of the dust, of the disagreeable countenances of the hired applauders, but we resign ourselves, for what can we do in the matter? Whoever happen to be our official representatives, in whatever fashion chance or election gives them to us, the public will does not unite itself in a lasting way to their will. They are not our effective and true representatives, and our society does not allow of better ones. Let us retain these, lest we meet with worse. The upper class does not supply them, since among us levelling envy accepts but sulkily the rich and the noble. . . . . On the contrary, in a country like this one [England], the representatives, being

natural, are effective, the support which maintains them is not slippery, but firm. They are really the persons which the public desires to have at the head of affairs, and not others; and it desires them without hesitation, determinately, with a resolution which lasts. . . . . The leader once elected, whether by them or by others, they faithfully follow him, and by this silent support he becomes their member by a more solid title than among us, where their voices are counted; by a more solid title, and also by a better title. For it does not suffice to be appointed leader, in order to know how to lead; the election which confers the power does not in anywise confer capacity. A long preparation, special education and studies, are required to be a lawyer or an engineer; they are required for a stronger reason to constitute a statesman, to vote with discernment on great public interests, to sift the opportune and the possible, to contemplate the whole from afar. . . . . Success is not attained in these matters by abstract principles, by newspaper phrases, by vague notions brought from college or from school, which among us constitute the ordinary luggage of a politician."—*Notes on England,* pp. 174—200.

It is well known at the present day, that no English horse, however handsome, strong, and high-spirited, has the remotest chance of winning the blue ribbon of the turf, unless he has been both *well bred* and *well trained.* If you obtain a colt of good pedigree, and yoke him to the plough, or shut him up in a stable, and give him little exercise, he will be spoilt for racing, while the best training in the world will not avail to make a prize winner of a fine plebeian animal that is casually picked up at a country fair. Training in connection with breeding, where social circumstances have rendered it practicable, is found to develop a higher degree of

excellence in all human professions than could by any other means be attained. Taine says of the English aristocracy :—

"The institution resembles a stud: out of a hundred animals you get six good racers, out of a thousand a racer of first-class. Consider that without competent chiefs a State cannot prosper, and that there are cases where for want of a great man a State falls; can you pay too dearly for a certain contingent of competent chiefs, and the frequent chance of a great statesman?"

Sir Francis Galton, after treating of soldiers, poets, preachers, &c., says :—"The statesman's type of ability is largely transmitted. . . . . In other words, the combination of high intellectual gifts, tact in dealing with men, power of expression in debate, and ability to endure exceeding hard work, is hereditary."—*Hereditary Genius*, p. 110.

The intelligent boy of the aristocratic class not only inherits from his father a constitution of mind which has been formed by a long and successful pursuit of the business of government, but he is trained from his cradle with the special view to his improving on this natural bent, and acquiring the intellectual strength and stock of information which will enable him to excel in the same line. With the help of foreign nurses and governesses he is able at a very early age to converse fluently in three or four languages, and through the whole of his school and college course he is constantly being exercised in efforts at clear thinking and the clear and forcible expression of thought. At the age of twenty he is a well-educated and well-informed man, with ancient and modern history, social economy, statistics, and the writings of the principal Whig, Tory, and Radical politicians at his fingers'

ends; he has also debated sensibly with his college friends and family connections on every important political question of the present century. By the time he reaches thirty he has travelled all over the Continent, conversed with many eminent foreigners, studied political feeling in the various European capitals, inspected works of art, and compared the chief nations, one with the other, in respect to their laws, institutions, and social progress, as they have passed in review under his eyes. It is evident that a man so bred and so trained must, on entering Parliament, stand on much higher ground and have a far wider range of political vision than can possibly be reached by the shrewd lawyer or the rich merchant, brewer, or cotton-spinner, who is full of class prejudice, and has been confined nearly all his life to one narrow rut in the keen pursuit of wealth. The sharp-eyed Democrat may be useful enough in a legislative chamber as the representative of a particular class or interest, but, however gifted with oratorical power, he can never constitute a statesman, whose business it is to understand foreign as well as domestic affairs, to moderate partisan rancour, and weigh with judicial mind the claims of every section of the community. It is plainly for the want of such superior men, to stand calmly in the midst of bands of conflicting zealots, and command sufficient respect to tone down their strife, that the French Chamber has become in modern times little better than a bear-garden. The infatuated nation which in a fit of envy pulls down its hereditary peerage, thereby levels its political watch-tower, so that it can no longer be governed by the light of lofty and extended views, and its Democratic units are doomed to struggle on upon a common plane as they best can, in selfish and short-

sighted confusion. We know and admit that all who are born peers in this country do not make a good use of their opportunities and develop into enlightened statesmen; some of them become mere sport and pleasure-seekers; but the peerage must be regarded as a distinguished college, the high character of which is so well sustained by the number of its members who achieve success, that no reasonable person can think of condemning it on account of a certain proportion of failures.

The fact is that people cannot be induced to undergo a special training for any profession whatever, unless they feel pretty certain of following it; and in politics there are very few, besides the sons of peers and commoners of the highest class, hereditarily connected with politics, who can have this encouraging assurance to sustain them through a long course of arduous preparation. Many actual members of our House of Commons had not the remotest idea that they should ever come to sit there till after reaching middle age, and with a feeling of awkwardness and inexperience they will avow that had they in early life only possessed independent means, and known the high position they were destined eventually to reach, they would have rendered themselves, by a thorough training, a great deal more worthy of it. A young peer actually has these inestimable advantages, and is frequently moved by a love of honourable distinction to make the most of them. He knows that he shall some day form one of a group of legislators on whom the eyes of the whole country will be fixed, and that if he can only give unmistakable proof of statesman-like ability, high office is within his grasp, and the prospect of a great historical reputation. He therefore prepares himself to push on and excel in his profession, with the unflagging ardour of a law

student who hopes eventually to become a Judge or to sit on the Woolsack. In the establishment of a national government every method should be adopted which yields good results. We want no exclusive government caste; it would be a great mistake to rely wholly on trained hereditary talent, and afford no opening for such men as Disraeli and Bright; but we may see, from the example of France and other countries, that it is equally unwise to depreciate capacity of this kind and trust to obtaining a sufficient number of able rulers from the chances of popular selection.

The prince, no less than the peer, may profit from the early professional start which hereditary succession gives him, and acquire vast aptitude for the position which he is destined eventually to fill, by a thorough preparation under the direction of experienced men. In the highest office of the State, as well as in all subordinate offices, trained dulness will be found to far surpass untrained cleverness. A strong man, if suddenly raised to the throne by popular selection, is certain to feel awkward, and will easily be made apprehensive and giddy at the thought of his supreme elevation, its enormous responsibilities, and the intense envy that it calls forth; but a weak man, if regularly bred to the office and having no rival, will be perfectly at home in it and neither carried away by pride nor fear. Who but the born and trained king, inured from his cradle to publicity, can sit calmly in the midst of a nation's observing eyes, be regardless of its conflicting criticism, and pass through a constant succession of passionate demonstrations without in any way losing his mental equilibrium? It is certainly no mean accomplishment to be able to assume only the passive dignity of a monarch, to poise one's self firmly and gracefully on a pinnacle.

The man who can do merely this well, shows an amount of mastery and conscious strength and quiet self-possession, which is not to be despised. But our modern hereditary rulers, the Romanoffs, Hapsburgs, Hohenzollerns, Bourbons, Coburgs, and Guelphs, are something more than mere empty-headed idols that impose on a superstitious multitude: they receive a good education, civil and military; they are carefully instructed in home and foreign politics; they learn languages, they travel; they are in constant communication with all sorts of able and eminent men; and it is impossible for a person of ordinary intelligence to be so trained, and so live in the midst of light, without being enlightened. The Presidents of the various American Republics, if matched against the sovereigns of Europe, would probably excel them in oratory, but in a competitive examination which should aim at eliciting the breadth and depth of each person's political knowledge, would certainly not approach them. Some people talk as though they expected a monarch to be a man of special genius; but, as we have already hinted, it is neither reasonable nor desirable that those who have to concern themselves with so many different departments of human work and human knowledge should be exceptionally clever in one. If the majority of the people in any monarchical country were consulted with respect to the education of their Crown prince, they would be sure to narrow and nationalize his mind—they would make him too much of a general or an orator. The wiser statesmen, who actually have the moulding of their future king, know, on the contrary, that the training which he needs to fit him for his future position should not be merely national but cosmo-
[illegible]an. It is by no means desirable that he should
[illegible] an accomplished artillerist or an active

Parliament man, and spout to the people on home politics; but that he should be able to commune freely and sensibly with other monarchs on international affairs and arbitrate occasionally in disputes, is a matter of the utmost importance. The service which a constitutional king renders the State as a *patron* of arts, sciences, and charitable institutions, is distinctly manifest to all eyes, and is generally appreciated by the people. But the more important duty which he discharges as a *moderator* between rival parties and rival powers is by no means so apparent to the multitude, and he seldom obtains any popular credit for it, no matter how wisely and well it may be performed. The very success of such a work forbids it becoming conspicuous. The conversation which he has with a Prime Minister or leader of the Opposition is never reported, or, if at all, only in a brief hint long afterwards; the letter which he despatches to a brother monarch does not get into the public press, and yet he may thus in a quiet way more powerfully influence the current of politics than a score of able men will do by means of their clever articles and moving oratory.

During the long summer evenings I occasionally see on a neighbouring village green a number of country youths collected at a cricket-match, which is very suggestive of a nation's political strife. As the game proceeds, the contending parties change places and are full of ardour, each striving to prolong their innings to the utmost; while, in remarkable contrast to the stripped and active players, a stout gentleman in black stands near them, coolly smoking a cigar, and leaning on his bat as a staff. He occasionally speaks to them in a quiet voice, and they show marked respect for him; but an ignorant spectator of the game would naturally wonder what good the conspicuous idler could be doing there,

and would fancy that his presence must be felt as an interruption, and his absence considered a relief. Let him, however, be absent only for one evening, and harmony will be found to depart with him: such noisy altercations will break out from time to time, so much quarrelling and confusion will arise among the players when left to themselves, that nobody who has witnessed their discordant proceedings under these circumstances can for a moment doubt an umpire's utility. Precisely such important service as this official renders on the cricket-field, a monarch affords the political parties who are contending one against the other in the arena of Parliament, though he may not be often present in person. His moderating influence is exercised in a variety of ways, and is powerfully felt by the leading statesmen, who are frequently brought into communion with him, and have learnt to rely on his good sense and impartiality. On the other hand, the general public, who look on at a distance through the windows of their newspapers, might easily imagine that in the political field their sovereign is a sort of King Log, and only by his being taken from them and leaving no competent successor would they come to appreciate his worth.

"Working men," we are told by one of their literary representatives, "regard Royalty as worse than useless, believing that its formalities impede the work of legislation, that its costliness tends to impoverish the nation, and its very existence to degrade true self-respect by making 'loyalty' consist, in language at least, in fulsome adulation. To their thinking the Sovereign is the mere cipher of an unnecessary function, or at the best an ornamental official, whose services, judged on the most liberal scale, would be amply paid for by a salary of a master of the ceremonies."—*Fraser's Magazine.*

It is not surprising that many rude sons of toil should entertain this unfavourable opinion of Royalty, for we know that a considerable number of them regard every kind of headship as worse than useless, and believe that the most economical arrangement of society is that of pure Communism. The captain of industry, the man who is engaged in mental labour and is not seen from day to day earning his living with hard hands, is in their estimation a mere idler. The lady in yonder house, because she does not go down into the kitchen to cook, wash, and scrub among her domestics, they would consider nothing better than a stuffed doll, and fancy that all the work of the establishment would go on just as regularly and orderly without her. But wiser observers know that she is the soul of the place, and that were her ruling and directing influence permanently withdrawn so as to be no longer felt, the servants would soon be found relaxing in the discharge of their duties and falling into anarchy and strife. So it may be affirmed, with regard to the Queen of England, that though she does not appear in Parliament among her ministers, nor is capable of filling either of their posts and discharging their arduous duties, she commands, as the impartial head of the nation, their unfeigned respect, and exercises a powerful influence towards keeping them honourably and harmoniously to their governing task. Men of great talent, proud of their intellectual gifts, are naturally jealous of each other, and have need to feel a wholesome sense of subordination, in order that they may work together willingly and to good purpose. The business of the nation is much better performed by a body of loyal servants than it can possibly be conducted by a party of independent office-holding citizens. And the debates between Ministerial and Opposition

statesmen, who acknowledge and respect the same sovereign, are far more courteously conducted, and towards a more practical end, than those which take place among the chiefs of a Democratic convention. Royalty is the moderating barrel of oil poured on the stormy and troubled sea of politics: revolutionary agitators may declare it to be "worse than useless," but it effectually calms down their tempestuous commotion, and may even be the means of preserving their lives. Rough, uncultured working men, who despise all the forms of politeness used in common social intercourse, will, naturally enough, dislike the infusion of court manners into the nation's legislative chamber, and fancy that it denotes a poor, servile spirit, and want of self-respect. Yet they may rest assured of its being far better for them and the entire community, that we should have a Parliament of English gentlemen, regulated and toned down by Royal influence, than a bluff Republican chamber, in which Bradlaugh, Kenealey, Biggar, De Morgan, Arch, Gibson Ward, and other rival demagogues, should shake their fists defiantly and hurl their passionate invectives at each other's heads. And still more is our present aristocratic Parliament preferable to an Americanized Congress, in which the members, in the midst of their bear-garden debates, should occasionally exhibit their contempt for courts and courteousness by scornfully spitting in an opponent's face, fighting fiercely with bowie-knives, and gouging each other on the floor.

The monarchical country, which has at its head a respected royal family, has not only the best possible guarantee for maintaining peace between its political sections at home, but what Taine rightly calls *permanent representatives*, whereby it can readily exchange visits and cultivate a good

understanding with neighbouring countries. When the Prince of Wales proceeds to France, Russia, America, or India, the people there regard him as the life-long representative of England, and they give him a right friendly greeting, which they know will go home to the hearts of the entire English nation and not be soon forgotten. If the president, or any leading politician of a Republic, could afford to go abroad on a similar mission, he would attract comparatively little attention, and no corresponding beneficial results could be effected, because he must necessarily be regarded as a mushroom prince, representing not the nation, but only a national party, and that but for a very brief period. Even of General Grant, who had done so much for his country to lift him above party prejudice, it was said, at the time of his second elevation to the presidency, "millions make the minority, which pronounce him a base self-seeker, an ignoramus, and a sot. . . . . Nearly half the nation must for four years bow to the rule of a man they have declared unworthy to be received in decent society."—*Conway's Republican Superstitions.*

Mr. Frederic Harrison, endeavouring to pour contempt on Monarchy, in one of his able papers contributed to the *Fortnightly Review,* says: "The sovereign has as little to do in strengthening the hands of the real government as the belle of the season or the winner of the Derby. Rallying round the throne, here means intriguing for cards to a court ball, waving a handkerchief in a grand-stand, or a holiday and extra beer." On the other hand, he declares, "The Republic is that state, the principle of which is not privilege but merit, where all public power is a free gift, and is freely intrusted to those who seem able to use it best. In the Republic no authority is legitimate but that which

claims as its tenure, capacity, working in the interest of all with the active co-operation of all. These are the tests of the really Republican system: 1. that power rests on fitness to rule; 2. that its sole avowed object is the public good; 3. that it is maintained by public opinion and not by force."

How widely different are the world's actual Republics from any of the charming ideal sketches presented to us by revolutionary philosophers! A correspondent, writing from the East, not long since, to one of our daily papers, said that when an imaginative traveller reads in some genuine Asiatic town poetical descriptions of the gorgeous East, he is for a moment carried away by the poet's magic power. He sees in his mind's eye lovely gardens, sparkling fountains, magnificent palaces, jewelled dresses, and all the barbaric pomp and gold of the Arabian Nights. But the illusion does not last long. He soon becomes disenchanted, and, looking around, sees with the natural eye the poverty, filth, and misery of a real Oriental city. Educated and thoughtful Americans must have a very similar experience when they wake up to look about on the actual working of their Republican government, after having for some time dreamily perused the glowing dissertations on their system by European Republicans. In an article of the New York *Round Table*, which lies before me, the writer sensibly observes:—

"With every election, the evidence accumulates that the framers of our Government reckoned falsely in relying upon the existence among the populace of sufficient discernment of what is for the public good, together with sufficient honesty and patriotism to secure it. Each year shows an increase of ignorance and prejudice among the voters, and a lessened efficiency and integrity

among the rulers, until our various legislative bodies, speaking generally, have come to be mere assemblages of incompetent or self-seeking nobodies. It has become of less and less use for educated men to vote; their recommendation of men and measures meets no attention; they seldom have an opportunity to vote for a candidate in whom they can discern fitness for office; and so the higher social classes have pretty much ceased to have anything to do with our Government.

"It is all very well for enthusiasts at a distance to hold us forth to audiences, also at a distance, as an instance of the inseparable connection between popular enlightenment and self-government. The incomprehensible national vanity, which prevents our acknowledging any truths to our disadvantage, has so far concealed from the eyes of the world the growing mistrust of thinking, unpolitical Americans, of the stability of the imposing fabric we have reared on the sands of popular caprice, that Republicanism is considered abroad to have achieved a success of which we at home are by no means so assured. The style of electioneering arguments in vogue in every election, the irrelevant puerilities of the partisan press, the ease with which demagogues marshal their rabble to the polls, the fact that the utterly stupid, vicious, and degraded classes of the community can at any time, with sufficient good management, be made to turn the scale between parties; such considerations as these must convince any mind, open to conviction, of the futility of hoping to make a safe government of such material."

Another American writer, Louis Jennings, in his work on *Republican Government in the United States*, says, p. 84, "Nearly all questions of domestic policy are discussed in Congress from the standpoint of

local interests. . . . . Constantly one may hear it said in the House of Representatives, 'I believe this measure to be unwise, but my constituents want it, and they must have it. What is the use of going against them?' Few men of eminent ability will accept a seat in Congress upon such terms, and hence the lament is general that the tone of Congress is constantly declining. Men of character and talent will not barter away their independence of judgment and their matured convictions for the doubtful honour of becoming the mouth-piece of a tyrannical faction for a period of two years. The best men of business, the men of wealth and leisure, the cultivated classes, cannot as a rule be prevailed upon to put themselves forward as candidates for Congress."

This candid testimony of American writers exactly corresponds with that of De Tocqueville and other enlightened European travellers, who have subjected to a close inspection the working of the great Transatlantic Democracy. It is quite clear that, whatever advantages may be claimed for the popular selection of rulers, it fails to place in office the most competent men; so far from securing what theorists point to—the regular impartial elevation of Government talent, it more than any other arrangement insures its hopeless suppression. The Model Republic, which revolutionists are constantly directing our attention to, and requiring us to imitate, has justly been compared, by those who know it best, to an inverted pyramid; it contains more misplaced men, a greater amount of neglected capacity and exalted incapacity, than is to be found in any other political system of the civilized world.

VI.—Monarchical and Republican Economy.

The working classes of this country, so far as they are disaffected towards our Monarchical Government, are accustomed to object to it on the score of *economy:* they consider it a great burden on the national industry, from which it would be immensely advantageous to obtain relief; the clamour which they make against every additional vote of public money for the support of the Royal family arises from the firm belief that all which is thus given is to their own poor families so much deprivation and loss. There are many thousands of American and Continental working men who, on the same plea of disburdening and liberating industry, go so far as to call themselves "Anarchists"; they want not merely to get rid of kings, but to do away with all Government officials, whether Monarchical or Republican, so that every citizen may be an untaxed producer of wealth. To hear the arguments that are sometimes put forth by the various bands of revolutionary artisans, one might easily be led to imagine that they have so much confidence in the inherent goodness of human nature as to believe that labour needs no protection whatever, and should be left to take care of itself. In reality, however, there will be found no people in the world, more excessively distrustful of their fellow-men, or more ready to get up defensive organizations against anything which has in their eyes the appearance of aggression. Why does the mechanic cheerfully pay out of his earnings the tax of sixpence or a shilling per week, which a Trade Union levies on him, instead of devoting it to the purchase of such things as will

add to the comforts of his home? Why does he toil early and late, and submit to many little privations, in order to maintain some fine gentleman called a secretary, and other officials, in comparative luxury? He will tell you that there would be no need for him to make any such sacrifice if we lived in an honest world; but as the world unfortunately is not honest, as greedy employers, utterly destitute of conscientious feeling, seek to starve and oppress their men, it is absolutely necessary that these should band themselves together for protection. He considers that every shilling which he puts into the Union treasury is admirably expended in defence of his industry, and probably saves him from being robbed of five. Nay, the opinion is very prevalent that, were it not for these protective associations, working men would soon be deprived of more than half their present wages and reduced to the condition of paupers and serfs.

Whatever Republican artisans may say or think, there is no real economy, in any defensive organization, which is based on visionary alarms or unreasonable distrust of a body of people who are as well conducted and honourable as ourselves. Within the last twenty years, how costly have been our invasion panics! What millions of money have been expended in defending our coasts against the possibility of the French or the Germans suddenly coming across the sea on a predatory expedition and repeating the ravages of the old Danes! Every Englishman who is tolerably well informed, and free from national prejudice, knows that the Continental Powers no more think of invading us than we think of invading them; that, in fact, they are too far advanced in civilization to entertain the idea of brigandage being more profitable than honest industry, and, consequently, we should be just as

safe from aggression without our formidable coast defences, as the Northumbrians are safe, notwithstanding the ruin of the Picts' Wall. In like manner, those who are not influenced by class prejudice know that the organizers and directors of industry throughout this country are, as a body, much too enlightened to believe that they can derive any permanent advantage from underpaying, squeezing, and oppressing their men. On the contrary, they have sufficient discernment to see plainly —what workmen in general fail to perceive—that there is no antagonism between their respective interests; and if some few accumulate fortunes, there are more reduced to bankruptcy, or very near it, by paying a rate of wages beyond what their profits will afford. Thousands of industrial enterprises—mining, manufacturing, and agricultural—may be pointed to, from which the capitalists have gained nothing but the consolation that they had afforded regular employment and subsistence to a number of poor families. And even in those cases where large profits are realized, no inconsiderable portion of the masters' gain comes back to their men, either in the shape of cheapened goods or in charities; that is, in contributions to schools, hospitals, and other institutions designed for their special benefit. The working classes, therefore, with their extensive trade-union organization, are not merely raising a needless barrier to prevent the depredations of honest neighbours, but actually fortifying themselves against their natural benefactors and friends. The breaking up and abandonment of that organization, so far from causing a great reduction of their wages, as they foolishly believe, would, in reality, have the effect of considerably increasing them, because, when there were no longer strikes and other interruptions of trade,

industrial operations would become more profitable, men would be in request, and as the national wealth would increase, there would be a much larger wage fund for distribution.

Working-men at one time regarded machines as invading monsters which had come into the world to rob them of their bread, and they still persist in organizing a no less senseless war against the thoughtful and provident masters of machinery. When will they begin, with better education, to see far enough into the constitution of society to distinguish their friends from their foes? I heartily sympathize with them in their disinclination to support idlers. All people, even when they have stored wealth enough for their future support, should labour with head or hands according to their ability. The worst idlers, however, are not the few proud ones who have been placed by parental forethought, or their own provident habits, above us, but the many cunning ones that are sneaking around and among us in order to take away the fruits of our toil by fraud. It is in a scrambling, democratic community, where there are no patriotic and influential persons to deter imposition, that industry is most burdened with idleness. In the city of New York, for instance, the working population is so plundered in various ways by the multitude of rogues which abound, that almost every labourer may be said to have a loafer on his back. The organized bands of swindlers and thieves are even able, in some of the wards, to put their own blackleg lawyers into the magistrate's chair, and so render the administration of justice a perfect mockery. "With some honourable exceptions," says Louis Jennings, "the Judges in New York State, but especially in the city, are notoriously corrupt or incapable, and owe their

election to the very class against which the protection of the law is most needed by peaceful citizens. The most shameful offences are constantly committed by men placed upon the Bench by the popular vote."—*Republican Government, &c.*

"So far as facts are involved," says the New York *Nation*, "it is idle to rehearse them. Facts such as have not disgraced our Anglo-Saxon civilization for two or three hundred years, if there was ever a parallel to them, have been spread before the public everywhere by the Press and authenticated by official investigation. . . . . How hard it is to establish such charges, how tardy and timorous the bar is about making them, we have all seen demonstrated here, where the burden had become unbearable. But how many wrongs have fallen in isolated cases upon the weak and the poor, and upon the community where criminal jurisprudence is involved, nobody can surmise. . . . . The crop of embezzlements and defalcations and frauds which we are reaping flourishes, as it always has done, under the favouring influence of a weak and corrupt judiciary, to say nothing of vulgar crimes committed by ward politicians and men of 'influence.' By the elective system we notify the rogues in the community that the judiciary is weak, that they have a certain hold upon it, that they may bestow favours, which is tantamount to expecting favours in return."

In no other country have the working classes ever suffered so much from knavery as they have done in America: the potatoes there have not been more pitiably devoured by Colorado bugs than the men of tools have been preyed upon by all kinds of parasitical rogues. It is chiefly out of them that the advertising quacks and adulterators of goods have made a rich living. They have been

the victims of swindling insurance companies, bankrupt savings-banks, defaulting officials, embezzlements of clerks, cashiers, and trustees. They have been repeatedly thrown out of employment in thousands and reduced to beggary by the commercial panics which all kinds of dishonest speculation and trading on fictitious capital have produced. Indeed, the "smartness" and "'cuteness" which so abound throughout the States might well be considered by the labouring population as the chief obstacle to their prosperity, and the country's greatest curse. But what have they done to protest against this universal malfeasance and rascality which is seen conspiring to their hurt? What have they attempted politically to effect its suppression? Absolutely nothing! In some of the more lawless districts vigilance societies have occasionally been started to protect honest people from rogues—defensive organizations of far more advantage to working men than any of their own trade-unions; but they care not to join them, and seem to behold them with perfect indifference. As in our own country, they fight with blind infatuation against the great captains of industry to whom they are so immensely indebted, and regard with a very complacent feeling the cunning robbers of industry by whom they are so grievously wronged: they wish to be well secured on all sides from their provident friends, and do not mind being left at the mercy of their improvident foes. Indeed, the principal knaves, the leaders of the predatory class, are generally popular in America, just as the old freebooting chiefs used to be in Europe; their bold and ingenious swindles excite admiration, and any vigorous efforts on the part of the Federal Government for their suppression would be stoutly resisted as an encroachment on individual freedom. The

Americans in general prize liberty more than honesty, and desire to be let alone at their great game of outwitting each other; but they suffer collectively enormous loss by that game, even as in former times the rude and lawless freebooting clans and petty asserters of independence impoverished themselves by their custom of robbing all round.

Here, in England, knavery and corruption flourish largely in the more democratic districts, where the constitution of society approximates to that of America, and similar opinions prevail, but not nearly to the same outrageous extent as there, thanks to our great National Vigilance Society, or Monarchical Government. Whatever faults may attach to the English Monarchy in its present transition state, it cannot be charged with purchasing support by placemaking and jobbery; however extravagant its expenditure may be, it is at least an honest expenditure, and it gives the people a thoroughly honest administration of justice far above the contaminating reach of scoundrel rings and those who seek a return for their influence in helping elections. It is, moreover, every year making increased efforts to protect the public from the frauds of grasping and unprincipled traders; railways, factories, and mines are closely watched in behalf of the community; unseaworthy ships are looked after, unwholesome dwellings improved, the adulterators of goods are made to give an account of themselves, and betting knaves are hunted down and forced to abandon their vocation. When, therefore, we come to study national economy, and compare advantages and disadvantages with the people of the United States, it may be safely said that our Royalty is by no means so burdensome as their Roguery; and this will be freely admitted by many of the more thoughtful Americans themselves. The

following plain outspoken Virginian testimony was read with good effect by Mr. Scourfield when replying to Sir Charles Dilke in support of Prince Leopold's Annuity Bill (July 28th, 1874), and is worthy of repetition :—

"For the quiet and honest government which Queen Victoria has bestowed upon the English people for thirty and odd years, they might well afford to pay ten times the amount. It has not only been honest, quiet, and prosperous, it has been the freest government on earth. We flatter ourselves that we have the cheapest government on earth, but in reality our President is the most costly ruler in the world. The sums stolen by Federal officials would, on a moderate calculation, greatly exceed the total annual expenses of the Royal Family of England. Our English cousins had better pause. Either on the score of cheap and honest or good government they may not improve their condition by substituting Republicanism for Royalty."—*Richmond Whig.*

It cannot well be pleaded that the spirit of fraud and corruption which exists so generally throughout the United States is an evil incidental to all newly-settled countries, and quite independent of the system of government that may be established, for there is plainly no parallel to it in the neighbouring loyal Dominion of Canada, nor in any other of our widely-extended British Colonies. And it is well known that the political and commercial morality of the States was very much higher in their early colonial days, while they were still under the salutary monarchical influence of the mother country. Dishonest adventurers were occasionally met with then, but the practice of knavery never went so far as to taint the judiciary and the legislature, and commit the people to the repudiation of their public debts.

An American gentleman, speaking at a recent Baltimore meeting on the rapid progress of Australia, somewhat humorously observed, that while the early settlers of that country were mostly rogues, and their descendants had become respectable and thriving colonists, in America, where they boasted of having bands of religious men as the founders of their nation, people now seemed to be moving fast in an opposite direction, towards the goal from which the Australians started. He might have gone further, and said that the beginning of this great moral declension was the War of Independence, which, while it killed and drove away many thousands of good Royalists, converted the country into a vast city of refuge for all the revolutionary scum and fugitive rascaldom of Europe. De Tocqueville, a most impartial and by no means unfriendly observer of American institutions and manners, points to the source of much of the prevailing knavery in the following passage:—

"If the men who conduct the government of an aristocracy sometimes endeavour to corrupt the people, the heads of a democracy are themselves corrupt. In the former case the morality of the people is directly assailed, in the latter an indirect influence is exercised on the people, which is still more to be dreaded. As the rulers of democratic nations are almost always exposed to the suspicion of dishonourable conduct, they, in some measure, lend the authority of the government to the base practices of which they are accused. They thus afford an example which must prove discouraging to the struggles of virtuous independence, and must foster the secret calculations of a vicious ambition. . . . . The corruption of men who have casually risen to power has a coarse and vulgar infection in it, which renders it contagious

to the multitude."—*Democracy in America,* vol. i. p. 261.

Mr. Moncure Conway, a well-known American reformer, says: "The cost of the Queen may be onerous, but it can be paid in money; the Presidential election costs not only the same money, but the good fame of thousands of eminent men. . . . . Political agents have gone through the country as it were with buckets of tar, and with commands to blacken the character of every antagonist. And to this must be added the demoralization of the people by that wholesale bribery which rarely fails to make each Presidential election a monument of fraud. All this indicates the unhealthiness of such a competition in a Republic. It revives the bitterness of the old wars of succession in Europe."—*Republican Superstitions,* p. 105.

It is a trite saying, that what is cheapest is not always best or most profitable; yet many Republican writers, who are fond of comparing the working expenses of the American government with those of our own, seem to be under the impression that *cheapness* must necessarily signify *economy*. I can point to a farm in my neighbourhood which is managed on the cheap system: the implements are few and simple, the cattle unsheltered and ill-fed, and the annual sum expended in wages is very limited; yet, when I look to the results of this parsimonious procedure and observe the stock suffering from frequent casualties, and the crops choked with weeds, I am convinced that it is not economical, but the reverse. To make a profitable comparison between nations, or between individuals, for the purpose of showing which is the more economical, it is important that the parties so compared should be as near as possible in similar circumstances. If an impartial political writer were pursuing an in-

quiry of this kind, he would probably compare the United States with Canada, the Argentine Confederation with Brazil, and France with Prussia, but he would hardly think of weighing the budget of an old European country against that of a young nation of European colonists. The government expenses of England must, in many items, necessarily be greater than those of America, just as our church-building expenses are greater, and our railways cost more, and for the same reason that the British Museum cannot be kept up so cheaply as that of Barnum. It is certainly a great mistake to suppose that the Americans have an economical government just because the salaries of the principal officials are low, and some of their State departments, being still in a rudimentary condition, are but carelessly managed, or meanly and inadequately supported. On this subject De Tocqueville makes the following very sensible and noteworthy observations :—

"The persons who conduct the administration in America can seldom afford any instruction to each other, and when they assume the direction of society, they simply possess those attainments which are most widely diffused in the community, and no experience peculiar to themselves . . . . A democracy does not always succeed in moderating its expenditure, because it does not understand the art of being economical. As the designs which it entertains are frequently changed, and the agents of those designs are still more frequently removed, its undertakings are often ill-conducted or left unfinished: in the former case, the State spends sums out of all proportion to the end which it proposes to accomplish; in the second, the expense itself is unprofitable. . . . . It is the parsimonious conduct of Democracy towards its superior officers

which has countenanced a supposition of far more economical propensities than any which it really possesses. . . . . If the Americans never spend the money of the people in galas, it is not because the imposition of taxes is under the control of the people, but because the people take no delight in public rejoicings. If they repudiate all ornament from their architecture, and set no store on any but the more practical and homely advantages, it is not only because they live under democratic institutions, but because they are a commercial nation. The habits of private life are continued in public, and we ought carefully to distinguish that economy which depends on their institutions and that which is the natural result of their manners and customs. . . . . It is by examining what takes place in the Union, and not by comparing the Union with France, that we may discover whether the American Government is really economical. On casting my eyes over the different republics which form the confederation, I perceive that their governments lack perseverance in their undertakings, and that they exercise no steady control over the men whom they employ. Whence I naturally infer that they must often spend the money of the people to no purpose, or consume more of it than is really necessary for their undertakings. . . . . I conclude, therefore, without having recourse to inaccurate computations, and without hazarding a comparison which might prove incorrect, that the democratic government of the Americans is not an economical government, as is sometimes asserted; and I have no hesitation in predicting that if the people of the United States are ever involved in serious difficulties, its taxation will speedily be increased to the rate of that which prevails in the greater part of the aristocracies and monarchies of

Europe."—*Democracy in America*, vol. i. pp. 250—259.

We may occasionally meet with politicians who, while they admit that a monarchical government has many advantages over a republic, declare that they dislike our own, because they consider it much too costly, and maintained rather for ornament than utility. What they greatly desire to see is a more modest and inexpensive royal establishment, something after the pattern of that which exists in Holland, Sweden, or Denmark; and they seem to imagine that the majority of their countrymen are of precisely the same opinion, and that royalty is much to blame, that it does not curtail and reduce itself in accordance with their wishes. Their illusion, however, is great; all public costs are regulated by public opinion; and if they who object to the magnitude of our Civil List could only make themselves a majority in the nation, they would see their standard of monarchical economy speedily enforced. Not long since a Dissenting congregation in one of our large towns had occasion to rebuild their chapel, and debated respecting its design. Some of the members were for having a plain unadorned meeting-house, exactly after the pattern of the old structure; others thought that the considerable advance which the congregation had made in wealth and refinement should be fitly represented in their new place of worship, and as their voices prevailed, a handsome church-like Gothic edifice was erected. It is precisely the same with every flourishing nation when it desires to see additional splendour in its public buildings, and more grandeur in the surroundings of royalty. We have no better reason to expect the cost of our Monarchy to conform to the expenditure of poorer monarchies than to ask London to bring down the

magnificence of its municipal government to the standard which obtains in poorer cities. The bulk of the English people, typified by John Bull, are proud of their national wealth and power, which they wish to see properly represented in the Royal Family; and any display of meanness or parsimony on the part of their Sovereign they would regard with the greatest dissatisfaction. When the children of a rich farmer appear at the village church on a Sunday morning, there is no mistaking them in their handsome fashionable attire, the cost of which would probably suffice to clothe very decently half a dozen poorer families. But nobody thinks to blame these young people for extravagance, since they may be themselves of a very modest, contented disposition; and it is certainly not at their own option that they dress so expensively: they simply go forth in cheerful compliance and represent with the clothes they wear their parents' wealth and pride. We should regard in exactly the same light the children of the nation who have been reared at Windsor Castle and Balmoral: it is not at their own asking, or purely for their own pleasure, that the Parliament votes them such large sums of money from time to time, but for the pleasure of the people of England. So far as their own individual enjoyments are concerned, they might live very well as private citizens with a small fraction of their present income, and in all probability would not covet more; but as the people like their greatness to be represented by their chiefs, and want certain princely duties and benefactions performed, and desire to be occasionally entertained with pageants, they must necessarily be furnished with the means for discharging all these public functions with becoming credit.

So far from the generality of Englishmen be-

lieving themselves too heavily taxed for the support of the Royal Family, they feel like a well-pleased and enthusiastic audience, who rise up before a *prima donna*, and, not content with paying the stipulated price of their seats, manifest their admiration by presenting to the object of it handsome bouquets and other tasteful gifts in addition. Whenever the Prince and Princess of Wales choose to visit any of our most democratic towns, they are not told that they cost the country too much, but large sums of money are cheerfully raised to decorate the streets with triumphal arches, and give them a right grand and hearty reception. It was the opinion of Joseph Hume that the annual income which Parliament proposed to vote for the Prince Consort's use was far more than the people could afford, or would willingly give, yet they not only gave ungrudgingly the voted sum asked from them during his lifetime, but now feel themselves indebted to him, and manifest their gratitude by erecting noble monuments to his memory. Republican writers may ridicule all this, and call it "fetish worship" if they like, but they cannot change the prevailing popular sentiment, and statesmen have to reckon with it; and where courtly splendour and monumental exhibitions of loyalty are found to have a salutary influence on the public mind, it is not wise to take exception to their cost. Carping utilitarians are ever ready to exclaim, "Why was this waste made? The three hundred pence which were lavished on this fine spectacle might have been given to the poor." But in reality there is no waste; the poor are greatly benefited by the demonstration in an educational sense: their thoughts are lifted above the low animal excitements on which alms are too frequently expended, to contemplate the high dignity which

human nature is capable of attaining, and, sinking all selfish considerations, they form a communion of patriots firmly united in love for their common country, and in honour of its chief. "The Queen going to open Parliament," said a Radical friend to me some years ago, "is well worth seeing; it makes one less of a shopkeeper and more of an Englishman." To a rude, ignorant, and churlish people, the beholding of such pageants is fully as beneficial as their attendance on public worship: they are wonderfully impressed thereby; their imagination is profitably exercised, and their minds are elevated and instructed to an extent which no other form of teaching is able to effect. The money, therefore, expended to a reasonable extent on royal splendour is not thrown away. When we see the terrible disorders into which revolutionary nations are occasionally thrown, and the immense sacrifice of blood and treasure which accompanies them, no likely means for averting such calamities by the cultivation of loyal sentiment can well be considered too dear. It is indispensable for the peace of a country that its rulers should command wide and general respect; and, as every tradesman who embellishes his shop-front knows, there is no such thing as gaining respect from ordinary minds without being at some pains to keep up the recognized symbols of respectability. If the Prince of Wales, earnestly bent on moderating his expenditure, had gone to India with a carpet-bag, as Mr. Bright expressed it, a small number of enlightened Hindoos might have been found to appreciate his motive, and esteem him more highly in consequence. But the royal representative of England, without magnificent surroundings, would have been despised by the mass of the native people; and, as it is desirable that neither he nor we should be under-

estimated in that quarter, evidently parsimony in his equipment would not have paid. Moreover, it is far better and cheaper to cultivate loyalty among the Hindoos in this way than to overawe them with an imposing military force. Some who know India well have deemed the visit of the Prince to be worth more than an expedition of ten regiments for attaching India with increased steadfastness and confidence to the British rule.

Where large sums of money are spent by royal princes in the selfish pursuit of pleasure, in gambling excitements, and the cultivation of sport, there is not a word to be said by any one who has the public welfare at heart in its justification, though in certain cases much may be said for its excuse. In all countries there are a multitude of rich idlers, who have no political ambition, nor any inclination to make themselves useful to their fellow-men: their whole existence is a perpetual round of time-killing diversion, and they hover about courts, and persistently invite the junior members of royalty to "come and play" with them. If the princes are good-natured, obliging, and easy of access, they too readily favour these seductive persons with their presence, and soon come to like the charm of their conversation, and feel grateful for the entertainment they afford. Thus, in time, they will be likely to have a complete set of gay companions, skilful purveyors of amusement, pulling them on with united force in their own path of pleasure, and diverting them from the duty which they owe the country. Then, too, from receiving, as they generally must, a military education and cultivating a close relationship with the army, the military rather than the clerical standard of morals comes naturally to be impressed on their minds. Moreover, they soon learn that a puritanical stiffness in

princes is not looked for, and not generally liked, and that a free and easy habit, a disposition to enter heartily into the sports and festivities of the people, adds much to their popularity. It has been said, that if a king of Spain were to set himself up as a moral reformer, and dare to discountenance bull-fighting, it would cost him his throne. Though no such risk would be incurred here by an English monarch ceasing to be a patron of horse-racing, in the opinion of grave statesmen, who have no love for Epsom and Ascot, the time for withdrawing people from the turf by princely example has not yet come. While quite agreeing with Dr. Freeman, that "the habit of cringing to princes, of hiding or putting fair names on their vices, must have a bad moral effect," I think it a great mistake to expect such personages to head a reformation, or to be in every particular our moral exemplars and guides. Their position in monogamous countries is a peculiar one; they are subjected occasionally to temptations which ordinary people know nothing about, and such as only a stoic, or a saint, could resist; they are forced, in a measure, to represent their nation even in its vices, and if they can only succeed in moderating its partisan rancour, they must be expected to leave its further improvement to those who can afford to despise popularity. Royalty is, on the whole, very much like an old neutral hedge, which serves in my neighbourhood to divide two agricultural properties. This hedge might seem to some people a mere strip of unproductive waste which should be well grubbed up and got rid of; but it has been of great use: it has prevented numberless quarrels, it has enabled rival industries to go on side by side for many years in contentment and peace. True, it is not quite so trim and clean as it might be; there is this ob-

jection lying against it, that it forms to some extent a shelter and nursery for weeds. Extirpate these pests then, as much as you possibly can, by closer cultivation, but the uprooting of the hedge itself, while human jealousies remain unextinguished, will certainly be found false economy.

VII.—Monarchical and Republican Wars.

Having been for many years a determined opponent of war and needless warlike preparations, if it could be made clear to me that a Republic is more pacific than a Monarchy, that consideration alone would have immense weight in inducing me to be a Republican. In all the arguments, however, that have yet come under my notice, the attempt to prove this has been an entire failure. It is easy to point to a long list of warrior kings, "from Macedonia's madman to the Swede," that have filled the world with blood; but these renowned monarchs were not more addicted to fighting than the nations which they ruled; nor would they in a single instance have ventured on making war if they had not had the hearty support of a majority of their people. In truth it was their sanguinary feats that endeared them to their barbarous subjects, and without leading them to frequent victories, and risking their own lives freely in battle, they would have been despised as poor effeminate creatures, and could hardly have presumed on wearing the crown. The most popular kings that England ever had were not the wise and peaceful ones, but those who went

abroad without a shadow of right and wasted her blood and treasure in filibustering enterprises; the glory of conquest was held to cover a multitude of crimes. But war is not always successful, and if a warlike monarch gets the lion's share of glory in the case of victory, he also comes in for the scapegoat's share of ignominy in the case of defeat, of which no one was ever made more sensible in recent times than the unfortunate Emperor who became a prisoner at Sedan. After being taunted for years by the Republican press with raising an army to coerce the French people, and not daring to lead it against Prussia; when goaded at length to march on the Rhine, overmatched and swiftly and utterly beaten, the same press held him up as a monster of cruelty for involving a peaceful community in the horrors of war! So, when long ago the young Hebrew champion returned in triumph to Jerusalem, the cry was "David hath slain his tens of thousands"; at a later period, when he fled before the army of his rebellious son, he was saluted with "Come out, come out thou man of blood and thou man of Belial." Of all the hypocritical wolves in sheep's clothing that lift up their hands and denounce the wickedness of setting nation against nation in deadly strife, there are none to equal your quarrelsome and pugnacious Republicans. The celebrated Thomas Paine, writing to the American people a hundred years ago, said, "In England the King has little more to do than to make war and give away places; which, in plain terms, is to impoverish the nation and set it together by the ears. A pretty business, indeed, to be allowed £800,000 a year for, and worshipped into the bargain! Of more worth is one honest man to society and in the sight of God than all the crowned ruffians that ever lived." And the main object of the pamphlet which

contains this impeachment was to arrest the good work of reconciliation that was then making some progress with moderate and peaceable men, to sow further hatred and estrangement between two great kindred communities, and set them more and more together by the ears!

It is a well-known fact that monarchs have frequently to resist strong pressure from various classes of their subjects in the direction of war; and the most sagacious and far-seeing kings have invariably been reluctant to commence hostilities, and have sought to bring about the arrangement of international differences by peaceful means. The first man to propose a general confederation of European States for the prevention of war was Henry IV. of France; and while his benevolent scheme was heartily approved of by our James I., it met with no favour and encouragement from the warlike populations over whom they ruled. The similar proposal put forth in recent times by Napoleon III. awakened no enthusiastic response from his French subjects, and in England and other neighbouring countries was received by the newspapers with distrust and ridicule. Public feeling has been roused often enough to the highest pitch in favour of war, but there has never been in any country a really influential peace party, or a great popular movement to bring about a general disarmament, and urge on rulers the desirableness of having recourse to arbitration for the settlement of international disputes. The misunderstanding which occurred between Russia and the Western Powers in 1853, respecting intervention in the Turkish Principalities, would have been amicably arranged at Vienna if the English people in their blind rage had not become impatient of further diplomatic explanations, and eager to rush into hostilities. The

newspapers throughout the country were then only able to keep up their circulation by pandering to the popular war-cry; and Cobden, Bright, the Prince Consort, Lord Aberdeen, and a few others, who honestly endeavoured to moderate the terrible tempest of passion, were loaded with abuse for their pains and regarded as traitors or fools. When we see a great civilized community without any strong provocation thus filled with a spirit of implacable resentment, and worked up into a fighting fever as completely as any assailed tribe of red Indians, it is mere folly to assert that a free people are everywhere desirous to live at peace with their neighbours, and that war is an invention of kings. Undoubtedly the animosity that impels a democratic nation to war is often more directed at first against a foreign monarch than against the people whom he governs, just because it is ignorantly imagined that the people are mere pawns in the hands of a tyrant, and in no way responsible for the policy which their government pursues. This was evidently the case in our unwise conflict with Russia, and in our subsequent volunteer movement in anticipation of an invasion from France. Both Nicholas I. and Napoleon III. were more peacefully inclined than the great military nations which they ruled, and especially were more desirous to keep on good terms with England than their subjects cared to be; yet exactly the reverse of this was imagined by the English people, who like to pick out from an opposing host some distinguished person that may be regarded as a devil or monster of mischief, and concentrate all their wrath on his one head. The Russian press, moderated by the Imperial Government, was in the very midst of the war respectful and dignified in tone, never, by many degrees, so violently abusive of England as the American press has often been

in time of peace. The fact is, that in every community, great or small, the lower class are more prejudiced against strangers than the upper class, as well as more rude and uncourteous towards them. Abraham and Lot fed their flocks together in the land of Canaan, and maintained a very friendly relationship with each other, it was their ignorant herdsman who could not agree. When two regiments happen to be quartered in the same town occasional brawls are almost sure to break out between the private soldiers, and it is only through the good understanding subsisting between their respective officers that such disturbances are easily suppressed. So the various royal families of Europe, several of which are related to each other by marriage, and now exchange visits with a frequency formerly unknown, must naturally be more free from national prejudice, and more cosmopolitan in thought and disposition than their widely separated and prejudiced subjects. We are sometimes told, that if the kings were removed from Europe there would soon be brought about a general fraternity of peoples; but in reality the nations in casting away their crowns would only be breaking disastrously their invaluable golden links of amity and concord, each would soon be manifesting a more spirited foreign policy, and with all that might be done by democratic ambassadors to soften their asperities, the chances of war breaking out between them would be far greater than now, to say nothing of their increased liability to domestic strife.

The peers of this country are little inclined to promote war; they are not of a quarrelsome and vindictive spirit; and being well travelled, have little hatred and jealousy of foreigners. They are, therefore, naturally favourable to peace; yet by pandering to British pride and pugnacity, and

joining in a war-cry against some neighbouring State, *they can always render themselves popular.* Is it, therefore, any wonder that they should occasionally feel driven to resort to this policy by their democratic foes, who are constantly inciting against them the passionate multitude? We can hardly blame them in such a case, any more than we should think of blaming a maligned and mob-hunted man who, having a savage dog set at him, should dexterously divert the animal's fury on some other object for the saving of himself. It has been often remarked that if Louis XVI. and his nobles had been as pugnacious and politic as Napoleon and his marshals, and launched France into a great European war, they would have completely baulked the revolutionists and made their own position secure. A more enlightened aristocracy menaced in the same way by democratic agitation will naturally be disposed to profit by the teaching of history. It has at all events been repeatedly proved that nothing tends more effectually to heal internal discords and unite a divided people than confronting them with a common foe; but the prevention of the worst evil that can befall a nation, which all wise citizens aim at, is infinitely better than the martial cure.

It is chiefly from the misleading example of the United States (whose people have the undisputed run of a great continent, and are perfectly secure from invasion), that many still cling to the notion of Republics being more peaceful than Monarchies. If the poor vanishing Indian tribes could be converted into strong nations, or the land-greedy and go-ahead Americans could be made to change places with the Germans or Austrians, this illusion would quickly disappear. When Lord Brougham, little more than thirty years ago, ventured to represent

Republics as being pacific, in his *Political Philosophy*, he was ably answered by an Edinburgh Reviewer of that period in an argument which may be summarized as follows:—"In proportion as the people of France have been able to influence their government, they have forced it to engage in wars of conquest in the direction of the Mediterranean, Belgium, and the Rhine. Louis Philippe, a thoroughly peaceful king, steadily refused to lower the suffrage through fear that the Radical party would thereby gain such an accession of strength as to force France into a war. Beyond the Atlantic ambition has been the curse of everycountry in which the popular inclination has become dominant. The democracy of the United States bullied Spain out of Louisiana, bullied Mexico out of Texas, bullied England out of the Oregon Territory, and has more than once attempted to appropriate Cuba and Canada. As for the Southern Republics, no sooner were they freed from the monarchical influence of Spain and Portugal than they began to fight with one another for frontiers. If popular governments are prone to wars of ambition, still more are they inclined to wars of vanity. Let any practical diplomatist say whether it be easier to induce a Monarchical or a Republican minister to repair or even to confess a wrong, or to accept equitable terms of satisfaction or compromise. The comparative secrecy which covers the negotiations between monarchs saves their vanity, while a democratic government has to apologize to the people for every act of prudence or justice. Then an individual can generally be got to hear both sides of a question, but the multitude never listens to both sides, and holding itself to be obviously and notoriously right on every point, believes that it would be dishonoured in the face of all Europe by making the

slightest concession. Again, every democratic government is infested by faction, and, consequently, will often be accused by the opposition of quailing before foreign powers and sacrificing the interests of the country, and may be goaded at length by such taunts to make extravagant demands from which it cannot retreat without disgrace. Lastly, in a democratic nation the press has immense power for fanning the smouldering embers of any contemptible quarrel which has arisen with a neighbouring State, till it bursts out into a conflagration of war. A newspaper lives on events, and extends its circulation by taking of those events the view that best agrees with the passions and prejudices of the people. It is the demagogue of a community of readers, and, like other demagogues, is generally popular in proportion to its uncompromising partisan advocacy and the violence of its counsels."

The chiefs of the Republican parties in France, England, and other European countries, are generally quite free from the spirit of national selfishness and territorial greed, which characterises the American people; they also despise military glory and strongly reprobate wars of aggrandizement. "Perish the Colonies!" exclaimed Robespierre, in reference to the apprehensions felt respecting St. Domingo; "rather than depart from those principles of universal equality and brotherhood which it is our glory to have laid down." And when the poetic revolutionists, who led the Commune in 1871, decreed the levelling of the proud column of Vendome, to signify to the world their emancipation from the old barbarous worship of fighting-men. Felix Pyat desired to give a still more emphatic expression to the low estimation in which they held such heroes by having the bodies of Napoleon and the

murderer Tropmann exhumed and buried afresh in one grave. Perhaps these men, who so paraded their virtue and enlightenment, all deserved the rebuke that was given to the ascetic Diogenes when he boastfully trampled on the pride of Plato, and was told that he did it "with greater pride." Granting, however, the goodness and purity of their intentions in every instance, the unselfish enthusiasts, who start revolutions, are quite unable to communicate their own lofty sentiments to the ignorant multitude who follow their direction with entirely different feelings and aims. When they have succeeded in overthrowing the old government of force, and proclaimed the beginning of a new era of equality and fraternity, it is soon found with some surprise that the wolf will not lie down quietly with the lamb, and so much freebooting, turbulence, and anarchy, breaks out on every side, that a new government of force for its suppression becomes a necessity. Moreover, as the great wolf party, when fairly let loose, can only be ruled successfully by gratifying their wolfish instincts, in order to divert them from plundering at home, it is deemed expedient to direct their attention towards the frontiers, and hound them at any foreign nation with whom there exists a dispute, so that all their little predatory lusts shall be swallowed up in one grand scheme of territorial aggrandizement. Thus, at the end of the revolution, the Bonapartes step in to carry all before them, and the expectations of its philanthropic authors, who contend that all the denizens of the great political menagerie are brethren, and may live happily under sheep-fold government, will be further off than ever from being realized. If French Republicans seem to be at present less aggressive than at the commencement of the century, it is

only because they have a wholesome recollection of an overwhelming defeat; and Italy and Germany, which were then divided and weak, have now become united and strong.

A Republican working-man in my neighbourhood does not contemplate anything warlike in those bright political day dreams in which he so often indulges. He fancies that, when his representatives have obtained a majority in Parliament, repealed the Act of Succession, and packed the Royal Family off to Germany, all England will at once sit down quietly under President Bradlaugh, or President Arch, and a millennium of universal prosperity and contentment will be inaugurated. In the actual *dénouement* of things, however (supposing the first part of the revolutionary programme successful), these delightful rose-coloured anticipations would not only not be realized by a very long way, but would be cruelly reversed. The favourite demagogue, who now, in Liberty Hall or on Goose Common, can easily silence dissentient voices by means of his sturdy pugilistic police, would have a somewhat more difficult task to maintain order when mounted on the presidential throne, since disturbers who may be ejected from a room, or a field, easily enough, cannot so well be kicked out of a country, and the loyal cheers of the crowd of partisans gathered about him would be answered from every point of the compass by the disloyal groans of iron-throated cannon. Moreover, in addition to the powerful and persistent opposition which would have to be encountered from Monarchists, a surprising number of unhappy differences would break out in the ranks of the Republicans themselves; we may already hear more than enough of their quarrels and mutual abuse, and when no longer under the restraint of a higher law they

would soon be flying at each other's throats with the ferocity of bull dogs. The example of the leaders would be imitated by the people; no possible means would be found for settling all their rancorous disputes but by an appeal to arms, and so the talking man would be superseded in the Presidency by the fighting man, as in former revolutions; whichever party came out of the struggle victorious would place its general at the head of the nation, who must, of necessity, make his authority respected by an iron rigour, such as only a country that has been torn asunder by anarchy can be got to endure. As a further expedient for removing turbulent spirits, healing the prevailing dissensions, and rendering himself and his government more popular, the military president, whenever a favourable opportunity arose, would be under an irresistible temptation to stand up very stiffly for something more than his country's rights, and engage in hostilities with neghbouring powers. England, at this stage of her Republican progress, would certainly have a revival of Cromwell's spirited foreign policy, which some people so advocate; she would assume a bullying and bellicose attitude towards other nations with whom misunderstandings might arise, such as is now exhibited only by America, yet would not have the geographical advantages which America possesses for blustering successfully and escaping the penalty of war. And to carry on hostilities vigorously, the military president might negotiate loans year after year, and add enormously to our burden of debt, for so long as he obtained victories and brought barren glory to the Republic, those unreasonable people who have so much to say against the moderate expenses of our peace-preserving Royalty, would not in the least mind the cost.

It is sometimes assumed by Republican writers, that English working-men must be favourable to peace because their interest lies plainly in that direction: war, whatever be its results, will not cover them with glory, and is as sure to cause them suffering, as a succession of bad harvests; they will, therefore, it is supposed, be naturally desirous to avert such a dire calamity. But working-men, it is well known, are very far from being philosophers, although they have just now so many philosophical teachers; they are greatly under the influence of passion, and all people, when their passions become strongly excited, are carried along as by a whirlwind, and quite unable to reason clearly and keep their best interests in sight. The average British working-man is exceedingly pugnacious and distrustful, he cannot brook an affront, or good-humouredly bear his toes being casually trampled on, and he is still less capable of patiently submitting to anything that looks like being cheated. Those of his friends who have endeavoured to help him in the way of Benefit Societies and Co-operative Stores, have had ample experience of this; after giving both money and labour to better his condition, and expecting that their generosity would be requited with gratitude, it has not unfrequently happened that they have been astonished to find their honesty called in question by him, and that they are suspected of using him for their own selfish ends. Indeed, there is no honourable character sufficiently high to command his entire confidence; the present Lord Chief Justice he believes to be an infernal rogue, and in 1854 he had a very strong misgiving that Prince Albert was basely betraying the country.

Our artisans and miners have suffered enormously from strikes, for even when they have gained their

point in these struggles with their employers, the advantage, as in the case of a ruinous lawsuit, has generally been much more than devoured by the cost. Yet strikes are persisted in, for, being consumed by that terrible democratic feeling, *distrust*, ever suspicious that their masters, even the most benevolent, are cheating and oppressing them, they are worked up at length to resent this supposed wrong by the loss which will be inflicted from a sudden withdrawal of their services. And, so long as they can have the satisfaction of dealing a hard blow against the object of their unreasonable hatred, they care little about the consequent injury that will inevitably fall on themselves. Much the same feeling animated the farm-labourers during the incendiary period, when they sought to impoverish their masters, or flog them into a more liberal spirit by breaking their machinery and burning their corn-ricks. Tell the Irish peasantry that much of their poverty comes from the vast amount of English capital that has been driven or kept away by the assassination of landlords; what do they care for such reasoning when they labour under some petty grievance, and are half mad with a wild spirit of revenge? With just as little calculation as to consequences, our mutinous bands of artisans, when passion has moved them to annoy and inconvenience their employers, frequently succeed in driving trade from the neighbourhood, or in sending the provident wage-giver to other lands. Certainly, the whole of them are not so misguided and rash; in every large body there is generally a sensible peace-party to reason against a strike and predict the evils which it will inevitably entail; but they get persecuted, branded as cowards, and are forced at length to go with the violent majority. The only counsel readily listened to on such occasions is the

evil counsel of false prophets—the partisan newspaper and the paid demagogue—who have precisely the same crooked interest in taking a quarrelsome party's one-sided view as lawyers have when they promote litigation.

Prior to the Russian war I, along with some others, entertained the belief that the English working classes had become so far enlightened that they would not permit the Government to involve us in further continental quarrels and waste the country's blood and treasure to no purpose, as in the beginning of the century. To my surprise, however, the reasoning of Cobden and Bright produced no impression on them: they convened no great peace demonstrations, they made not the least stir to prevent the nation from drifting into hostilities, but seemed rather to enjoy the excitement, and with the newspapers which they read were disposed to blame the Government, not for precipitation but delay. During the severe winter of 1854–5 I fell in with a good many distressed mechanics, both in London and in Birmingham, and, while pitying their distress, deplored the culpable war by which it had been chiefly occasioned; yet not in a single instance did I get them to accord with my anti-belligerent views. They were not patriotic but Garibaldian: they invariably told me that they protested against all former wars in which England had been engaged because she had been constantly on the wrong side, but in the present instance felt constrained to go with her heartily because she was for the first time on the side of freedom and justice. I contested the absurd idea of our being engaged in a righteous war, and assured them that the armed assistance which had formerly been given to Holland and Spain against their French invaders was more worthy of coming

under that designation. Still less could I admit that such exploits as the burning of Archangel, the bombardment of Odessa, and the arming of hordes of Asiatic brigands and sending them to lay waste the farms of peaceful Russian colonists, could entitle the war to be regarded as a civilizing mission which would command the respect of other European States and call forth the blessings of an enlightened posterity. They listened to me patiently, and could bear being told of their faults and prejudices (as is always the case with workmen when addressed in small groups or individually), but persisted in clinging to the popular view, as set forth by the newspapers, and asserted that so long as they could see the great Russian despot punished as he deserved to be, they did not mind having to stand the cost. It soon became apparent to me that our working-men of Radical sentiments would heartily approve of any war that England might please to engage in, no matter on what pretext, if it only seemed directed against monarchs and men in authority, or in support of a foreign community "on strike." A Republican who some time ago lectured before the West-End Democratic Club, on the subject of "Landlordism and the Cat," expressed no humane belief that corporal punishment is in itself wrong at this date, but only a conviction that it is now applied to the wrong class of people. As reported by the Trades-unionist *Beehive*, he contended that landlords were the great robbers, the real criminals, and "were infinitely more deserving of the Cat than any of the wretched victims of their accursed laws, whom they had whipped for daring to follow on a small scale their own example." Republicans in general entertain precisely the same opinion of the scourge of war as it has been, and should in future be administered by this

country; they have no idea of condemning it as a a cruel and barbarous usage that might well be abolished, but believe that England has hitherto employed it chiefly for the punishment of poor rebels, and should henceforth follow the example of Garibaldi and use it wholly for the suppression of kings.

At the time of our being involved in the Turco-Russian embroilment of 1854–5 I was accustomed to hold in very high honour the entire peace party which at the beginning of the century had followed the lead of Fox in opposing the war with France. To me they then appeared unselfish, gentle, noble-minded Englishmen, who, having outgrown their nation's jealousies, and ceased to be captivated by the pomp and glory of war, desired to maintain amicable relations with all other States and not meddle in their domestic affairs. Of a large portion of that party—the Republican section—I am now compelled to entertain a very different opinion. I believe them to have been as selfish, sanguinary, and unscrupulous as any of the Parisian ruffians who fought in the armies of Hoche and Bonaparte, and they opposed the war with France only because Pitt's Government had engaged on the Monarchical side. Had they been able to effect a revolution in London and establish an English Republic, as they hoped to do, so far from maintaining peace, they would at once have formed an offensive and defensive alliance with the French Republic, and would have blockaded and overrun all Europe, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, causing more desolation in their fanatical crusade against kings than even that which resulted from the Thirty Years' War. Indeed, a considerable portion of them, when they despaired of succeeding in their revolutionary projects, emigrated to America and there exerted

themselves, with more than Fenian zeal, to increase the anti-British excitement, and urge the Republic to join with France in a combined war against their native land. De Tocqueville rightly commends Washington, the most monarchical man in America, for having successfully resisted this democratic war-cry, and held his countrymen firmly to the advantages of peace.

"The propensity which democracies have to obey the impulse of passion rather than the suggestions of prudence, and to abandon a mature design for the gratification of a momentary caprice, was very clearly seen in America on the breaking out of the French Revolution. It was then as evident to the simplest capacity as it is at the present time, that the interest of the Americans forbade them to take any part in the contest which was about to deluge Europe with blood, but which could by no means injure the welfare of their own country. Nevertheless, the sympathies of the people declared themselves with so much violence in behalf of France, that nothing but the inflexible character of Washington, and the immense popularity which he enjoyed, could have prevented the Americans from declaring war against England. And even then the exertions which the austere reason of that great man made to repress the generous but imprudent passions of his fellow-citizens very nearly deprived him of the sole compensation he had ever claimed—that of his country's love."—*Democracy in America,* vol. i. p. 273.

It might be thought that with three-quarters of a century of improved culture, and under the guidance of the great philosopher whom John Stuart Mill considered "a morality-intoxicated man," our English Republicans, excepting the very roughs, would now confine themselves strictly

to moral suasion, and would no longer exhibit the fierce, warlike propensities which possessed them at the time of the French Revolution. There seems, however, no indication of their having made any such decided moral progress, so far as can be judged from the part which they have taken in recent events, and the apologies which have been written in defence of Trades-union atrocities and the crimes of the Parisian Communists. I have somewhere read of an African Jew who, having murdered one of his coreligionists, and getting arrested and brought before the cadi, was in a fair way of being condemned to death, but at this juncture, as he very politickly changed his faith, and called himself a good Moslem, such a diversion of popular feeling was created in his favour, that he was very soon honourably acquitted, and escorted through the streets with acclamation. So, when imperial France, mad with jealousy and ambition, very unjustly made war on monarchical Germany, in the hope of appropriating the long-coveted Rhine provinces, the reverses which she speedily suffered were deemed by English Republicans exceedingly well-merited, and they rejoiced at the prospect of witnessing her complete overthrow. After Sedan, however, France, as represented by her revolutionary capital, thought it well to repudiate Napoleon and proclaim herself a good Republican, when instantly those of that political faith in England who had previously condemned her, raised a sympathetic cry in her favour, no longer deemed her a criminal, but a heroine, and were enthusiastic to march to her assistance. A little liberation war of a character quite as noble and chivalrous may be occasionally witnessed in the back-slums of London when a sympathising mob rush with a shower of brickbats to rescue some malicious, lying, screaming

virago from the hands of the police. Mr. Frederic Harrison, who, perhaps, stands even higher than Professor Beesly in the estimation of our Republican working-men, writing, December, 1870, in the *Fortnightly Review*, thus gives expression to their eagerness to help defeated France, and indicates very plainly that if we ever get a government of their creation, we shall not have in this country peace and economy exhibited, but war and wastefulness.

"Let money, guns, and supplies alone be poured into France with the aid of the English fleet, and it may be well believed that France could turn the tide. She has a million of men in arms. What she needs is time, and every material of war. And if that did not suffice, let 100,000 men in red, equipped with every munition of war, be planted in some spot in Brittany or Normandy, where, supplied and covered by the fleet, they might take up a new Torres Vedras. Then let Paris fall or not, with the incalculable moral support, and inexhaustible material supplies of England, France would not fall. . . . . Let it be known that the whole heart and power of England was on her side, English gold, stores, and materials pouring in at every port, and an English entrenched camp as a reserve, and the tenacity and heroism of France would do the rest. . . . . The attitude of the French Republic and people under the German yoke" [ah, and since then, the attitude of poor Sir Roger under our own judicial yoke!] "has sent a thrill through the English workmen greater than anything that has happened since 1848. They are watching their own rulers with ill-restrained impatience and indignation. . . . . They are ready for sacrifices in blood and money. But one thing they will not suffer. They will not see their governing

classes shrinking from any real action in Europe, and timidly reducing this country to a nullity whilst feebly patching up our own rotten military system at home by resorting to the device of tyranny abroad."

No better indication can be afforded of the warlike disposition of our Republican working men instructed by Comtist philosophers, than the readiness with which they contribute their hard-earned money on all occasions in support of foreign insurrections. The Irish labourers of New York have not been more heavily committee-taxed for the raising and equipment of the Fenian army than have London and Birmingham artisans to supply weapons to the bands of sanguinary ruffians which at various times have attempted to get up a petty revolt in different parts of the Continent. However despicable and hopeless the outbreak may be, if merely a plot of brigands or thieves in patriotic guise for the purpose of plunder, it is sure to be regarded by the enthusiastic democrats who assemble with radiant faces at their Hall as a spark of great promise, which, if carefully fed and fanned into a strong flame, may presently grow to such a magnificent conflagration as shall revolutionize all Europe. Every sensible Englishman looks on with pity and sorrow when English money, which might have been devoted to educational and other good purposes at home, is thus wildly spent in promoting the worst mischief abroad. There is still one consolation left—all which is so wickedly and foolishly squandered is at least given voluntarily: working men frequently have to contribute to support a strike of which they entirely disapprove, but there is at present no coercive Union power to compel them to aid a foreign insurrection. But what if these warlike Republicans should ever secure the

reins of government in England, and have the levying of taxes and the disposal of the English army and fleet? The voluntary aid which is now afforded to all the fanatical incendiaries and revolutionary rascals of Europe would then become compulsory, with a vengeance, and where only thousands of pounds are now fooled away for that purpose, we should soon have to sacrifice many millions. In short, wherever an army of beaten Republicans or body of repulsed rebels were known to exist, a Quixotic expedition of "men in red" would be sent to their assistance, and half the wealth of England would soon be dissipated in equipping such expeditions, in subsidizing foreign insurgents, and in supporting all disaffected provincial communities who were endeavouring to start a revolution. The costly intermeddling in Continental affairs which Pitt and Palmerston delighted in, for the purpose of maintaining the "balance of power," would be completely cast into the shade if the British Lion should ever come to be nose-led by a Comtist or a Garibaldian party, who would use that term in the sense of taking from the rich and giving to the poor, and reducing all Europe to its primitive condition of tribal equality.

Even now that they are not in power, our Republican agitators, with peace and economy ever on their lips, are advocating an opposite policy with their actions, and helping considerably to augment the national expenditure. By their menacing attitude, and avowed revolutionary designs, they keep the Government in a constant state of apprehension, even as the Fenians still more alarmed it a few years ago, and so force upon it the cost of providing additional means of defence. It has often been observed of fiery revolutionists, as of tyrants and

persecutors, that for want of the statesman's cool, sagacious mind, they entirely fail to anticipate the inevitable recoil that must come from an indiscreet blow, and thus often produce results exactly the opposite of what they expected and designed. When Orsini went over to France for the purpose of assassinating Napoleon III. he had no thought of provoking a bad feeling in the French army against England, which should produce a counter-irritation here, and so lead to an increase of military preparation and its consequent burdens in both countries. When the Parisian Communists shot Archbishop Darboy, and boldly flaunted their atheism in the face of Europe, it was not their intention to revive mediæval pilgrimages and scare the religious world back a long way in the direction of bigotry and superstition. These revolutionary dreamers had, in each case, visions of very different, very glorious things, which they earnestly desired to bring about for the blessing of humanity; yet precisely such consequences as did follow, or something similar, any reflective person whom they might have consulted would, without any hesitation, have foretold. English revolutionists, thanks to the moderating influence of the national temperament, are much less imaginative, fanatical, and violent than their Continental brethren, but their unwise advocacy has the same revulsionary tendency; they miscalculate and blunder as egregiously in their own way, they set out to push the world on at a rattling speed in the path of reform, and become the marplots of human progress. Our working men might certainly do, so far as their own country is concerned, what John Ruskin says women could do—they might put a stop to war and its tremendous burdens if they were only in earnest, and would set about it in the right way,

but they could not find a more decidedly wrong way of proceeding than by attempting to establish a Republic. If they wish the Government to curtail its expenses and lay aside some portion of its costly armour as superfluous, they should endeavour by gentle manners and loyal conduct to inspire it with confidence; they should act upon it as the Sun acted on the Traveller's defensive cloak, and not imitate the unwise and unsuccessful fury of the North Wind, and make it evident that they hope to see it disarmed in order to take advantage of its weakness.

VIII.—Monarchical and Revolutionary Progress.

There are probably no people in whom the love of progress is more strongly developed than in our English Republicans; every advance of science, every step forward in the world, every improvement on the old ways of mankind, invariably comes to them as a piece of good news and is greeted with a glow of enthusiasm. But those who are loud advocates of all onward movement and ever getting up demonstrations over magnificent schemes of reform, may be themselves much less progressive than some of their quiet neighbours who confine themselves to minding well their domestic affairs. Example is of infinitely more worth than precept in assisting the great march of civilization; people are instructed and improved not so much by what they hear spoken as by what they see done; the world may be said to move forward

on a pavement of patterns; it is ready enough to imitate the noble acts of its teachers, though slow to regard their advice. And this fixed disposition of people to follow deeds rather than words is well understood in every department of the useful and fine arts. At our modern Industrial Exhibitions, for instance, the eloquence of preachers and orators is little known, arguments and exhortations urging to amendment are seldom heard, but people go within and look on intently and they come away enlightened. Mechi, Howard, and Huxtable set all their neighbours thinking of agricultural improvement by only producing their patterns; Watt, Stephenson, Arkwright, and Wedgwood waste not their powers in stumping the country and getting up an art-reformation excitement; they content themselves with labouring at home more ingeniously than other people, and their works soon make the tour of the world. And why should not our bawling and ambitious political agitators and regenerators of society condescend to teach by example too in a humble and effective way? A yard of work is worth a mile of wind. If the art reformer's wiser arrangement of material is certain to be extensively imitated, so will the social reformer's better arrangement of men. — A model village, which plainly conduces to human well-being, can no more fail to attract attention and excite emulation than a model farm or plough. Robert Owen, on his Socialist estate in Hampshire, rightly had faith in this force of example, and so also had Feargus O'Connor on his Chartist estate in Buckinghamshire, and however complete their failure, both these reformers are worthy of commendation for exhibiting their patterns in this honest way and putting their theories to a practical test. It is better to have one gun burst in the arsenal than to

go on to construct a whole train of bad artillery which shall presently break down in the field; a hundred such little collapses as those of Harmony Hall and O'Connorville are infinitely preferable to committing the nation to carry out a grand Utopian scheme which shall result in such a failure as that of the French Revolution. Our co-operative mines, co-operative mills, Saltaires and Shaftesbury estates, are all good and interesting social experiments, and so far as they are successful are as sure to be imitated throughout the country as the Ragged School and the Temperance Reading-Room. While the originators of such undertakings and the founders of new colonies are worthy of the highest respect, we cannot visit with too much reprobation those revolutionary fanatics who will not be content with any other experimental field than that which can be obtained by setting a kingdom in flames. The world-grasping ambition of such reformers as the Parisian revolutionists defeats itself; despising small and humble beginnings, they raise a great national commotion that shall attract at once the attention of all Europe, and the end of their gigantic movement is not a paradise but a pandemonium.

The Secularist writer, Mr. Charles Watts, in his tract entitled *The English Monarchy and American Republicanism*, complains that monarchical government has always been steadily opposed to our great political and social reforms. "Upon what page of history," he asks, "is it recorded that modern progress has sprung from monarchy? The liberties we now have were dearly bought by the energies and self-sacrifice of those brave men whose aspirations and labours were sought to be crushed by royalist intrigues and aristocratic exclusiveness. The lever that impelled forward political and social

freedom was found among the masses apart altogether from the occupants of the throne."

This is a very prevalent opinion with English Republicans—that Monarchical government is a mere stone of obstruction in the path of mankind. But is there a single instance of an independent savage community rising into a civilized state under any other form of government than that of a Monarchy? What nation was built up by Rousseau or Robespierre? What tribe was ever elevated in the scale of humanity by the levelling arguments of a demagogue or a revolutionist? The Americans, who are inheritors of a monarchic civilization, have never been able to do for the natives of their continent what the English aristocracy did for their rude forefathers. Monarchy at the present day can in no respect be considered an antiquated institution: like the "governor" which is wisely affixed to every locomotive engine, it is not at all opposed to progress, but simply aims at moderating the progress which is dangerous and likely to result in disaster. It is not the business of any Government to initiate reform movements or to take sides with a party of reformers; its duty is to hold the balance fairly between the nation's conservative and progressive sections and to maintain peace. When an energetic reform party instead of working patiently to educate the mass of their countrymen up to their own advanced views, endeavour to carry their measures by violent means in the face of an opposing majority, the wise and far-seeing statesmen who consult the general interest of the community must necessarily endeavour to keep them in check. Every Government, Republican as well as Monarchical, is compelled to hold some kind of mediatory position and repress the action of violent extremists or it will soon cease to be a Government. If an unex-

pected revolution were to conduct Mr. Bradlaugh and his friends to power in this country, he would be immediately branded as an enemy of progress by some flyaway party of ultra reformers that would still exist, just as Cromwell was impugned in his day, and as Gambetta is now assailed by the intemperate Radicals of Belleville. In America no less than with us new reform movements originate with the people apart altogether from the Government authorities, and are carried to a successful issue by the energies and self-sacrifice of brave men whose aspirations it might be said presidential intrigues have endeavoured to crush. The philanthropic designs of Wendell Phillips and other enthusiastic Abolitionists were not assisted by Daniel Webster, were repeatedly thwarted by President Buchanan, and even by his successor Mr. Lincoln, till the movement had, in consequence of the Southern Secession, acquired such force that the chief magistrate and his ministers deemed it politic and safe to move with it. No blame or dishonour can be attached to the American rulers for this cautious and hesitating course; they simply did their best to maintain peace between the conservative and reforming sections of the country so long as that was possible; and even if there had been at Washington a monarchical government which had delayed the emancipation of the slaves for a few years and averted the calamitous civil war, it would not in consequence have deserved to be stigmatized as an enemy of progress.

The statesman is a skilful physician, who understands the constitution of his patient and knows well that chronic ailments must have chronic remedies; the agitator, on the other hand, is a conceited quack, who in hurrying to heal up some conspicuous sore only makes matters worse and is very

near on killing the man. If the Northern Americans instead of being excited by agitators had been guided by sagacious statesmen, they would have sought to reform the industrial system of the slaveholders by mild and rational means; they would have purchased tracts of land throughout the South and established thereon model plantations to be cultivated wholly by free labour, and trusted to these experiments being speedily copied when there was once a satisfactory proof of their success. But such a proceeding was not at all to the taste of the noisy, hot-headed Abolitionists: they preferred making "underground railways" and liberation raids, inflaming the public mind by depicting slavery horrors in exaggerative works of fiction and sensational stump oratory, and at length provoking the Southern people to fight against odds, and forcing on them the penalty of unconditional emancipation. Then, after a prodigious sacrifice of life and wealth such as the world had never before witnessed, they made the unparalleled mess of setting muscle to rule mind: they liberated the ignorant negroes who did not immediately and urgently want liberty, and placed them over their white masters who did not want subjection, so that where general contentment reigned, there has since required a strong military force to prevent a general outbreak. If the constitution of society was unsatisfactory in the Southern States before the war, it has now (up to the time of President Hayes's hopeful accession) become decidedly worse, for there was not then the hostile feeling between the two races that has since existed, nor half the cruelty perpetrated. The negro in subjection to the white, if badly treated in many instances, was like the ass of the fable when ridden by man and boy, at least in his natural position and able patiently to

endure his hardship, but now that he is set above the white (if this absurd *régime* is to continue) he will be like the doomed ass carried along on the shoulders of his former masters to be ultimately tumbled into the river. A monarchical government which would have prevented the great fratricidal struggle of 1861–4, with its long train of disastrous consequences, was considered a check to human progress by those who fought under Washington a hundred years ago for the division of our empire and the weakening of our race, and is still so considered by all revolutionary fanatics who are eager to propagate their faith with the sword. Perhaps it might also be said by certain furious and reckless drivers, that the obelisk, the lamps, and the policeman which are placed to prevent accidents at the crossing of two crowded London thoroughfares, are a sad interruption to progress, but we should be very unwise, at the bidding of such people, to have the regulation removed and the way cleared for fatal collisions. What we really want is a peaceful and orderly progress for all parties in the State, and not the trampling of one section under the feet of another: the world is not improved by Garibaldian blows; civilization is not advanced by the devastating and blood-stained march of a body of excited revolutionists.

Paine, the celebrated American revolutionist, admiring the democratic simplicity of the Society of Friends, while eschewing their ascetic notions, said rightly, that our world would have been a poor, dull, unmusical, drab-coloured place if created by the Genius of Quakerism. And so it is manifest that there would have been much less variety in it than we now find if it had had its origin from the Genius of Republicanism. In the ordering of human progress the Republican spirit would have

established some kind of trades-union regulation; one man would not have been allowed to excel another in learning or skill, nor one race to get the start of another in the great march of civilization, but sage and simpleton, Caucasian, Mongolian, Negro, and all the rest, would have been required to join hands and move forward at a uniform pace. Moreover, every human being would have been born into the world a perfect adult, with all his faculties fully developed; he would have been constituted free and independent through the whole period of life, so that a genuine democratic brotherhood should exist, and there should be no possible ground for establishing any kind of subordination or rank which to Republican eyes is so detestable. If we actually had such a constitution of nature as a divine Rousseau or Paine would have been sure to give us, we should do rightly to have our political and social institutions adapted thereto, we might wisely make all our government arrangements accord with nature's evenness and uniformity. But since we have not the world of perfect manhood which they would have made, and which millennial dreamers are so fond of depicting, we must conform to the actual state of things which we see around us; our political and social economy must be fitted for Europe and not for Utopia. The Quaker's one grade is no more in harmony with the variations of nature than his one colour. Progress, as advocated by Paine and all Republicans of his stamp, is simply *premature promotion*, it declares the savage to be on a level with the civilized man, but does not elevate him in reality, it only makes him very much like a spoilt child.

In a good elementary school we shall find a recognition of nature's unevenness; the scholars will be carefully classed in standards, and receiving

different courses of instruction according to their mental development. No gain could possibly result from breaking up this arrangement, and advancing all the lower scholars to the position of the higher. The children so advanced might possibly imagine that they had made a great educational stride, but actually they would be thrown out of gear by the change, and their instruction and improvement would for the time be retarded. It is pretty much the same with the education of mankind as carried on in the great university of the world; the nations, the churches, the societies which we see around, are all so many classes and groups organized for instruction, and exhibiting different standards of intellectual progress. And you cannot benefit any such community or any member thereof by endeavouring to lift them far above their natural level, or bringing to bear on them an advanced culture that they have not yet attained to, and for which their minds are wholly unprepared. Hence the failures which have resulted from all the great organized efforts of religious and political proselytism. Hindoo jugglers profess to plant a seed under a cloth, and from that seed, in the space of half an hour, cause a tree to spring up, unfold its branches, bud, blossom, and bear fruit; but impatient conversionists have never been able by any similar miracle or forcing process to cause the human mind to completely overshoot all its gradations of natural development. Hence, too, the entire failure of revolutionists to bring the least civilized or hindmost section of a great community up to a level with the foremost by merely changing their country's political constitution and laws. The leaders of the great French Revolution had a burning enthusiasm to reduce all the irregularities which they saw around them to a standard

of uniformity, and in this they were tolerably successful so long as they had to do with anomalies which were merely conventional, such as the national weights and measures and the limits of provinces; but when they attempted to regulate the natural unevenness of French minds and their dependent material possessions, they blundered egregiously; and from the disastrous consequences of their levelling legislation the country has never yet recovered.

The most sagacious and farsighted Frenchmen of the present day differ widely from the shallow *philosophes* of the eighteenth century, whom our Radical Rip Van Winkles still cross the Channel occasionally hoping to meet; they begin to regard their once glorious Revolution as the ruin of France. They admit that some few wise and salutary reforms have resulted from the great struggle as reforms generally come after the burning of a city and every other calamity, but contend that these improvements would have been much better delayed for half a century, or gradually carried out, than precipitated at such a tremendous cost. They perceive that England in the last hundred years has made much more progress by patient, steady marching than France has been able to effect by a series of harum-scarum leaps and theatrical somersaults which have left her exhausted, crippled, and covered with wounds.

"A very false idea in many respects of human society," says Ernest Renan, "is at the bottom of all French revolutionary attempts. . . . . The transcendent function of humanity is not performed by means of the simple coexistence of individuals. Society is a hierarchy. Every individual composing it is noble and sacred, every being (even the animal) has its rights, but all are not equal, all are

members of a vast body, parts of an immense organism which is accomplishing a divine work. The negation of this divine work is the error into which French democracy easily falls. Considering the only object of society to be the satisfaction of the individual, they are led to disregard the rights of ideas, the supremacy of mind. Not comprehending, moreover, the inequality of races, because ethnographical differences have, in fact, disappeared within her limits from time immemorial, France has learned to conceive of society as a sort of universal mediocrity. . . . . The man of the people maintains that perfect justice will not be done until all Frenchmen are placed from their birth in exactly the same conditions. If this notion be rigorously carried out, no organized society is possible. A nation which should follow out such a programme would condemn itself to incurable weakness. Suppressing the right of inheritance, and thereby destroying the family, or leaving it optional, it would soon be got the better of, either by those portions of its own people who still adhered to the old order of things, or by foreign nations who still retained their ancient principles. The race which triumphs is that in which the family and property are most strongly organized. . . . The wholly negative basis which the hard and unimaginative men of the Revolution assigned to French society can only produce a surly and ill-mannered people; their code, the offspring of distrust, lays down as a first principle that the value of everything may be estimated in money, that is to say, in pleasure. The whole moral theory of these so-called founders of our laws may be summed up in *jealousy*. Now, jealousy is the foundation of equality, but not of liberty; putting a man constantly on his guard against the encroachments of his neighbours, it

renders courtesy between the several classes impossible. There can be no society without affection, without traditions, without respect, without mutual amenity. With its false notion of virtue, which it confounds with the stern vindication of what each one regards as his right, the democratic school fails to see that a nation's chief virtue consists in its members looking beyond their individual sphere, and working together with hearty good will for the promotion of its welfare. For this school the most virtuous race is not the race which practises self-sacrifice, devotion to duty, idealism in all its forms, but the most turbulent and revolutionary. The most intelligent democrats are much surprised when they are told that there really are virtuous races still in the world—the Lithuanians, for example, and the Pomeranians—races full of vigorous reserved strength, understanding duty like Kant, and for whom the word revolution has no meaning." —*Constitutional Monarchy in France*, pp. 18—31.

Every individual, from being unequally gifted—strong in one point and weak in another—must necessarily be benefited and made more perfect by organic association, that is, by uniting his weakness of mind or muscle with another's strength, and his strength with another's weakness, and therefore the supposed gain that would result from universal independence is illusory. In order to enjoy the greatest aggregate amount of happiness, we must learn to subject self to the welfare of society, and not sacrifice society to our own private ends. This is what the generality of democrats entirely fail to see: it is in vain to tell them that "England expects every man to do his duty," they care only for the sturdy assertion of individual rights, and cry, "Every man for himself." Imagine our planet broken up into myriads of asteroids and aërolites, all

asserting their independence and whirling in various directions through space, and you will have a very good conception of what democratic progress means; it is a progress from Cosmos to Chaos, from order to anarchy, from civilization back to barbarism. It is by no means intended to represent here that *all* democrats are selfish, for some few, it is well known, are eminently unselfish, even to sacrificing their lives for what they conceive to be the true welfare of humanity. The philanthropic democrat who seeks to reduce mankind to a level, is not moved by envy, but by commiseration: his constant aim is not the bettering of his own condition, but the elevation of the ignorant and poor. Yet, however generous and benevolent he may be, by unwisely humouring the passionate demands of discontented and envious individualists, he encourages the growth of selfish feeling, just as much as the indulgent grandame does in the midst of a group of spoilt children. The *unreasonable trust* which a philosopher of Robert Owen's type reposes in the selfish multitude is just as hurtful to social order as the *unreasonable distrust* which an ordinary democrat feels towards his natural superiors. Each falls into the common error of judging the world too much by his own moral standard, or of fancying that the rest of mankind are moving pretty much on the same plane as himself. Honour, chivalry, and generosity are so alien to the disposition of one, that he cannot believe that human nature is ever capable of such sentiments; while the other is so large-hearted and benevolent that he finds it hard to suspect that the mass of his fellow-men are of a baser spirit, or only to the very slight extent that education might easily correct.

When the great French Revolution broke out, some of the benevolent philosophers who had helped

to excite it, on the false assumption that the Parisian roughs were by nature as good gentlemen as themselves, only suffering from neglect and oppression, imagined that by a little mild reasoning, by simply appealing to the *sans culotte's* innate sense of honour and justice, they might easily check his excesses. So far, however, from arresting in this way the storm of passion and brutality which had been evoked, they only brought destruction on themselves. Discipline and deference to superior judgment are wholly unknown in the camp of Democracy; if the philosopher advises the intemperate agitator to adopt a more moderate tone, he is not listened to, and neither is the agitator regarded by his ruder followers only so long as he goes in the direction of their own selfish feelings and demands. When Mr. Bradlaugh, at the last Northampton election, told his disappointed and angry supporters to go home quietly, the prompt answer was, "We won't!" and straightway they began a riot, broke the windows of the Mercury Office and Palmerston Hotel, and were only checked at length in their lawless career by the appearance of a military force. There are certainly no people who profit more from the maintenance of a Monarchical government in this country, or who would suffer more from its destruction, than the leading revolutionists; it serves them both as a target against which they can direct their critical arrows, and so acquire a popular reputation, and as a friendly shield which interposes between them and the inevitable fate of those who are left, like the Girondins in 1793, to reason face to face with a reigning mob.

It has been the fashion with a number of recent writers to lay the chief part of the blame which is attached to the French Revolution at the doors

of the aristocracy. Nothing can be more unjust than such attempts to make one man or one class of men, the scapegoat for the sins of an entire nation. The French aristocracy before the Revolution were undoubtedly corrupt, but not more so than the middle and lower classes: vice, folly, levity, irreligion, and the disorganizing spirit of selfishness had infected the whole community. When the ruffianly mobs assailed the mansions of French noblemen, murdered the occupants, and paraded about with their heads hoisted on poles, they did not accuse their victims of any want of virtue or of having failed in their paternal duty, neither did they single out the profligate peer for vengeance and spare his honourable and benevolent neighbour, they considered all to deserve death equally with the King and Queen, simply on account of their exalted position and their antagonism to the great revolutionary principle of Human Equality. So too the French democratic writers of that period did not raise an indignant cry against the licentiousness of the aristocracy, for they were for the most part licentious themselves; the unpardonable offence of both nobles and priests, in their eyes, was an infernal conspiracy to keep the people in ignorance, superstition, and slavery. They imagined that it was only necessary to break up this league of darkness and the benign light of philosophy would at once be diffused, as by magic, throughout the length and the breadth of the country, till every French peasant should, in point of intelligence, rise to the level of his former masters, and become a free, wise, and dignified specimen of humanity. These revolutionary philosophers prated about the world's delusions; but since the world began, were ever any people under a greater delusion than they who set about with all their might to interrupt and

retard, when they meant to have accelerated, human progress ?

The recoil from the ancient errors of asceticism, which was one of the distinguishing features of the French Revolution, has carried a portion of mankind a great deal too far in the opposite direction. We are now constantly meeting with benevolent people who, not seeing clearly the advantage of hardship and adversity in our moral education, seem eager to relieve the least wise and least provident of their fellow-creatures from all disciplinary suffering. Many parents may be seen who have come to prosper greatly and better their position in life solely because they were in early youth inured to toil and privation, yet they are firmly resolved that their children shall not undergo a similar training; everything shall be made smooth and easy for them ; instead of being required to climb a rugged path of drudgery for the attainment of excellence, they shall be conveyed in a chariot along a pleasant royal road. The unfortunate young people so indulged escape a little sharp wholesome corrective pain, but in the end have to suffer for it a hundredfold ; they cannot curb their passions or persevere in a wise course, or brace themselves up to any sustained exertion ; they are utterly unfit to contend with adverse circumstances, or maintain the position in which they have been reared, but make false moves in every direction, and sink more and more into supineness, prodigality and ruin.

Unwise philanthropists sometimes do for the poor and improvident class in this country precisely what indulgent parents do for their children ; they go on feeding their vices and starving their virtues, and while thinking to better their lot, humour [illegible] to demoralization and death. Here is a

benevolent gentleman who has accumulated a vast fortune by commercial enterprise; he is descended from a poor working man who, during the last century, was for several years earning wages which scarcely amounted to more than eighteen shillings a week. His family has, in three generations, steadily advanced to its present lordly position by dint of industry, sobriety, honesty, and thrift, virtues which have been brought out and perfected by good parental training and discipline. He looks around with intense commiseration on a number of poor families in his neighbourhood who seem, during that period, to have made no progress whatever in the same direction, simply because their minds are weaker and incapable of steady application for the attainment of a distant object. It is, then, this mind-strengthening discipline which he received that they evidently want, but they never ask for it, nor believe that they stand in the least need of it; their cry is not "Give us more virtue," but "Give us more wealth," which, of course, a rich philanthropist finds it much easier to give. He, therefore, with the greatest goodnature, yields to their cry, but instead of elevating them and improving their condition, as he fain would do, only lowers them morally and makes them more wretched than before. Improvident and self-indulgent people, whether children or poor shiftless adults, cannot possibly be benefited by increasing in wealth faster than they advance in virtue; they must necessarily by such means suffer harm. To have more money in the pocket than one can profitably use, is like having more food in the stomach than can be well digested; it not only fails to strengthen, but positively weakens the possessor. The silly nurse who fancies that her fever-patients are underfed, and require nothing but a generous

diet to raise them at once out of their prostrate condition, is not more of a quack than the indulgent philanthropist who believes that a mere increase of income will suffice to elevate from their present degradation the most wretched of our toiling multitudes.

Some years ago a charitable lady, on coming to reside in a rural parish, began directly to pour her benevolence on one notoriously ragged family; she clothed the children afresh, gave them various little presents, and fancied that she was so lifting them out of their beggarly condition, and putting them on a level with their more decent neighbours. But as the outward wretchedness of these poor people came wholly from internal defects, she of course failed in her good purpose; and when she came to know them better, gave up all hope of their being, by any amount of almsgiving, regenerated. If, instead of doling direct alms, she had assisted the family every week through the hands of their employer by adding a few shillings to their wages, although their little sense of self-respect might have been unimpaired, they would have become more reckless in their living, and would scarcely have exhibited any better result. Our revolutionary poets and philosophers wish to have the experiment of this benevolent lady repeated on a grand national scale; they believe that if the provident class would only bestow half their wealth on the improvident, it would at once raise them in the order of civilization, banish all the present misery and destitution which we see around us, and produce a happy mediocrity. They are wofully mistaken; the true mission of an enlightened philanthropy is not to pet the raggedest and wretchedest denizens of our great cities, not to encourage indolence, drunkenness, and a hundred other vices, but to help those

who help themselves. When thousands of unfortunate Hindoo, French, and American people have been thrown into the greatest distress by famine or half ruined by a conflagration or flood, we do well to raise and send large subscriptions for the purpose of cheering them and putting them again on their legs. It is not, however, considered incumbent on us to supply food and money relief to the still more impoverished Patagonians or the Australian blacks, because destitution is their natural and ordinary state, and if any attempt were made to lift them out of it by charity, they would immediately suffer a relapse. And it is precisely the same with regard to that portion of our countrymen whom we find in a low destitute condition; they are simply the laggards of civilization, content to halt supinely over their poor animal enjoyments and see the rest of the world far in advance of them; what they principally want for the permanent bettering of their lot is not a material but a moral impulse; we can only help them forward effectually by stimulating them to help themselves.

None of the important reforms which at various times have bettered the condition of the working classes have been of their own devising or earnest seeking for, and nearly all have been received by them with apathy or with unreasoning opposition. The machinery which has everywhere lightened their labour and increased its productiveness, has generally been withstood at first sight as a remorseless invading foe, intent wholly on taking away their bread. Sir Humphry Davy gave the colliers the Safety Lamp, and they swore over it a great deal because it required from them a little extra pains, and sometimes even threw it aside as a vexatious encumbrance. Elliot and Abraham furnished the Sheffield grinders with the Dust Flue

for the lengthening of their lives, but they could not be persuaded to use it, and insisted on their trade retaining its fatal noxiousness lest a greater competition of hands and a diminution of wages should be the result. The sanitary reforms that have been enforced by the Board of Health in our towns and villages, have met with the most obstinate and prolonged resistance from the labouring population. Better cottages have in many parts of the country been erected for the working class, but they were never agitated or asked for; new parks have been opened for their more beneficial recreation, but not in consequence of any of their enthusiastic demonstrations in Hyde Park. The Baths and Wash-houses and Drinking Fountains which have been extensively provided for their health and comfort, would have never been heard of if left for the suggestion of any of their Trades Union reformers. The Mechanics' Institutes, the Free Libraries, the Reading Rooms, which have been invitingly set before them by philanthropic gentlemen with the view to their mental and moral improvement, they have, with very few studious exceptions, heedlessly passed by for the more congenial attractions of the pothouse. Since Bell and Lancaster began to establish schools for their children in the early part of the present century, it is only by constant entreating, worrying, and upbraiding that they have been induced to send them with anything approaching to regularity. Emigration is only just now getting to be appreciated by the working class as a means of bettering their condition, through the persevering persuasions of their wiser friends. Those who, from thirty to forty years ago, advised a labourer wanting employment to adventure to the Colonies for its attainment, would be often told, in no very cour-

teous language, to go there themselves, or go to Gehenna. In short, our labouring population, our men of muscle, may be gradually reformed and directed in the path of progress by their natural leaders, the men of mind; but with all their Utopian dreams and conceit of being in the van of civilization, they never reform themselves. They are constantly reminding one of those little untoward urchins who are quite willing to go unwashed, uncombed, and unschooled, but are very solicitous to be supplied liberally with pocket-money, that they may make frequent visits to the sweetshop. They continually say in effect "We don't care for improved cottages, our health wants no looking after, more learning will do us no good, we hate to be told that there is anything to mend in our morals; none of your friendly advice; wisdom is not the principal thing, but higher wages, wherewith we may purchase more freely the delectable stimulation that is found in tobacco and beer." And so far as our grandmotherly philanthropists can influence public opinion, their senseless demands in this and every other direction are sure to be listened to and gratified.

IX. Democracy and the British Family.

It is impossible for any family to prosper unless the members thereof are united and work well together, unless the least intelligent and least virtuous are under a wholesome sense of subordination: if the spirit of Democracy once enters a rich house-

hold, dissolving its kindred ties and inducing each member to make a declaration of independence, it will soon be on the verge of bankruptcy, and a poor household infected in the same way, will become a mere assemblage of beggars and thieves. Nearly the whole of our criminal population may be said to have sprung from democratic or ill-governed families, and not in a single instance can we trace to such a source any of our well-cultivated and distinguished men. John Stuart Mill says, in reference to the very strict—perhaps rather too rigorous—training which he received from his father, "As regards my own education, I hesitate to pronounce whether I was more a loser or gainer by his severity. It was not such as to prevent me from having a happy childhood. And I do not believe that boys can be induced to apply themselves with vigour, and, what is much more difficult, perseverance to dry and irksome studies by the sole force of persuasion and soft words. Much must be done and much must be learnt by children for which rigid discipline and known liability to punishment are indispensable as means." —*Autobiography*, p. 52.

This is a very sensible opinion: it is plain that, so far as their own family circle extended, neither the elder nor the younger Mill was any democrat; they did not foster individualism on the domestic hearth, each of them insisted as strongly as Carlyle or Greg could do, that the wise and provident have a perfect right to rule the simple and improvident, both for the special benefit of the latter and for the general welfare of society. Why then should not this governing principle be extended from the private to the public family; from the little community who shelter under one roof to that of the entire nation? Since the great majority of people

have not the early advantages of John Stuart Mill, have not wise and capable parents to train them in childhood and prepare them by stern discipline for the duties of citizenship, is there anything unreasonable in the national government holding a paternal relationship towards them, and curbing their vicious propensities by such wholesome restraint as shall best repair their parents' neglect? The philosophical democrat will not consent to this widening of paternal authority; he believes that it is of no use to talk and argue with foolish boys; they must be kept to their duty by absolute compulsion; but should such urchins inherit an inferior development, or happen to be neglected and spoilt, as a great many unfortunately are spoilt, so that they shall come to have less reflection and self-control at thirty than the intelligent and well-trained youth has at thirteen, they must then, by virtue of their bodily bulk and years, be considered reasoning men, and be ruled only by appealing to their reason, that is, "by the sole force of persuasion and soft words."

With respect to James Mill's political views, we are told that he had a "complete reliance on the influence of reason over the minds of mankind whenever it is allowed to reach them" (*ibid.*, p. 106); and this reliance, which the son also shared, was evidently the basis of their democratic creed. They seem, indeed, to have believed that reason has some such magical power over the ignorant multitude, as that which the ancient poets tell us music once had over inanimate matter. It is a great pity that they did not go out to Africa or America and try the efficacy of argumentative force in civilizing a tribe of savages. Such an experiment, if successful, would have been of much more worth than all their voluminous writings for the

purpose of shaming and confounding the world's aristocracies. So far as our own country extends, we know well that external reason, as manifested through the public press, may reach its infatuated multitudes with the force of a flood, and yet have no magic charm in it whatever to strengthen their own reflective powers, or in any degree dispel their illusions. If we had a government relying, as Mill did, on the influence of reason over the minds of the populace, I wonder how long it would succeed in preventing the Tichbornites from marching in a tumultuous body and liberating the convict Orton from prison? Evidently the reforming philosopher of the nineteenth century is, from his false estimate of the capacity of the common people, just as much in the clouds as the reforming fanatic of the sixteenth, from ignorance of the constitution and course of nature. The practical statesman has this advantage over him, that he can reason so far as to discern the want of reasoning power in others; he both understands the operation of the physical laws which regulate organic life on our planet, and the breadth and depth of the popular ignorance of those laws, and consequently knows how to govern the people by respecting and fostering their unselfish feelings, and restraining their selfishness by armed force.

It is the great aim of our democratic philosophers to break up the British Family, to destroy utterly the Monarchical constitution of society in this country, to pull down our proud and compact political edifice to the level of the ground, and not leave one stone upon another. John Ruskin may be a very eccentric and a very opinionated man, but he occasionally gives expression to some good strong common sense, and what he has recently written of these levelling philosophers to some of

his working-class friends, who have been foolishly led astray by them, is certainly worthy of repetition. "I have not," says he, "the least mind to try to make wise men out of fools, or silk purses out of sows' ears; but my one swift business is to brand them of base quality, and get them out of the way, and I do not care a cobweb's weight whether I hurt the followers of them or not—totally ignoring them, and caring only to get the facts concerning the men themselves fairly and roundly stated for the people whom I have real power to teach. And for qualification of statement there is neither time nor need. Of course, there are few writers capable of obtaining any public attention who have not some day or other said something rational; and many of the foolishest of them are the amiablest, and have all sorts of minor qualities of a most recommendable character, —propriety of diction, suavity of temper, benevolence of disposition, wide acquaintance with literature, and what not. But the one thing I have to assert concerning them is, that they are men of eternally worthless intellectual quality, who never ought to have spoken a word in this world, or to have been heard in it out of their family circles, and whose books are merely so much floating fog-bank, which the first breath of sound public health and sense will blow back into its native ditches for ever."—*Fors Clavigera.*

If the democratic philosopher, intent on ameliorating the condition of the indigent population of this country, were to confine his attention to a single poor family, he would doubtless act discreetly enough; he would endeavour, first of all, to move the parents to amendment, and through them influence the children, advising the former to be attentive and kind, and the latter obedient; he would, in short, persuade them to do their duty

to each other, and pull well together, with the view to advancing their common welfare. The contrary course, of appealing independently to the children, seeking to undermine the parents' authority, and sowing dissension in the household, is so utterly repugnant to common sense and right feeling, that no genuine reformer could entertain the idea for a moment. Let our philosopher, however, only leave the small family which is circumscribed by the walls of a cottage to consider the large family which forms the British nation, and his mind becomes so bewildered with the social complications which rise before him, that he ceases altogether to recognize the relationship which ought to subsist between the ruling and the dependent classes, and adopts the revolutionary method of setting them at variance, with the most unhappy results.

When a misunderstanding arises between provident and improvident people who have long been working together for their mutual welfare, it will be the aim of every true friend of the parties to reconcile and bring them together again, and not to enlarge the dispute. It is well known that the provident class do not always perform their duty to the improvident to the full extent that they might and should. Among our labouring population there are selfish and negligent parents, who spend fully a quarter of their income on beer, spirits, tobacco, and other luxuries, and so deprive their poor children of many necessaries. And in like manner there are selfish masters and lords, who abuse their parental relationship to poor people, who dissipate on grandeur and gaiety immense sums, which they ought rather to spend in building better cottages for their labourers, and in providing them with better institutes and schools. The proportion of good masters who do their duty to thoughtless and

thriftless working men is, however, quite equal to the proportion of good parents that are to be found among the working class; and it is much better that those who are accustomed to live from hand to mouth should have in their midst a few indifferent organizers and providers to think for them than be left to wrangle among themselves, and hunger on their own improvidence. It is just as unwise, therefore, to encourage the dependent labourer to mutiny against his employer, on the occasion of a grievance cropping up, as to encourage his own dependent children, under similar circumstances, to revolt against him. Both parties should be kindly admonished to put away selfish considerations, and work together in a joint enterprise, conscientiously and wisely, for the attainment of a mutual prosperity.

So long as human beings are in various stages of mental development, there must be a certain amount of dependence and subordination among them,—an organic association of the unlike-gifted for mutual help, based on the democratic system which obtains with a town of shopkeepers, is impossible. When the civilized man Robinson Crusoe meets with the barbarian Friday, they can live together profitably under no other relationship than that of master and servant; the wise will have to instruct and command, the simple must learn and obey. And the amount of dependence which exists between them, or the amount of authority which one exercises over the other, must be exactly in proportion to the disparity between their grades of enlightenment. Our working mechanics are, as a rule, much more intelligent and self-reliant than farm-labourers, and are consequently less subservient, and, besides, are well able, from other circumstances, to meet their masters on a more

independent footing. They are much less restricted to one locality; their parish is as wide as their country, and many of them are compelled to go from place to place by the fluctuations of trade, just as migratory birds do with changes of weather. It is natural, therefore, that men, who are continually shifting about, as their services are more or less in request under a succession of fresh masters, should feel very little sense of dependence or obligation towards any, and if the regulations of the shop are not altogether suitable to them, or they get found much fault with, are ever ready to cry, "Give me my money, and good morning to you." Farm-labourers—even those few that are self-reliant — are much less able to roam far, because the practice of agriculture, governed by soil and climate, is much more variable in different parts of England than any of the mechanical employments. The man who goes from a chalk to a clay district, or from an upland country to a marsh, knows nothing about draining; a good hedge-cutter who wanders into Gloucestershire can seldom turn his hand to dry-walling, and a Midland or East-Anglian labourer will be lost among the hop plantations of Kent. In every agricultural district there are a few skilful hands — good drainers, thatchers, woodmen, &c.—a sort of half-mechanics, who are not dependent on one master, since their services are in request from a number of masters in succession, but they seldom find it of any advantage to wander beyond their own parish. Generally speaking, it is only in hay-time and harvest that an agricultural labourer can hope to better himself by a temporary migration, and not even then if he has a constant employer depending on him and requiring his services at home. I have known one or two dissatisfied men who have been

fond of going on tramp at all times of the year in quest of better wages, as was the habit of Joseph Arch at Barford, but it was the opinion of the neighbours, and even of their own wives, that what extra earnings they picked up in this way did not by any means compensate for their lodging expenses and their number of lost days; so that in the end they were out of pocket by their mistaken enterprise.

Now, it is the aim of Mr. Arch and his rich democratic friends, in their movement for breaking up the fine agricultural army of this country and making it a mere scrambling mob, to impart the same vagrant unsettled habits to all farm labourers, to keep them dodging about from one parish to another after an extra sixpence, and occasionally organizing strikes, or working on their own plots, so that the farmers shall be greatly inconvenienced and never know when to depend on them. It is evident that this mixing up and confusing employers and employed in a general hide-and-seek, must be disadvantageous to both parties, and, looking at it in the broad light of the public interest, must be extremely prejudicial to the nation's agricultural economy. The Union, which they have established to promote the greatest possible Disunion between masters and men, objects not only to long service and yearly hires, which wiser people have been wont to encourage, but, the more effectually to secure its object, aims at putting every farm labourer in an independent cottage. Mr. Arch, in a recent speech reported in the *Hereford Times*, thus speaks his mind on the subject:—

"I want you working men whom I address, to see that if the landlords of this country build better cottages, on conditions such as they have invariably laid down to me as a rule, then against these better

cottages I, for one, should certainly strike. (Hear, hear.) I will tell you why. They are building cottages on the farms and letting them to the farmers, and while that state of things exists in England we shall always, you may depend on it, have slaves in this country. (Hear, hear.) Now, that is a point that I want to reason out with you, to show you, as working men, the inconsistency of this state of things. You go, then, and say, 'I want a situation to work on the farm,' wherever it might be. Employer presently says to you, 'I have got a cottage which you shall have at a very moderate rent.' Now, that is an injustice in two ways, because if a landlord builds a cottage which should be let at a rental of from £4 to £5 a year, and he lets that cottage to the farmer, who lets it again to the labourer for a shilling a week, he is actually robbing the Government of the country of taxes which should be claimed for the higher rental, as well as making slaves of the labouring men. (Hear, hear.) . . . . I consider that it is a very unfair and unspeculative position for hard-working men to be placed in, and I want to know if any farmer who goes to a landlord with the view of taking a farm from him would be likely to take the farm if there were in the agreement such a clause as this: 'I, Squire So-and-so, let you a farm called by such-and-such a name, numbering so many acres; but all the beasts you feed, and all the mutton and wool and corn you grow, you shall take to Hereford market.' 'Oh, but,' the farmer would reply, 'if I were to go down to Bristol market with my produce I could make a great deal more of it; there is a better market there.' 'But,' insists the landlord, 'you shan't take it there, and if you take my farm and carry the produce to any other market than Hereford, you shall quit.' Now, I ask, would any

farmer be so silly as to enter into any such unjust and oppressive agreement? Then what is the reason why you, as labourers, should be compelled to take a cottage and devote all your labour to the benefit of the farmer in return for just what wages he likes to pay you? If you submit to such a system you will never be free men. . . . Don't tie your labour to any one individual man, but always look to getting the very freest market you can for it." (Hear, hear, and applause.)

This is a very fair specimen of the crooked reasoning of Mr. Arch, who seems to be always haunted by some frightful ghost of tyranny, and is what Schleirmacher would have certainly called a liberty-intoxicated man. We all know that it is not the interest of an English farmer to be bound to carry his produce to one particular market, but it might become his interest to do so if he had a very convenient market, and some friendly merchant, at the beginning of each year, would guarantee him a certain fixed price for wheat, oats, barley, and all that he grew. In that case—if he accepted the offer, and considered it better than risking the fluctuations of the market—he would, of course, adhere faithfully to his agreement, and when he saw his neighbours occasionally getting a little more than himself for corn and cattle, would not have the slightest reason to complain or feel dissatisfied. This is exactly the position of the labourer who, at a certain fixed rate of wages, is guaranteed employment on a farm all the year through: he is a non-adventurer, who deems it better to plod on in an even path than to wander far about and cast himself on the ups and downs of fortune. He is willing to get a little less than the vagrant in summer, that he may receive more in winter: he will not be lured away from his master in fair

weather, because of being assured that the master will not send him away in the frost. And the permanent engagement will, in general, be found decidedly best for both parties. A labourer who can be relied on in all seasons, and who is familiar with every nook and corner and peculiarity of the farm and the master's ways, is worth more than the complete stranger or the occasional hand, who only comes in when it suits his convenience. The regular workman is free from anxiety, and in the long run he will not only receive a larger remuneration than his rambling brother, but will receive it more advantageously: for it is much best that a labourer — especially an improvident labourer — should have his yearly earnings as evenly distributed as possible. If he gets his wages at irregular periods, and in uneven lumps, instead of affording him comfort, they are more likely to produce waste, alternated with want.

Then, with regard to the master providing the man with a cheap and comfortable cottage in the immediate vicinity of his work (just as many benevolent manufacturers have housed their operatives); this is a wise arrangement, to the advantage of both parties, and also to the interest of the community at large, who are naturally desirous that the national agriculture should be carried on with the utmost economy. When a labourer engages to do constant work on Westbrook Farm, his employer, if he is able, should guarantee him constant shelter there, and not put him to the inconvenience of tramping two or three miles to Eastbrook for a home, and meeting on his way another weary man who has to go the same distance in an opposite direction. Many canal and railway officials, schoolmasters, and others, are, in precisely the same manner, furnished by their employers with a per-

manent residence, and they consider it a decided advantage to be so accommodated, and it is only a person inclined to a wandering life or afflicted with bondage on the brain who would think of regarding the local tie and mutual dependence involved in such an arrangement as a yoke of intolerable slavery.

There are some few fanatical liberty-worshippers who would sooner starve, or live in a savage wilderness, than take a subordinate place in any organic society, and be under a master's direction. Strong-minded, self-reliant women, who write and lecture for their living, are occasionally met with contending very eloquently for the rights of their sex to independence, and regarding their married sisters as pitiable slaves, because they have not the same freedom as themselves. If these agitators were genuine representatives of their sex—if all women, or a majority of them, were of precisely the same way of thinking—there would be a good substantial ground for their going about in this way as champions and liberators of the oppressed sisterhood. It so happens, however, that ninety-nine out of a hundred of our dear countrywomen are not self-reliant, but need a husband to lean on, and would rather obey one, and rely on his love and generosity, than wrangle with him for equal rights. The attainment of independence would, therefore, not be to them a blessing, but a curse; it would deprive them of a thousand valued kindnesses which they are accustomed to receive from their natural protectors, and would award them as compensation a worthless title and an empty boast.

Joseph Arch, the strong-minded labourer, is no less mistaken in advocating the rights of his weaker brethren to be independent of their employers; he

imagines that they are self-reliant, and would gain immensely from such an industrial divorce; but it is clear that they would suffer infinite loss. The English farmer is in general an energetic and provident man of business, an economist who makes the most of his resources and opportunities, a good contriver, who knows how to adapt means to ends; nature has clearly intended him to be an agricultural captain, and have some rule and direction in the cultivation of the soil. The labourer, on the other hand, possesses a strong muscular frame, and sometimes a very imaginative mind, but is notoriously unthrifty, and wanting in energy, calculation, and contrivance; so that in a country like ours, where skilful farming is essential, he can achieve, as an unassisted husbandman, but very indifferent results. Let these men of unlike gifts be associated in one industrial enterprise, and do their best in their respective offices, and mutually depend on each other as we still see them doing in unagitated districts, and both will be advantaged by the compact, and England will in consequence continue to exhibit the finest agriculture in the world. Sow dissension between the parties, who are so fitly constituted by nature to render each other assistance, and eventually separate them, and the result will be disastrous: we shall witness the weakness, the impoverishment, the paralyzed energies which are invariably produced by every revolutionary attempt at social decapitation.

The levelling spirit of Democracy is constantly endeavouring to make it appear that the weak man who is placed in a subordinate position must necessarily be wronged and oppressed. Crusoe and Friday should keep at either end of their island, or as wide apart as may be, lest the wiser get the better of the other and use him as a tool, and

deprive him of his natural liberty. Anyhow, the subordinate man will be found to have the best of the bargain, just as in every family organization for mutual help, the child will profit more from the parent's aid than the parent will be advantaged by that of the child. Human nature is not by any means so bad as distrustful jealous democrats would make it appear; the strong are ever more disposed to help than to harm the weak, the rich are more ready to give than to receive; were it otherwise, the world would have never advanced beyond the primitive communism of savage life. Every well-conducted schoolboy and servant and artisan knows that the tyranny of superiors is far less to be dreaded than that which we are liable to suffer from a combination of equals or inferiors. Mastership implies mind: the more intelligent and thoughtful a person is, the more will he have his passions subjected to reason, and with the greater clearness will he see the overruling of divine justice in human affairs, and the inevitable retribution which follows the perpetrators of wrong.

In every case where individuals unequally gifted agree to work together in an organic society for their mutual welfare, and so become more or less dependent on each other, it will be found that they sometimes fall short of their social duty, and are not honest, truthful, patient, and diligent on all days alike. In the marriage relationship, the most devoted of husbands will occasionally, from ill-health or some little derangement of temper, be positively cruel towards his wife, and she, too, however affectionate in general, will, from similar infirmities, be no less inconsiderate and unkind towards him. These little conjugal wrongs, which are inflicted from time to time, will be freely confessed by both parties in their reasonable moments,

and without any vindictiveness or wilful retaliation, are in the long run considered to balance each other. There are, indeed, a few ill-assorted and unhappy marriages, in which the fault, instead of being equally shared, is chiefly on one side; but among such cases there will be about as many wronged husbands as injured wives, so that, on the whole, neither sex can be considered to have a grievance against the other. That which may be said of the occasional misunderstandings which exist between husbands and wives, is equally applicable to the disagreements which arise between masters and servants; plenty of cases of individual wrong may be pointed out on each side, but these are so evenly balanced, and tend so well to correct each other without litigation, that there can be established no general case of class tyranny or oppression. "Every Jack has his Joan," says the proverb; and it may be said, with equal truth, that every black master has his black man; certainly, in this country, a good, diligent, honest Uncle Tom would never work two days together unner a savage Legree. The average master may, from errors of judgment and defects of temper, be rather hard on his servant now and then, but the servant knows pretty well that the storm is succeeded by sunshine, that good humours make up for bad humours by the end of the year, His own merits and failings are, by the master, taken and weighed together in precisely the same manner, and if either of them thinks that he is in the whole rather the worse treated or not so well requited as he should be, he is free to dissolve the engagement. So with regard to the rate of wages that is given for any kind of work, if left to be regulated by the natural law of supply and demand; the force of that law will not be always felt immediately, and

acted upon with mathematical precision: in some cases wages will be found a little below, and in others, just as much above the true market level; but these inequalities will, in the long run, meet and make up for each other. Where the masters are now getting some little advantage, the men are sure to have the best of the bargain at another time, so that no striking or retaliating is needed to rectify the balance, they have only to wait patiently each for their turn of fortune, and both will in the end receive substantial justice.

The farm-labourer receives a lower rate of wages than that of any other workmen, either because his labour is less arduous (except in harvest, when his pay is proportionately advanced), or because he is a non-adventurer, and exposed to less danger than they. It is pretty generally known that the agricultural profession, however honourable, influential, and attractive, is by no means a lucrative one in any of its grades, and is therefore studiously avoided by Jews, Greeks, and all classes of people who aim at a rapid accumulation of wealth. If a gentleman, weary of the pursuit of gold, and wishing for rank and influence, should lay out £100,000 in the purchase of a landed estate, he will probably not get more than three per cent. from the investment, while those who expend such a sum in trade, or in manufacturing or mining operations, look for a much larger return. Farming is scarcely more of a money-making speculation than land-holding, to the truth of which many amateurs who have acquired a competency in trade or in the army, and are endeavouring to solace themselves like Cincinnatus, will readily bear witness. Agriculture is subject to much the same vicissitudes now that it was in the time of the Pharaohs, and what the farmer is able, in the years of plenteousness, to carry to his bank, will,

in the years of famine which are sure to follow, be generally wanted to stave off bankruptcy. The average annual net income of many who cultivate upwards of a hundred acres of land, and employ three or more day-labourers, is not equal to £100 —less than that of well-paid journeymen mechanics. Whenever there comes a depressed time or a season of casualties, it is the risk-bearing farmer that has to suffer: he is tumbled over and carried away by the hurricane of adversity, while the landlord and the labourer stand fast.

The farm-labourer, with his low wages, stands on very firm ground, and is not in the position of one who has made a bad bargain, or is treated unfairly, any more than the Government fundholder with his low interest, or the landowner with his low rent. He does not play for a big stake in the world; he has no mind to incur the risk of making a sea voyage or working in a factory, a mine, or a powder-mill; he wishes to lead a quiet life, free from all worry and anxiety, and his poor pay, when taken in connection with nature's good perquisites which fall to him, is in every respect fair and equitable. The rich mercantile Pharisees, who announce their almsgiving with a trumpet, and thank God that their workpeople are not so ill paid as other men's—carpenters', wheelers', millers', smiths', or even as these farmers'—would do well to look a little more closely into the condition of their own labouring population, as compared with that of agricultural villages, and they would soon find reason to cease from their boasting and moderate their conceit. Before they insist on the farm-labourers being supplied with more money to meet doctors' bills and other incidental expenses, let their own pale-faced operatives be lifted out of their pestilential alleys, and be as well supplied as the sturdy

rustic with pure water and fresh air, and with as many counter-attractions to the public-houses.

The democratic philanthropists, or rather philo-hinds, whose mistaken sentimentalism has been so prominent in the press of late years, frequently represent our farm-labourers as wretched down-trodden serfs, who would rise if they were permitted to do so, but find no door of promotion and no career open before them. "To them and to their class," says the *English Labourer*, in its eulogy of the mission of Joseph Arch, "life had become intolerable. It was the only life absolutely without hope and possibility, and *alone* they were powerless to improve it." I must be permitted to contradict this absurd representation most emphatically from my own personal experience, though to do so fully it would require a chapter of boorish egotism wearisome to the reader, and hardly to be ventured on by a less self-made man than Cobbett. By only casting a retrospective glance around my native parish and six other agricultural parishes whose populations are well known to me, I can easily recall to mind nearly two hundred instances of young labourers who have within the last twenty years bettered their position in various ways entirely by their own exertions. Out of this number, several have apprenticed themselves to trades, some are policemen, schoolmasters, rural postmen, railway employés, gardeners, carriers, dairymen, draymen; and the most energetic portion have become small farmers, farm-bailiffs, and successful emigrants.

If the farm-labourer means to better himself at all, he must do so as an unmarried servant in the precious spring-time of life, between the ages of fifteen and thirty; should that period be wasted, he can no more expect, by any hurry and worry, to prosper afterwards than the sluggard who looks for

morning at mid-day. If he cannot wait seven years or twice seven for his Rachel, and so by an early marriage encumbers himself with a patriarchal family, without having provided for their support a patriarchal flock, a life of poverty and hardship must be looked for as inevitable, and ought to be very patiently endured. My father and uncle both rose from the humble position of labourer's sons to that of respectable tenant-farmers just because they held on to the ladder of thrift, deferred their marriage till forty, and chose wives who had, like themselves, good savings-bank books and long-service certificates. Had they been men of an entirely different stamp—had they been gifted with long tongues rather than long heads—had they, like Joseph Arch and many others, foolishly married at an early age, when earning only eleven shillings a week—they would have thereby deliberately put a yoke on their shoulders which might well have rendered any decided bettering of their fortunes impossible. I also greatly doubt whether they would have steadily risen if the agricultural army in which they served had been demoralized as we now see it in many quarters by democratic agitation, so that labourers may be often met with positively ashamed of doing their duty, and regarding as the most manly and heroic qualities grumbling, shirking, and insolence.

In urban communities, where little practical knowledge of the rural population exists, and also in the universities, where our learned professors are reared, there seems to be a vague notion that English farmers and farm-labourers know no interchange of positions, but remain superior and inferior castes, as permanently stereotyped as those of the Brazilian planters and their black slaves. I have endeavoured to dispel this illusion by bringing

forward a few stubborn facts within the range of my own personal experience, and it would be easy to cite many more, all serving to show that the labourer is constantly going up in the world, and the farmer coming down, whenever their respective merits and failings furnish a sufficient warrant for such reversal of circumstances. One of them is simply a master agriculturist, and the other a journeyman; and if the latter finds it more and more difficult to rise to the master's rank in this country, owing to the limitation of farms, he may always reach the top of his profession, if worthy of it, by only going out to the colonies. Moreover, if first-rate English labourers cannot easily become farmers on their native soil, the flower of their daughters, such as make excellent servants, frequently become farmers' wives, being rightly preferred as helpmates to girls of higher birth who have nothing to recommend them but their few paltry boarding-school accomplishments. So, by various modes of natural selection, those who are engaged in agriculture find their true level and the station for which they are best fitted; the idle and self-indulgent are ever being degraded to a lower rank, and the energetic and thrifty are seen struggling up to occupy their vacated positions. In my native parish, some twenty years ago, while my father and uncle and a third farmer had been labourers' sons, there were no less than seven day-labourers who had commenced life as farmers' sons and travelled in the opposite direction. Looking around at the present moment on my agricultural relatives, I can see, on the one hand, five of them who are farmers just because they have the moral qualities which are indispensable to successful farming, and, on the other hand, six who are farm-labourers for no other reason than their obvious incapacity for discharging

the duties of a higher sphere. My father used to say of the farm-labourers in our parish, that if the best of them were put into good farms and furnished with every requisite in the way of stock and implements for their proper cultivation, they would be bankrupt in less than three years. He did not dispute that they would be industrious and sober, and might farm well enough for New Zealand, but contended that they were totally deficient in certain qualifications which are essential to an English agriculturist of the nineteenth century. To command a proper respect from subordinates—to put sense into the simple, and activity into the indolent—to work and make others work—to adapt soils to seasons—to take advantage of all weathers—to manure wisely, and market wisely—to devise a judicious rotation of crops—to get as nearly as possible the best seed and the best breed—to watch the health of team, herd, and flock with a veterinary's eye, and master the hundred other little economies by which a skilful farmer extracts a living from the land—are gifts which he knew to be altogether beyond their gumption, and that, wanting them, their failure in the management of a farm must be inevitable. Farm-labourers may be occasionally met with who are tolerably well-read and intelligent men, perhaps much superior to their employers in point of literary culture, from having more leisure; but as a rule they only distinguish themselves as taproom politicians or ranting preachers, and have no more brains for business than those greater men of genius, the Ayrshire Ploughman and the Ettrick Shepherd, ever possessed.

Many of our democratic professors, who call themselves political economists, are eager to revolutionize our agriculture after the Gallic model;

they propose to elevate the much-commiserated farm-labourers of this country by converting them into peasant-proprietors; and there is about as much economy in the system which they advocate as in any scheme which might be propounded for converting all our factory operatives into small, independent mechanics of the tinker and chair-mender type. These learned theorists seem, from their writings, to imagine that English peasants are all equal in character and capacity, as a flock of sheep, and will thrive alike if put on the same pasture, and allowed the same chance to gather their food from the soil. There cannot well be a greater illusion. I am acquainted with two labourers who work on the same farm, and receive the same wages, for they are about equal in strength, and one will do as much digging, hoeing, or hedging in a day as the other. Yet with all this evenness of physical power, they are widely different men; for while one married at nineteen and is a sad drunkard, and always in debt, the other married at thirty, and has not only got a comfortable home and nearly fifty pounds in the savings bank, but is now seeking, and likely to obtain, a situation as farm-bailiff. If these labourers of different types were both taken in hand by the new O'Connorite Union, of which Professor Newman is president, and put into small farms, the provident man might rub on well enough, and get a fair living by working much harder than he does now, but the improvident neighbour would be bankrupt in a twelvemonth, and would even part with his plough and sell half his seed-corn to gratify his propensity for drink. It is plain that intemperate and unthrifty people, whatever they may be capable of doing, on a farm in a subordinate position, are utterly unfitted to act independently as master agriculturists; and it is neither for their

own interest nor that of the general public that they should have an opportunity of doing so. Even in those countries where peasant-proprietorship is said to exist, it is only the more provident and superior order of peasants who are possessors of land. In France, Switzerland, and Belgium, more than half the cultivators of the soil are day-labourers earning very low wages, and in Norway the poor *huusmand* are like our own hinds, tenants of the farmers that employ them. If we have a much larger proportion of agriculturists in a dependent condition than those countries, it is mainly because our rustics are much more generally incapacitated for mastership by improvident habits. With us, the members of this humble class, as soon as they begin to learn and practise economy, are constantly struggling out of it and advancing themselves to higher positions, while the prodigal sons of farmers and country tradesmen are as constantly gliding down to occupy their vacated places. The labourer's rank, therefore, both by the result of its gains and its losses, becomes of necessity the nation's thriftless residuum. A difference in character between the peasantry of two countries will thus amply suffice to account for a difference of tenures. "Even were he to possess, like ours, a bit of land," says Taine, speaking of the English labourer, "he would not know how to make it yield wherewithal to live, for lack of economy."—*Notes of England.*

Some democratic writers have denied that English peasants are less fitted than those of other countries for farming in a small way on their own freeholds, and have pointed in proof of this to the immense wilds which have thus been reclaimed by them in the United States, Canada, and the Australian colonies. The fact is, if we look beyond Europe, and take into consideration all agricul-

turists of English race, they will furnish as large a proportion of men fitted to till the soil independently as any other race; but since the time of the Stuarts, this class—the thrifty, self-reliant peasants—have been constantly drafted out of the country by emigration, leaving the unthrifty and incapable behind. For the last two hundred years, a process of natural selection has been dividing our agricultural labourers into two ranks, and the fact of the sturdy, enterprising fellows who venture forth into the colonies being able to farm on their own account affords no reason for expecting so much of the inferior, save-nothing sort, who cling dependently to their paternal parish. There are, indeed, some of the latter class who emigrate when assisted by their parish, or by the Agricultural Labourers' Union; but their character is not altered by crossing the sea, nor their position changed; they can only live by hiring their services, for which there is often very little demand. It is clearly quite impossible to elevate a poor, improvident man by making him a freeholder, whether it be on a corner of one of our own commons or on the more fruitful wilds of America; to give him land when he is hungry and asks for bread, is to give him a stone.

The advocates of peasant-proprietorship can therefore only hope to benefit by their scheme the provident class of labourers, such as visit the savings bank, and avoid the ale-house, and are quite capable of cultivating the land on their own account. But these, it is clear, will do much better by seeking an ample freehold in the Colonies than by struggling to possess a poor patch in their crowded island home. Will any intelligent, enterprising labourer think of spending his hard-earned savings on the purchase of four or five acres of inferior English soil that nobody has yet cared to

cultivate, when, by only crossing the sea, he may have at the same price a hundred acres of fruitful land? Several peasants of my acquaintance, some of them old workmates, who went to the Colonies from twenty to thirty years ago, have multiplied and prospered in the manner of the patriarchs, have now got not only farms of their own, but have widened their borders and planted their children on farms, and have between them horses, flocks, and herds in abundance. Could they have attained such prosperity, or anything near it, by clinging to the old country and perseveringly watching their opportunity and elbowing their way to the possession of a small portion of its soil? Their holdings would, in such case, have been nothing better than O'Connorville allotments, or bits of poor common, and each man's live stock would at the utmost have amounted to an old broken-down horse and a donkey, with the addition of a few pigs and sheep. To persuade an enterprising agriculturist, who might do well and extend English civilization in the Colonies, to stay at home and seek in preference such a sorry position as this, is certainly not to befriend, but to befool him. Even if the most capable labourers of this country could be located on good lands, and as well established in a small way as the peasant-farmers of Belgium and France, there would be no reason to congratulate them, as their fortune would not be nearly equal to what they are able to make it by emigration. The poor straitened, mortgage-burdened cotters across the Channel to whom our revolutionary philosophers have long pointed as objects of envy, are not by many degrees in such a prosperous way as our ever-widening colonists of America and Australia. There is hardly any increase at the present day in the Gallic race (as poor Prevost-Paradol lamented),

on account of the stay-at-home propensity of the agricultural population of France, which has been fostered by their system of tenure. Many a young peasant-farmer has means of emigrating, and might greatly better his position as a colonist, only that he feels himself to have a good stake in the home country, and is tied fast to the family freehold. And as these freeholds, however much they may be divided, cannot be enlarged, the possessors are absolutely compelled to keep down their numbers in a commensurate degree, in order to find thereon a humble subsistence. The agricultural population of France is like the Chinese foot, painfully compressed into an iron shoe. On the other hand, our emigrating English peasants increase and multiply, and go forth to inherit and replenish the earth. They are no more "disinherited" by having to migrate to new pastures than were our brave ancestors Hengist and Horsa. Never in the whole annals of history did any peasant population flourish and spread abroad, and obtain such an immense grasp of territory as ours has done within the last two hundred years; and nothing could be better devised to arrest its further growth and expansion than the establishment in this country of the French system of peasant-proprietorship.

In 1874, when, in consequence of the Eastern Counties Lock-out, much angry feeling was manifested by the metropolitan press against the farmers of this country, and the Bishop of Manchester and other clergymen, ignorant of rural economy, considered them "mad," in one democratic quarter, where it might have been least expected, a friendly voice was raised in their behalf. A writer in the *National Reformer*, evidently having some knowledge of country life, said, "If a man be poor, and takes to farming for a livelihood, he must expect

to have a sharp struggle even to keep his head above water. The small farmer's life is as laborious, and is more anxious and responsible, than that of the labourer he employs. The profits drawn from farming are, on the whole, small; they are precarious, and are dependent on circumstances beyond the farmer's control. 'A bad year'—that is, unfavourable weather, disease among the stock, failure of crops—is a thing that presses on the farmer more than on the labourer; for the labourer's wages are certain, the farmer's returns are doubtful. From all this it results that the sore and indignant feeling manifested by the farmers during the late struggle had its source in a true and natural idea. The farmers felt that their own lot was hard and precarious, that their profits were small, that their position was unassured, and they resisted with a blind and bitter determination the action of the labourers to force them into giving a rate of wages which they were conscious, and justly conscious, that the profits drawn from the land did not authorize.

"Various remedies are suggested whereby to help the labourer to better his position, but they none of them go to the root of the matter, and they all have the grave defect that they are aimed against the farmer, and will, if successful, render farming impossible. I contend that the farmer and the labourer are natural allies, that their interests are inextricably intertwined, that they must stand or fall together. . . . . If farmer and labourer both have justice on their side, and if the labourer's wages cannot be largely increased without entailing the ruin of the farmer, what possible remedy is there for the present state of things? Deliberately and firmly I answer: the extinction of the present landowning [illegible]s, and the radical revolution of the present idea [illegible] the right of appropriating land."

The writer goes on to say what many other social reformers have been saying of late, "The proprietorship of the land should be vested in the Government as the trustee of the nation, and not for the good of a few favoured individuals." That is, our present landlords should be got rid of altogether as a class of useless middle-men, and the cultivators of the soil should pay their rent direct to the Government or landlord-in-chief, precisely as the ryots do in some provinces of India. Such an arrangement, however, would not be so economical as it seems at first sight; it could only be carried out by a vast army of intermediate officials, in many cases hard, exacting men; in some instances corrupt men, whom the farmers would come to like much less than their present lords. Generally speaking, any *direct* system of cultivating the soil in a large way by its possessors, will not be found to succeed so well as a *tributary* system. To give one simple instance of this: an English colonel, knowing that I had been bred to agriculture, asked me some time ago to look over and examine the capabilities of an estate of from four to five hundred acres, which he had acquired, I believe, by inheritance, a few years before. Thinking that it would be more profitable to farm the land on his own account than to let it, he had engaged for that purpose a working bailiff, subject to his own personal supervision; but so far from securing by such means a better return than that obtained by a letting proprietor, he had, to his utter surprise and disappointment, experienced up to that period a considerable loss. Hundreds of English proprietors have from time to time applied themselves in like manner to cultivating their own lands with precisely similar results, and after losing two or three years' rent, they have discharged their bailiffs (who generally know how to make hay while the sun shines), and have put in their place tenant farmers,

to the great satisfaction of both the farm-labourers and themselves.

As our landlords have occasionally attempted to get rid of the intermediate farmer, so in Turkey and other Mahometan countries, it has been the aim of the Government to dispense with the intermediate landlord; the Sultan, as grand proprietor, has managed directly the cultivation of the territory by means of his pashas or farm-bailiffs, and all the world knows with what kind of success. Every intelligent traveller who has given much attention to the wretched agriculture of the Ottoman Empire, will admit that the great want of the country is a settled hereditary aristocracy to supersede the present horde of rapacious pashas, and other hungry Government officials. With respect to Egypt, a step has been actually made in this direction, its pasha now being an hereditary vassal, to the manifest gain of the people; and still more will they be benefitted when his huge national estate comes to be parcelled out into smaller estates under subordinate vassals, with equal security of tenure. In some parts of India the zemindars, who were mere rent-collectors under the old Mahometan Government, have been converted by the British Government into landlords; and though they, for various reasons, make but indifferent landlords, the change in their position is admitted to have wrought a decided improvement in the agriculture of the country. Supposing we had had no hereditary aristocracy here in England for the last eight hundred years, but instead a system of national cultivation, under the management of ever-shifting Government officers, could we, apart from our superiority of race, have exhibited much better results than those which have been achieved in the East by such an arrangement? It will perhaps be

said, that however unsuccessful Government farming may be in semi-barbarous Mahometan countries, or however unsuited to our own country in a ruder age, it would now work well among us, on account of our much greater enlightenment and higher morality. We may, indeed, as a race, be more shrewd and clever than the Turks, but I doubt if those among us, who are seeking to fill their purse or better their position, are in any respect more honest; and I feel certain that if the English aristocracy were swept aside by a great revolution, our farmers would meet with more consideration at the hands of Turkish pashas than from a swarm of unprincipled "carpet-baggers," intent only on sucking the country and feathering their nests while they have the opportunity.

We are told that in behalf of the people the land of this country ought to be nationalized, or become Government property, but I consider that this scheme is already practically accomplished. Queen Victoria is supreme land ruler in England, just as much as William the Conqueror was, and all the subordinate landlords are her vassals, only having much better security than the primitive feudal tenants. When the public interest demands it, our Government has a just right to remove its dependent landlord from his holding, even as the landlord has a right to remove his dependent farmer, and the farmer can eject his dependent hind. We see the Government occasionally exercising this right to a limited extent in the case of such portions of land as may be needed for the making of a new railway, the construction of a harbour, or any other public work. And it might well go further in certain instances, and perhaps will do so in time; it might compel any notoriously bad landlord to part with his mismanaged estate, or it might do much

to rectify, by sales and exchanges, the present irregularity in the boundaries of estates, as well as that of parishes, with the view to promoting agricultural economy. For the present, however, it would not be politic to attempt any such land-reforms, because they are not yet demanded by public opinion, and would be likely to create throughout the country a feeling of insecurity and alarm. I have known a good landlord hesitate for a long while to eject a bad tenant, who was seen to be impoverishing his farm, just because he was very solicitous not to excite any distrust or apprehension among his other tenants. So the Government in a still greater degree respects the feeling of landlords themselves, and all primary tenants who hold directly from it under the designation of proprietors; there are certain cases in which a man, who has no regard for the public interest, might be justly called on to surrender his estate at the market value, yet it would be difficult to make out a clear limit to such cases, and there is a possibility of any well-intended interference of this kind resulting in more harm than good. The foundation of all good agriculture is known to be *security of tenure*: in order that a man should put forth all his productive energies on his farm or on his estate, he must feel, like the deep-rooted tree, that he has a very firm hold of the soil. And though this security may occasionally be abused both by primary and secondary tenants, the evils so produced are infinitely less than those which would result from converting all the properties of this country into a Government common, to be cultivated on the Oriental system of insecurity.

There is a wide-spread democratic belief that landlords are of no earthly use to us; indeed, they have very frequently been compared with locusts

and Colorado bugs, which only follow agriculture as devouring pests. It is very clear, however, if we regard them only as patronizing *capitalists*, that they are great fertilizers, and immensely assist in the cultivation of the soil. The man who invests £100,000 in a railway, however profitable the speculation may prove to him, is never grudged the return which he gets, and is justly considered to have befriended the enterprise; it is not then easy to see why another person who invests such a sum in the purchase of an estate should be considered an enemy to agriculture. The writer in the *National Reformer*, who aims at reconciling the farmer and the labourer, and teaching them to regard the landlord as their common foe, says, in the article from which we have before quoted, "If a man has capital, and invests it well, it will inevitably yield him a rich harvest; but the man who desires to use his capital to the best advantage will not, if he is wise, use it in farming. Capitalists are often attracted towards farming, because of its accessories. . . . . The farmer is free from the hurry, the unrest, the fever, the strain of town life, and of the whirlpool of business toil. His is a wholesome, sturdy, free, and manly existence. Therefore, instead of trying to double or treble his invested capital in trade, he is content to gain only small profits from it. The labourer, if he reasoned justly, would take all this into account: he would remember that his employer draws his income *not from the land only, but from the capital he previously held, and which he has invested in the land.*"

This is a very good and sensible plea in behalf of the British farmer, but it must be evident to every impartial mind, that it may be urged with quite as much force for the landlord. Does not the proprietor, equally with the tenant, derive his income

from the capital that he has invested in the land? and is he not also attracted towards agriculture by its accessories, and therefore content to receive a much smaller return from his investment than what would satisfy a manufacturer or any person engaged in trade? Here is a skilful agriculturist who wishes to farm from 100 to 150 acres of good land, but to hold such portion of land directly under the Government as a primary tenant or freeholder, it will require at least a capital of £6,000, whereas his actual capital only amounts to £1,000. He must then, perforce, go to some larger capitalist to assist him in his undertaking; he must either apply to a landlord or a money-lord. If he gets the wealthy Mr. Stocks to lend him £5,000 for the purchase of the farm on mortgage security, he will have to give at least £5 per cent., or £250 a year interest to his patron; while, if he is satisfied with the position of a secondary tenant, and persuades Sir Harry Oldacre to buy the farm and let it to him, it is not likely that he will have to give at the utmost more than £200 rent. The freeholder who borrows money and pays interest will thus have the heavier burden to bear, and though he may feel himself somewhat more independent than his neighbour who pays rent, will not be so in reality. Some few advantages he will of course have over the tenant-farmer, such as the possession of the game; but this is apt to make him think more of his gun than of his plough, like the Nova Scotian farmer described in *Sam Slick*, and so prove in the end a very doubtful advantage. Indeed, I have known several cases where tenants have had the privilege of killing whatever game was found on their farms, and their sons have in consequence lost so much time in shooting, and inviting their friends to shoot, that the value of the game did not half compensate for

what they suffered by neglecting their proper profession.

The small farmers of Belgium and France would succeed much better as tenants under liberal landlords than as freeholders under their present hard and exacting money-lords; and the same may be said with equal truth of most of the small cultivators in America. Mr. T. Duckham, an intelligent English agriculturist, who has recently visited the United States, after speaking highly in favour of the Grange system, says, "The farms usually belong to those who occupy them, and it too frequently happens that they are obtained by their owners without sufficient means to cultivate them. An inherent desire for the possession of land prompts its being secured as soon as a few hundred dollars of the hard earnings of emigrants are saved, and without due consideration of the cost of clearing and cultivating. This false step compels them to resort to another, and the money-lender is sought, and a fine trade driven, by a very numerous class, who frequently obtain from 15 to 20 per cent. on their advances. I was assured that it was no uncommon thing to exact as high as 2 per cent. a month. As soon as harvested, they take possession of the crops at a low figure, and store them, eagerly watching the turn of markets on their side in order that a further turn of capital may increase their gain: thus a large number live in affluence on the industry of those who have all the care, labour, and risk attendant upon the growth of those crops they cannot call their own when secured, and who frequently have to succumb to the land-owning pleasure to which they have subjected themselves."—*Travels in America.*

Mr. Duckham on one occasion met with a number of emigrant people wanting employment, and

intending to return to England. "I found," says he, "that they were Englishmen who had emigrated with their wives and families, thinking to better their position. Principally farm-labourers, they were on their way to Quebec, where they purposed taking ship for England. In reply to my further questions I learnt that the reason of their returning was want of employment during the winter months; that during spring and summer they could readily obtain work and high wages, but as soon as the crops are secured the men are all discharged, excepting those engaged to look to the live stock, and though they could obtain employment in the woods, it was work they were not accustomed to, and did not like. In America and Canada agricultural labourers are treated strictly on the commercial principle, being well paid during the busy season, and discharged as soon as possible afterwards."—*Ibid.*

There are many thorough-going democrats, both in Europe and America, who heartily approve of this extension of the commercial principle, and hope to see it carried so far as to entirely break up the family relationship: when we get from them, in addition to all our other developments of freedom—*free-love*—women are everywhere to be engaged on liberal terms for brief periods, and discharged as soon as possible afterwards. For my own part, it would give me the greatest satisfaction to see this invading principle driven back within the walls of its native cities, or confined strictly to the market and the shop; at all events, it is abundantly clear that its strict application to agricultural industry is not likely to better the condition of either farmers or farm-labourers. Some people—perhaps all the peddling and shopkeeping world—have the greatest horror of being placed in any position of depend-

ence; but surely it is much more advantageous to be the dependent member of an organized community, entitled to some consideration from your fellows, than to be the independent member of a mob.

I would support any reasonable legislative measure that might be devised for the improvement of landlords, or for keeping them up to their duty, but am convinced that no greater calamity could happen to our agriculture than the sweeping away of the whole class by a democratic revolution. It is much better that a man should farm under an Irish landlord who is simply the receiver of a moderate rent, than become a poor freeholder to fall into the hard clutches of an American money-lord. The English aristocracy, however, with some few exceptions, are far superior to mere idle capitalists; they may be said in many instances to half earn their rents by supervising the cultivation of their estates, and effecting agricultural improvements. Go into any parish of Northamptonshire that has long been subject to aristocratic influence, and you will observe a fine breed of cattle grazing in the pastures, substantial farm-houses, good cottages, and an excellent school for the instruction of the parishioners. Afterwards take a glance at some Cardiganshire parish where farmers and labourers have been left to plod along by themselves, and it will be seen that the cattle are such as might have been owned by the ancient Britons, the houses are mere hovels; and as for a school, till the recent Education Act forced one upon the grumbling population, there was none thought of. Our landlords render an immense service to the country by putting right men in right places, by selecting, out of the mass of people fond of rural life and competing for farms, the most capable and efficient

agriculturists. In France and all countries where the freehold system prevails, a farm, if not inherited, simply falls to the highest bidder, who may not be the largest capitalist, nor the best cultivator, and there is no guarantee required of his being in any way professionally qualified for the cultivation of the soil. If the agriculture of this country were carried on, as some reformers desire it to be, under the direct superintendence of Government officials, there is every probability that we should have no better selection here, that the men appointed to farms would in general be those who offered the highest bidding or the highest bribe; but it is well known that our aristocracy, in making choice of a tenant, often reject the highest bidder, and that they cannot be reached by bribes; it is a rule with them to put into their farms, not only competent agriculturists who are likely to succeed permanently in their profession, but men of some character, who are likely to agree with their neighbours, and get on well with their subordinate people. I believe they would almost invariably sacrifice a few pounds of rent to have on their estate a good, upright, kind-hearted farmer, rather than one who led an immoral life, or was known to be a churlish, quarrelsome fellow, or a hard master, whom no poor man could serve with respect.

English landlords are generally men of public spirit, and as *magistrates* they have rendered their country an invaluable service, for which they have not even been requited with gratitude. Our democratic press has been long accustomed to sneer at the "Great unpaid," to charge them with little acts of tyranny, and hold up their decisions to public reprobation or ridicule; but these persistent attacks merely represent a current of popular prejudice, and have very rarely had the slightest foundation

in justice. Their severity in enforcing the Game Laws has been much animadverted on, and I believe in some instances they have been too rigorous, where poor men have been punished for the occasional taking of game that has trespassed on their gardens, or for rabbit-tracking when a hard winter has deprived them of other employment. Poaching, in a regular way, and especially night-poaching, is a very different and less excusable offence: the active young peasant who neglects his work to follow this exciting but unprofitable path of adventure is invariably on the high road to ruin, and, both for his own future welfare and the public interest, cannot be too early and too sternly repressed. It does not pay either farmer, labourer, or mechanic to run about much in pursuit of game, even where they have full permission to do so; but for the landlord, who has plenty of leisure, it is a health-giving recreation, which no one should grudge so long as it is not indulged in excessively and to the prejudice of agriculture. Our rural magistrates may sometimes exhibit a little pardonable ignorance of the law, but they have more sense of justice than those who are well versed in the law and artfully twist it for an occasion, or obstinately adhere to its every letter. They are certainly not inferior to city magistrates, especially such as the republican magistrates of New York, simply from being willing to serve their country without pay, any more than our parliamentary representatives can for a similar reason be considered less honest and patriotic than those who sit in the American Congress.

It will be found sometimes that those people who are most ready to point out faults in their neighbours, have actually been themselves chiefly instrumental in producing those faults. Certainly our

modern democrats are in a great measure responsible for the principal sins which they lay to the charge of the English aristocracy. These are constantly represented as being *selfish*, that is, caring more for their own private enjoyments than for the public good. The people who so speak of them will generally admit that they are patriotic, honourable, and liberal; that they have none of the crooked selfishness which we find in the aspiring middle class, that they are not accustomed to resort to commercial dodges and drive hard bargains, nor yet to treat their servants and workmen as factory hands have often been treated; the worst that we hear said of them in respect to failing in their social duty is, that some of them are too self-indulgent in taking up with horse-racing and other idle pleasures when they might be much better employed. But it will be generally found that where members of our aristocracy devote themselves excessively to sport, it is not from any disinclination to serve their country, but because the prevailing democratic distrust will not allow them to serve it as they might and would, because their manifestations of public spirit are everywhere met by cold suspicion and ingratitude, and their offers of service are refused.

If English noblemen were permitted to arbitrate in all labour disputes, as they are well qualified to do by their impartial position, what an amount of wealth foolishly squandered would thereby be saved to the country, and how much misery and destitution would be averted. In the great South Wales strike of 1875 no one understood both sides of the question better than Lord Aberdare, or spoke in reference to it with more wisdom and impartiality, or laboured with more earnestness to effect a reconciliation between masters and men, but neither party was disposed to listen to him, or confide in

his arbitration, so that his praiseworthy efforts to make peace and promote the general welfare were expended in vain. Similar instances of rejected offers of service and thwarted endeavours to do good among a distrustful people are constantly occurring; and then, if a nobleman is occasionally discouraged by the cold treatment which he receives, and is led to seek happiness by caring for the interests of more confiding horses and dogs, it is rather hard to call him idle when you will not let him work, or selfish when you will not permit him to assist you. Every man of generosity and public spirit who is ill-treated by society will be found, in a greater or less degree, to narrow his sympathies, and avoid future disappointments, by confining his attention more to promoting the little interests and enjoyments of self. When we see how a good husband may sometimes be driven to the tavern by an ill-tempered and faithless wife, can we wonder that a young lord who experiences similar treatment at the hands of a community which he has sincerely loved, and desired to labour for, should at length, on finding that his word has less weight than that of a tramping demagogue, withdraw altogether from the consideration of his social duty, and solace himself with the excitements of sport?

One of the worst consequences of democratic agitation in this country, and the setting of class against class, has been the driving of our lower aristocracy into an industrial alliance with other races, so as to greatly check the progress of our own people in their work of colonizing and extending their hold on the habitable earth. The emigration from our shores, which ought to be the orderly advance of an industrial army in which both the balance of classes and the balance of sexes are properly maintained, has become at length little

better than a mob-rush of private adventurers, every one greedy for gain, and with hardly any sense of social responsibility. In ancient times, when a number of people from a civilized state went forth beyond their borders to occupy new territory, they were invariably associated; for, in the face of surrounding barbarians, if they had not been banded together for mutual protection, they could not possibly have maintained their position long enough to reap a single harvest. The old Roman colonists were all organized on a military basis, and their system of making the farm depend on the fort has been continued with more or less success down to the present day by the Spaniards and French. The wiser Germans have gone forth honestly, and purchased lands and planted themselves in the midst of a foreign population without the assistance of arms; but they, too, have only succeeded because they were in each instance members of a well-directed industrial force strongly bound together as a bundle of sticks by the stranger element which encircled them. In their first attempts at colonization in America our English people, having to elbow in among the vastly more numerous native tribes, were necessarily associated in solid communities very much as their German kinsmen are seen to be now; and even recently they have, for similar politic reasons, organized and acted on the same system in New Zealand. But no sooner has the native population grown powerless, or disappeared before English colonists and left them to range freely without apprehension of danger, than their primitive bonds of union have speedily relaxed, and agitated by selfish feelings, jealousies, and strifes, they have sunk into a disorganized democracy.

The Americans were loyal to the mother country

so long as they were threatened on the west and north by rival French settlers with their formidable advanced guard of Indian allies; the deliverance from this permanent foreign menace, which British bayonets effected, made them feel bolder and competent to take care of themselves, and on the first provocation that offered, converted them into a community of rebels. With the aid of England's hereditary foes they effected their independence; and in the famous declaration thereof maintained that all men are born equal, abolished not only kingship, but by implication mastership, and exhibited to the civilized world a nation having for its fundamental principles the liberty and equality of savage life. In separating from the mother country they were deprived of its mediating influence, and subjected to an inferior and far more expensive system of government than that of the loyal Canadians, but they suffered even more socially than politically by fraternizing with foreigners, and alienating themselves from their natural friends. Every successful democratic revolution is sure to bring about an immediate deterioration of society; the excited French Republicans of 1793 not only massacred and drove into exile many thousands of the most orderly, intelligent, and well-conducted of their countrymen for merely differing from them in opinion, but to make matters worse, even broke open the prisons and received into their ranks with acclamation a mass of the vilest profligacy and crime. The revolted Americans in like manner shot and drove away and deterred from visiting the country an immense number of good royalists—their natural and proper leaders; and to debase themselves still further, stretched out the right hand of fellowship, and gave a hearty welcome to a new immigration of rogues. In short, they made their

new model republic what it has continued ever since—a convenient city of refuge for all the sectarian fanaticism and social discontent and runaway villany of Europe.

No political event ever had consequences more disastrous to our race than this American Revolution; it not only divided and weakened our empire, but to a great extent divided and weakened those important classes of the community which, being variously gifted in mind and body, are naturally designed to live together in organized friendship, and render each other mutual assistance. Imagine a well-appointed and splendid army broken up and scattered by revolt, the officers marching off in one direction and the men in another, and you will have an exact parallel to the division which has been brought about in the great industrial army of England engaged in the enterprise of colonization. For the last hundred years the discontented and mutinous labourers of this country and its revolutionary artisans have proceeded in hungry shoals to the Northern States of America, where an abundance of land, timber, and game, with a congenial climate, have made it possible for them to live in a very rude fashion without the help of large capital or the guidance of superior minds. The natural leaders of these runaway people, who might by going with them have organized them wisely, and greatly improved their condition, have, on finding that all masters are there regarded with aversion, proceeded to other climes, and devoted their ruling talents to the industrial training of other races—the Negroes, the Hindoos, and the Chinese. This adulterous and mongrelizing intercourse has not only demoralized them in various ways, and lured them into tropical regions unsuited to our race, but has involved the nation in no end of political troubles and complica-

tions, and has been the source of many of our costly and calamitous wars.

I am not fond of hypothetical history, but we are constantly making use of it for an instructive purpose in our little domestic concerns and matters of everyday life, and so may just as reasonably construct it to serve the same end in the nation's great political affairs. Let us, then, suppose that the balance of classes had always been wisely kept up in English colonization, and that amicable relations had been steadily maintained between the mother country and her American dependencies, what may we reckon on as the probable result? In the first place, the slave-trade, so far as Englishmen are concerned, would hardly have had any existence during the last century; there would have been very few negroes imported into our colonies, for what enterprising and sensible planter, with a band of good British labourers at his command, would have cared to make his plantation a mere penal settlement, and take on himself the trouble of reclaiming the savage outcasts of Africa, at the risk, too, of corrupting his sons, and raising up about him a family of mulattoes? The negro race, it will be said, has been elevated in this way: yes, undoubtedly, but our own race has been proportionately degraded. When a young English gentleman leaves his family from some domestic feud, and marries into a gipsy tribe, he will be sure to have some refining influence among his new relatives; but what little they gain from him will be very far from balancing his own people's loss. Moreover, if it had not been for the unfortunate negro complication in America, no permanent and bitter quarrel would have arisen between North and South, and there would not have been brought about in 1861 the most calamitous civil war that ever divided

and weakened our race. Then, again, if a proper system of organized colonization had been regularly kept up in our American settlements, it would have furnished such abundant employment to young Englishmen of the middle class that they would have had no inducement to adventure to the tropical East on buccaneering enterprises, and at length commit their country to the capital mistake of effecting the complete subjugation of India. And as a matter of course we should have had no permanent ground for continental embroilments, should have kept clear of the Afghan, Crimean, Abyssinian, and a hundred other wars, and should not have been forced by jealousy to seize on Europe's barren rocks, and confine there in idleness some thousands of armed men, who might be doing good service as colonists. It will be said, again, that by the conquest of India we have greatly benefited the Hindoos. Undoubtedly; but not to the extent that we have injured ourselves. Their country has been to us, not a garden, but a graveyard; and if the host of young celibate men who have gone there as soldiers to lay up their bones had gone to the Pampas or some other temperate region of America as colonists, and taken wives with them, they might have formed by this time a new English nation of some five or six million souls. England has for the last hundred years and more been throwing away her children as mere hedge-stakes and guano for the benefit of the agriculture of Hindostan, when under wiser counsels she would have planted them to good purpose in the wide expanse beyond the Atlantic, and given them a flourishing agriculture of their own.

It is very clear that the separation of our men of mind from our men of muscle, our organizing from our operative classes, which the American Revolu-

tion contributed so much to bring about, has not been for the advantage of either party. The many hundreds of talented young gentlemen who have to study hard at Hindustani, Bengali, or Cingalese, and then go out awkwardly to the tropical East to take the native people from the command of their own chiefs, or who go to West India plantations to superintend the labour of coolies, succumbing at length to the climate, or returning to England prematurely old and utterly debilitated, would have found a far more healthy and congenial employment in directing the operations of their poor emigrant countrymen in the temperate regions of North America. And these widely-scattered pioneers of the backwoods and prairies, tilling their little one-horse farms in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Kansas, under all sorts of inconveniences and difficulties, if they were only properly organized, and had the help of machinery, might with less labour accomplish much greater results, and besides get an occasional half-holiday. The democratic mania for living independently on their own plot, and having no master over them, makes them submit to hardships which no English farm-servant would be expected to endure; and it would be difficult to find any European peasants with such jaded and haggard looks: they are compelled to toil early and late, and wear themselves out at fifty in the miserable slavery of selfishness. The overworked and ill-taught children of these small, struggling free-holders, instead of inheriting the parents' land-hunger, and following their example, frequently grow up with a positive aversion for agriculture, and betake themselves to pedling, or opening a small store or drinking-saloon, or else get away from the "old boss," and lead an unsettled life in the large towns.

Then, when a primitive American farmer so far prospers and extends his area of cultivation that he may very well employ three or four labourers, it often happens that he knows not where to find them, since every working man has, like himself, made a Declaration of Independence, and is running about hither and thither to do something on his own account, as in the universal scramble of a gold-diggings. Enterprising and capable men, who wish to organize other industries in various parts of the States, often find it extremely difficult to do so; and in order to get people who are sufficiently docile to take a subordinate position and submit to the direction of a superior mind, have to look out for the Irishman, the Chinaman, or the Negro. And thus it is that in the West, as well as in the East, a number of inferior races will be found to increase and multiply, and benefit from our own class divisions; the spirit of democracy, which persuades the British working man to mutiny and run away from his master provides the more tractable Asiatic and African with the captainship which enables him to thrive. If order and harmony and the balance of classes had all along been maintained by our adventurous people, who are engaged in the great work of colonization, we should have heard nothing of the "yellow agony;" there would have been at the present day scarcely a single Chinese immigrant to be found either in America or Australia; through our industrial army being reduced to the condition of a mob, the Celestials are fast gaining a permanent footing on both these continents, and are likely soon to be numbered by millions. Like the short-sighted, reckless, roaming Esau, our democratic working men may be seen bartering away their paternal blessing and their magnificent territorial birthright for the present

advantage of a poor mess of pottage; that is—an independent position. Like the Prodigal Son, fancying themselves oppressed, they have foolishly wandered away from their industrial father, to suffer in consequence no inconsiderable amount of hunger and hardship, while the wiser foreigners, only too happy to become their father's hired servants, and confide in his good rule and guidance, have bread enough and to spare.

Mr. Bradlaugh, in his interesting and instructive little pamphlet on *American Politics*, treating of some of the new political issues now being raised in the United States, says, "One of the most grave is the approaching conflict between labour and capital—a conflict which will now be aggravated by the presence in the large cities, such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Chicago, of very large bodies of men, either entirely without employment or unable to earn enough to obtain decent food, clothing, and shelter. Very many of these, especially the recently-arrived Germans in the West, hold extreme Socialist theories, and do not regard the government of their newly-adopted country with even the habit-reverence that does much to restrain the inhabitants of old countries. . . . These poor men, crowded together in rich cities where they are strangers, grow to regard the suffrage rather as a weapon of offence against the capitalist class than as a means of performing a common duty in carrying on the government of the country."

We are told on another page, "Nearly all the accessions of population to Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and British Columbia are of emigrants from the British Isles. They speak the language of the people amongst whom they come to dwell; they are already acquainted with the habits, literature, and traditions of the people with whom they

are to associate. The new comer and the old colonist have almost the same national feelings and interests; the same general views on religious and social questions. In the United States, on the contrary, the increase is from diverse races, with distinct and often opposing traditions, with national associations generally hostile to those held by the people amongst whom they are to live, with strange tongues and contrary habits, and with creeds which can never amalgamate, but must extinguish or be extinguished. English, Russian, German, Swede, Italian, Pole, Wallachian, French Canadian, French, Chinaman, Dane, Norwegian, all jostle together in the New World, where they have to struggle for existence; the Chinaman at one end of the country is now to have the Esquimaux at the other; all are to be governed under the constitution of the United States Republic. And yet critics in English journals amuse themselves with leading articles, illustrative of America and its shortcomings, written by men, whose highest qualification is that they write in the sublimest ignorance of the subject on which they treat."

To our Saturday Reviewers and others Mr. Bradlaugh says in effect, "You must not be too hard on the working of America's Republican institutions, for there are circumstances of peculiar difficulty to contend with in that country of which you seem entirely ignorant." No one will think of denying the existence in the United States of these circumstances of peculiar difficulty; what we have to say of them is, that they are clearly the fruits of democracy—social circumstances which the revolted Americans have blindly created, troubles which they have brought upon themselves. If democracy had permitted our colonization of the American conti-

nent to be properly organized, and both the balance of classes and the Imperial connection had been steadily maintained, the great cities which have sprung up there would not be sorely plagued at the present day with "yellow agony," Irish rowdyism, Negro pauperism, and threatened by swarms of foreign Socialists. The English population in the United States would probably have been larger than it is now by at least twenty millions, and the foreign admixture very much less, and besides of a superior character, and such as would have readily amalgamated with our own race.

We might reverse the hypothetical picture; we might suppose Mr. Bradlaugh, and his widely scattered friends, by concentrating all their energies on one English province, to succeed at length in revolutionizing — we will say the county of Norfolk. They erect a monument to their great prototype, Paine, in his native town of Thetford; they make, after his own manner, a Declaration of Independence; and a Home Rule and Radical Ministry being in power, very little resistance is offered to their conversion of the county into a free and independent Republic. Having succeeded thus far, they next proceed to nationalize the land in their own fashion, or convert it into a Republican common: the opposition of the landowners and the capitalist class is at length overcome with a good deal of sanguinary fighting, and they are killed or driven away, so that Norfolk loses at least forty thousand of the cream of its population. As fast as these aristocrats are got rid of, there flock in a very different class of people from Northampton, Leicester, Nottingham, and other democratic centres, to supply their place; yet, in consequence of free-love doctrines and French population-checks

being in vogue, there is, with all this accession of good Republicans, a decline rather than an increase of the English race. The Anglo-Saxon decadence is, however, more than compensated by a steady immigration of foreigners. The glorious tidings of a real Communistic Republic being established and a new land of promise opened for the proletariat, is speedily made known at Barcelona, Geneva, Paris, Copenhagen, and a hundred other hot-beds of revolution, till Yarmouth, with constant arrivals of poor Utopians from all parts of Europe, becomes a little New York. In the course of a few years every town in Norfolk gets to be a Babel of foreign Republicans, such miscellaneous throngs of excited, disappointed, and angry people are seen to crowd together at the street corners, and jabber and gesticulate, as were recently assembled at the Internationalist Congress at Ghent.

In the case of this great democratic muddle and jumble being actually accomplished, like the chaotic mixture of loose rolling stones from a dozen half-demolished buildings, I can easily believe that any Republican Government intent on bringing order out of the confusion so blindly created would be considerably embarrassed, and meet on every side with circumstances of peculiar difficulty; I can also quite imagine that some future revolutionist—one of those men whom history can never teach—having a burning enthusiasm to extend the unfortunate Norfolk experiment as widely as possible, might be simple enough to defend the Government there established from Monarchical criticism in some such strain as this: "You hostile journalists, who have never visited Norfolk, are in sublimest ignorance of the vast amount of social complexity which the Republic contains, and how the heterogeneous immigrant multitudes, which meet there and jostle

each other, are naturally more difficult to govern than the purely English populations of Suffolk, Essex, and Kent." *

X.—Our National Church.

All English Republicans that I have ever met with desire to overthrow the State Church which we have in this country, because they naturally enough regard that Church as a Monarchical institution, and one of the principal bulwarks of our Monarchical Government. I have heard it affirmed by some of the cooler heads that it would be good policy on the part of Republicans not to attempt too much at once in the work of demolition, to keep back for the present as much as possible their ulterior designs, to join the powerful Liberation Society, and concentrate all their efforts on severing the connection between Church and State; and having once secured this important advance in their Americanizing programme, they believe it will be comparatively easy to accomplish the rest. And to encourage them in pursuit of such policy they have, it must be admitted, a well-known revolutionary precedent: the English monarchy would not have been temporarily subverted in the great struggle of

* I am just now reminded of another able but short-sighted agitator, Mr. Beesly, who, after doing his utmost to excite English working men to revolt against their masters, and, as a consequence, bring to our shores bands of more tractable foreigners, writes an indignant letter protesting against this invasion, to the *Dispatch*, headed, "England for the English"!

1642–60, but for the Nonconformists of that period having, in the first place, successfully assailed England's Monarchical Church, on the ground of its departure from the Republican constitution of primitive Christianity.

In the beginning of the 17th century, the entire English-speaking community became, for the first time, united in one powerful nationality; but no sooner had Monarchism brought about this happy consummation, than Republicanism, in a religious guise, was busily at work scattering the seed of future divisions. If a number of political reformers had gone about at that period, assuring the English people that there was no salvation for them but by returning to the primitive constitution and laws of their Anglo-Saxon ancestors, very little heed would have been given to such message, since it would have occurred to every person of common sense that the institutions which befitted a simple tribe would in no respect be adapted to the wants of a complex nation. But the Puritans who denounced Episcopacy, and preached the revival of primitive Christianity, were listened to with patience as the very apostles of truth, because a superstition then existed, and still widely prevails, that religion is revealed to mankind in a perfect form, so as to be incapable of any growth or development, and that the government arrangements of the original Nazarene Church must be unchangeable.

It has been the aim of the various Nonconformist sects in this country to revive, each in its own way, some special feature of primitive Christianity, and so establish a *Creed Church* which shall make its way by proselytism and destroy all other creeds out of the world. Such a Church, so long as it keeps pure or adheres strictly to its original tenets, can never attain the wide dominion it dreams of, or

convert any but kindred minds; it must necessarily remain a small, simple community, a people of one sort. On the other hand, English statesmen have all along wisely discouraged sectarianism and proselytism, and have endeavoured to provide the nation with a *Broad Church*—a church adapted to a complex society—in which, while the two great Christian commandments, our duty to God and our neighbour, are strictly enjoined, all shades of theological opinion shall be tolerated and treated with respect.

The theory of a Creed Church is, That there can be but one true standard of religious belief in the world, to which all other standards have precisely the same relationship that counterfeit money bears to good coin: That a few people of congenial spirit shall discover or have revealed to them this universal thought-regulation pattern, and proceed to convert others to their way of thinking till all nations and races shall eventually think alike or become moulded into one sect.

The theory of a Broad Church is, That the different creeds which prevail represent natural and unavoidable variations of human sentiment, and are all practically true and valuable, so far as they go, like the variously stamped coins of the different countries: That the divergence of men's religious views cannot, by any proselytizing power, be reformed away, but, by a judicial power, must be reconciled; the essential thing being, not to make them of one exact faith, but to give them one common charity, so that they may live and work together in peace.

I think the latter view, much more than the former, must commend itself to every enlightened, unprejudiced, and charitable mind. The diversity of religions which exists throughout the world

cannot be considered any more of an evil than the diversity of languages, costumes, manners, and musical tastes. Constituted variously as the races of men are, and progressing in different stages of mental development, to force on them uniformity of sentiment and belief is only to propagate incongruity and falsehood. If God had intended all mankind to run in one spiritual groove, and advance therein at an even pace, they would have been so similarly moulded by circumstances, and so like-gifted and uniformly instructed that any radical disagreement between them, or wide divergence of their religious views, would have been impossible. Moreover, the numerous systematic attempts which have been made to convert the nations to one faith by bands of zealous propagandists would, if based on truth and Divine authority, have long since been crowned with success, instead of producing, as we actually see, hatreds, tumults, insurrections, persecutions, and everywhere ending in failure and disappointment. Much good will often result from propagating a sectarian scheme of religion among savages, or among the ignorant and degraded classes, who have no religion at all; but when one ambitious sect aims at swallowing up other sects which are equally well organized and intelligent, it perpetrates a wrong, and overtasks itself quite as much as Germany or France would do if it were to gather up all its military strength to undertake the conquest of Europe. It is the object of a National Church not to encourage one powerful religious party to make war on another, but to reconcile them as much as possible and bring about a general federation of sects, with the view to the public welfare, or establish what might be called an intercommunion of saints. The vast amount of energy

and zeal which is wasted by ministers of religion in controverting each other's views and in unwise attempts at proselytism would be productive of immense benefit if directed by such a church wholly towards the alleviation of human woes and the suppression of immorality and crime.

There is this objection to a sectarian or creed church, that it cannot be established equally well in every part of the country; it can only flourish, with us, in a large urban community, where there may be found a sufficient number of congenial minds to make up a permanent congregation. A village doctor once said to me, "Here I have to study carefully all the maladies to which the human frame is liable, and must be a man of wide and general experience; but in London many doctors are *specialists*, that is, they devote themselves entirely to diseases affecting the skin, the chest, the eye, or some other particular organ of the body. I have myself rather a fancy for treating eye-diseases in preference to others, and believe that my skill in this branch would enable me in a few years to get up a good practice as an oculist in any large town; but it is useless thinking of it here; in this place an oculist would soon starve."

Every country parson who is what he ought to be—a good Broad Churchman—will express a very similar opinion as to the impracticability of attempting any special sectarian teaching in a small rural community. He will find among the people of his parish as great a diversity of intelligence and sentiment as the doctor finds of physical constitution and temperament; and their spiritual ailments will, of course, be just as various as their bodily infirmities. Some of the members of the little complex society that gather every Sunday at their parish church may have strong Calvinistic tenden-

cies; a few of them may be half Methodists; others may be inclined to Romanism; others to Unitarianism or Theism; and were they in a large city, they would probably segregate or be drawn apart to congregations of kindred sentiment by the various sectarian ministers. But the people of one religious type being here so few in number, cannot afford to cultivate congeniality, or think of establishing a sect; they must reconcile their sentiments with those of their neighbours who form other types, and they require as a minister not a sectarian, but a man of broad sympathies, who is able to do justice to all their views, tone down their controversies, and induce them to worship together and live together in the bonds of charity. And that which may be said of rural parishes may be said with equal truth of the country's naval and military forces: the religious instruction supplied to our army and navy should be truly national, since they each form a national community. It would be just as improper to appoint a sectarian to the chaplaincy of a regiment as to have for its surgeon a specialist to deal only with one class of diseases, or a quack with one infallible nostrum for all.

If our National Church were abolished, I quite believe that sectarian churches would come to flourish more than they do now in rural districts, for we should probably have a local segregation, and at length be afflicted with sectarian villages, or even provinces, such as in some unfortunate countries may be already seen. In one parish a Baptist community would establish themselves, while in a neighbouring parish the land would be bought up by Catholics, Independents, or Methodists, and the map of England would have to be coloured in various ways, to show all the localities of the sects.

Such an arrangement might be very agreeable to certain narrow-minded religionists, who like to be always surrounded by men of their own sort; but it would be anything but a hopeful prospect for the contemplation of the statesman who wishes to break down sectional barriers, and form a harmonious national community. Enlightened travellers who have visited Syria, and interested themselves in the important question of the regeneration of the East, assure us that one of the greatest obstacles to the establishment of order and good government there, is the jealousy which exists between the localized sects, the feuds which are kept up between the Druse, Greek, Maronite, and Mahometan villages. No Syrian has any feeling of patriotism or pride in belonging to a great and noble nation; his sympathies extend no further than the limits of his sect; all beyond it he regards as infidels and enemies. Local sectarian divisions of a similar kind and tendency are fast growing up in the United States of America, and in the case of the Mormons were, at a recent period, very nearly on leading to an outbreak of civil war. We should be sorry to find any of these religious troubles and complications eating into the heart of our own nation; we are not disposed to see a Catholic Norfolk, a Methodist Kent, and a Mormon Devonshire raising up among us far more permanent barriers to the free intercourse of all the provincial sections of our great English community than those of the Saxon Heptarchy. And that this state of things does not already exist among us, that our country is not broken up into a miserable patchwork of discordant sects is only because we have established in every parish a National Church to restrain the sectarian spirit, to reconcile the little dissensions that arise from time to time, and keep us a united people.

The two powerful bonds which make the inhabitants of any large geographical district a kindred people, and cause them to act together agreeably as one nation, and submit readily to the authority of one government, are *language* and *religion.* Without these bonds, a country, however compact its territory, will always be ready to fall to pieces, as in the case of the unfortunate Ottoman Empire, and it can only be prevented from doing so by the stern repression of military force. Every enlightened ruler, therefore, who does not want the disagreeable task of having to quell frequent insurrections, must naturally be desirous to promote by every possible means a moral affinity between his subjects—to cultivate, so far as he is able, a national language, and uphold a national religion. Among political schemers, we hear a great deal of talk at the present day about the advantages which would accrue from making all the land in the country a government common. Those who have had a life-long experience in government affairs know that for making the public welfare predominate over sectional interests, it is not the land that requires nationalizing, but the people.

Our Government supports the Episcopalian Church, and neglects the Congregationalist, not from any spirit of partiality or religious prejudice, not because it considers the former more Christian or more Scriptural than the other, but because the former is *national,* and the latter *sectarian;* because the former is an institution designed to promote the unity and harmony of the English people, while the latter tends to perpetuate those unfortunate divisions which have once involved the country in a fierce civil war. For a similar reason it patronises the English language, or encourages the universal adoption of what some call the Northamptonshire

dialect, and neglects the fashion of speaking which prevails in some other counties, and gives little attention to the Gaelic and the Welsh. In some parts of Wales the inhabitants consider it a great hardship that they should be taxed for the cultivation in their Principality of a State language which they care nothing about, or can only regard with apprehension as a formidable rival of their own tongue. They look upon their native speech as a kind of sacred inheritance, as the true original language of the entire British nation, superior by many degrees to that which is gradually supplanting it—the barbarous Saxon-and-Norman compound which we call English. Some few years ago a body of warm-hearted Welsh people actually emigrated to the bleak shores of Patagonia, and there, in the midst of much hardship, founded a new settlement with the view to preserve intact the cherished language of their fathers, which they knew to be continually receding and threatened with extinction at home. And we cannot help admiring to some extent the devotion and self-sacrifice of these brave enthusiastic Cambrians, just as we find much to admire in the various sectarian bodies who have fled to America to preserve the purity of their faith, or who, like the Mormons, have fled across the American continent. Yet, in the eyes of all who take an extended view of society, it is clear that these emigrants, determined, like the old mountain clans, not to be nationalized and become members of a larger community, were a mistaken people, and that they would have done much more for the general advancement of human welfare by quietly surrendering their peculiarities than by obstinately conserving them.

It is not only for the *nationalization* of the people that the Government of this country ought

to maintain a State church: such an establishment is equally necessary to assist in the great work of their *education*. A sectarian church in its original design and composition is not at all an educational institution, but merely a society of kindred minds, or what is generally called a religious brotherhood, adding to its numbers from time to time by the process of conversion. It obviously does not require any Government assistance to maintain an association of this kind, to induce certain birds of a feather to flock together, for they will be ever found to do this readily enough of their own accord. I was some years ago acquainted with two brothers residing in a country parish, both well educated and intelligent young men. Robert, actuated by a benevolent desire to elevate his poor and ignorant neighbours, was accustomed every week to render the clergyman valuable assistance by teaching in his Sunday school. Arthur, on the other hand, had no patience to spend a leisure hour in endeavouring to improve a set of ill-bred unmannerly louts; he sighed for congeniality, and went nearly every Sunday to the neighbouring town, that he might enjoy the society of a few select people of his own sort. So far as my observation extends, the educated people who resemble Arthur in disposition, are a hundredfold more numerous than those who resemble Robert; and it is only the latter—such as condescend to instruct the poor and ignorant, that need help and encouragement from the State. If we had no National Church in this country, there are thousands of rural parishes that would never attract a minister of any learning and refinement to reside in them for six months together, nor afford such a man adequate support. The ignorant inhabitants would get no religious instruction but that which might be im-

parted to a few kindred minds by some pious tailor or shoemaker, excepting that, in the haymaking season, they would probably be roused up by the excitement of an occasional camp-meeting; religion would thus come to them only by fits and starts; they would experience a succession of summer revivals and winter relapses.

The Wesleyans have undoubtedly done much good service, both in town and country, to educate and elevate the poor and ignorant, and, as might be expected, they are more ready than any other Dissenting body to appreciate the immense work which is accomplished in this direction by earnest ministers of the National Church. A good many of the sectarian congregations are, however, little better than theological clubs, their members—a number of respectable people of kindred sentiment—just meet together every week to enjoy hearing an eloquent exposition of their favourite views, and leave the uncongenial world of ignorance to take care of itself. Here is a religious reformer of great argumentative powers who has undertaken to preach the revival of primitive Christianity and confute the mystical pretensions of Trinitarianism. It has never yet been shown that genuine Christ-followers are in any respect superior to Christ-worshippers, or that Peter is more worthy than Paul; how, then, is the world to be bettered by his reformation movement? His sermons might, certainly, be of some value as contributions to a theological magazine or review, but they can be of no use for the regeneration of society. Trinitarians carefully avoid him, or if a few listen occasionally, it is only to criticise and denounce him in their own circles as an outrageous heretic. The people who go regularly to hear him are men of his own sort, not humble learners, but proud and ambitious partisans, whose glory is in

confuting and humiliating the orthodox, finding all manner of fault with their Trinitarian neighbours, and forgetting that they have faults of their own. This reforming audience disperse from their Sunday services contemning the illusions of mankind, and filled with a conceit of their superior knowledge and wisdom, whereas many a poor Trinitarian who has attended to his duty, obtained the love of his neighbours, and never engaged in religious controversy, is wiser than they. All their enthusiasm, all their efforts are directed towards re-shaping the established opinions of religious people, who in character and conduct are at least as good as themselves, while they do absolutely nothing to lay hold of the masses, and change the views of their degraded fellow-creatures who are of no religion at all.

"Revive," says Garibaldi in his address to the Italian priests, "the ancient Christianity which proclaims self-denial, mutual forgiveness, and the holy doctrine of the equality of men." Rousseau and other prophets of the French Revolution said much the same thing; and I have no doubt that, till the end of this century and after, there will be further attempts of fighting zealots to establish the Fifth Monarchy, and make mankind all of one sort by "apostolic blows and knocks." But I think many reflecting people will agree with me that there has already been a great deal too much of this reviving ancient Christianity by modern free-thinkers, so fruitful in sanguinary strife, and will prefer the diversities tolerated by the present worldly monarchies to the uniformity of the kingdom of saints. In primitive Christianity we see the reforming youth, full of impractical dreams, full of hope and enthusiasm, full of ambition, glorying in martyrdom, thirsting for victory, and

flinging himself impetuously against the mountains and rocks of the world to make them move out of his way. In modern nationalized Christianity we see the mature man, the conforming father of a family who has less frothy sentiment than in his early years and more common sense, who, having seen much of the world, gathered a rich harvest of experience, and come to distinguish the practical from the visionary, contrives to adjust his views sociably to those of other people, and live a life of moderation and peace. Those individuals who still retain their youthful constitution of mind—and there are some enthusiasts, such as Garibaldi, Mazzini, and Victor Hugo, who seem to never part with it—will naturally prefer the youthful Christianity, and eagerly renew the reforming war which it waged against all the established churches and governments of the world. But other people of every rank, from the exalted statesman to the humble parishioner, who with advancing years have grown in wisdom and have come to regard their early aspirations as visionary, will distrust new reforming sects, and rely on the old and experienced national churches as the most efficient organizations for improving the character and bettering the condition of their fellow-men.

People of narrow sectarian views think it a great scandal that the Church of England should contain within its pale so much diversity of opinion; but this is, in truth, its noblest feature; the spectacle of three or four great ecclesiastical parties putting aside their doctrinal differences, and working together amicably for their country's good, instead of excommunicating and burning each other, as their ancestors would have done, is one of the most encouraging signs of the times. The National Church ought to be, and I trust eventually will be, as

broadly constituted as the National Parliament or the Society of Freemasons, and open to Jews, Dissenters, Romanists, Rationalists, and conscientious men of every creed. Nonconformists say to us, "If the Established Church were simply a Masonic body, avowedly open to people of all faiths, we should make no objection to its containing every shade of doctrine and sentiment found in this country. What we complain of is, that it has in the Thirty-nine Articles of its Liturgy a Christian creed which ought to be binding on all its members, but by many of them is not strictly and conscientiously held." Those who entertain this opinion seem to be under the impression that a National Church, equally with a sectarian church, is based on its regulation tenets or written creed. They appear, at least, to fancy that the orthodox creed of the Church of England was established at some time or other by the unanimous consent of all her members, whereas it had in reality no more general sanction than that of a representative *majority* in her councils. When her Articles of Faith were proposed, seconded, and voted, point by point, after the manner of an Act of Parliament, there was a considerable *minority* who did not entirely agree with them, and would have much preferred other Articles, just as there have been dissentients in every Church Council; but on finding themselves outvoted, instead of seceding, they stood fast and loyally acquiesced in their fellow-councillors' decision. This is just what every minority, religious or political, is morally obligated to do, or all organic communities will soon be broken up, and there will at length be only individualists—nothing social left from which anybody can secede.

If, then, the original dissentients from the Church's creed were justified in their conformity, why should

a directly opposite line of conduct be looked for from the unorthodox minority, who at the present day occupy the same position, and hold similar or more advanced views? When a clergyman or layman, after much patient study and investigation, ceases to believe some portion of the regulation tenets which an ecclesiastical majority are empowered to write, he simply passes from the majority over to the minority; he can no longer be considered an orthodox member of the Church, and takes his place among the conformists. It is true, that in every church which has a written creed the orthodox majority is apt to grow overbearing and tyrannical towards the conformist minority. It says to the original dissentients, "We do not want you to believe, but only to work with us and respect our belief"; and then, after they have complied for some time with this reasonable request, their outward conformity is very unjustly held to signify inward agreement. A churchman's loyal acquiescence in the creed of the majority, for the sake of unity and peace, ought no more to be regarded as implying actual identity of view with the framers of that creed than a citizen's submission to the laws of his country is held to denote that he in every particular endorses the judgment of its legislators. All enlightened and liberal members of the Church of England will be found to take this view: when one of their countrymen who, from some prejudice or other, has hitherto been estranged from the Church, now at length becomes reconciled, and is disposed to enter into communion with them, and join in their work and worship; if his character is acceptable, they do not trouble themselves about his creed, or insist on his being intellectually and doctrinally converted. He takes his place among them as a conformist member, and is not brought

up before some rigorous orthodox inquisition; his private views are treated with the utmost respect and consideration, so long as he exhibits an equally tolerant and courteous spirit towards those who differ from him, or, in short, behaves to the orthodox as he would have the orthodox behave to him.

Such kindly and charitable feeling does not by any means approve itself to the minds of nonconforming zealots. If you are a small minority of advanced thinkers in the church to which you belong, or have a few religious crotchets or favourite Scripture texts, the right thing to do, in their estimation, is not to behave courteously, but to begin making a row; not to sit patiently under an orthodox sermon, but to bawl out your dissent in the manner of the early Quakers, and so invite persecution and martyrdom. If this practice of proclaiming aloud one's private sentiments were generally followed, every religious community would soon degenerate into a mob-church, with half a dozen preachers of opposite doctrines arguing each other down, and about a score of inferior wranglings going on at the same time, such as may be even now witnessed on a Sunday morning at the notorious St. Pancras railway arches.

Some people who leave the Church of England from objections to her doctrine and discipline, seem disappointed that their example is not more generally imitated, and are fond of aspersing those who equally object but remain faithful to her communion, just as the noisy fellows who are compromised in a strike will abuse the more quiet and sensible workmen who cannot be induced to join their revolt. If a man is thought to be of rationalizing tendencies, or considered somewhat unorthodox, he will be told that he has no business in the Established Church,

but should come out in a straightforward manner and join some reforming sect that comes nearest to his views, or constitute a sect in himself. For an intolerant Rationalist, this may be the only right and proper course: he who so hates Ritualists and Evangelicals that he will hardly sit at the same table with them, or condescend to worship God in their company, can do nothing better than get away from them speedily and herd with a select few of his own sort. But for one who has broad sympathies and a genial conciliatory disposition, so as to be thoroughly at home and friendly with every religious variety of his fellow-men, and ready to learn something from them, segregation is by no means advisable. Every man who, like Bishop Temple or Dean Stanley, is known to have a large charity, should certainly be the member of a large church.

Even if there were a general secession from the Church of England of all its advanced thinkers who are not revolutionary, for the purpose of establishing on some sound basis an independent religious community, it is hard to see how such a movement would benefit the nation at large, or conduce to its enlightenment and progress. The theory of secession is that a small body of reformers, by organizing themselves and moving in advance of the Church, must have great force of example, and eventually succeed in drawing all the rest of the community after them; but actual experience shows that an estrangement generally accompanies their separation from the orthodox, and diminishes their influence over them for good. The non-reformers, when parted from those who have been accustomed to awaken and stimulate them to thought, are apt to sink into a state of lethargy and hopeless stagnation, and the children of the reformers are pushed on to assert their individual

notions, and demand further reforms, till they eventually fritter away their strength in further secessions. To draft off the more enlightened members of a church from the less enlightened, is much the same as if the well-mounted officers of an army, instead of looking after their rank-and-file, and helping them forward by every possible means so as to make the greatest aggregate progress, should ride clean away from, or, being disgusted with their stupidity, should cease altogether to hold any further intercourse with them, and begin to form a regiment of themselves.

To Jew, Christian, and Moslem, to every member of a great historical religious community, I would say, Do not be in a hurry to separate from the body of your fellow-worshippers just because, from superior intelligence, or higher moral perceptions, you no longer agree with the old regulation tenets which hold them together. Your church is a great school of religious thought, admitting of various gradations of progress; and, having steadily advanced therein and outgrown its orthodox teaching, instead of withdrawing in contempt or ill-humour, it will be decidedly more creditable for you to remain with perfect charity, and strive to raise its standards, and contribute to the enlightenment of others. People may easily misunderstand you, they may fancy that you are not conforming from principle, but from some moral defect, such as selfishness, cowardice, or untruthfulness; they may look upon you as a hollow trimmer and time-server, as not being thoroughly conscientious, not having the courage of your opinions, or daring to say plainly all you think in the face of the world. You may be accused of basely upholding superstition and error by your conformity, just as officers of the Royal Navy, who wisely humour the traditional fancies of

seamen, are sometimes accused by those who command an ideal fleet in our newspapers. And much more will doubtless be said against you by revolutionary critics; but you will be calumniated in good company, and will have no reason to blush for taking that modest and patient course which the experience of ages proves to be best for helping on poor, feeble, and limping humanity. The greatest statesmen and most enlightened public teachers on record, while towering in thought far above the stock notions and established traditions of the vulgar world, have condescended to place themselves on the orthodox level of their countrymen, the better to guide and elevate them; such men, without making any commotion or raising any reform clamour, are the wisest and most effective reformers. It is, beyond question, a nobler career to advance slowly in educational harness and draw a host after you, than to selfishly disengage yourself as a runaway engine, that you may attain alone and unencumbered a more brilliant celerity.

Some of the laws of England are very objectionable in the eyes of enlightened men, but instead of seeing therein any just ground for leaving the country, or raising the standard of revolt, they cheerfully conform to those laws, and labour patiently as educationists, till a majority have come up to their way of thinking, and straightway reforms are effected. The English language is known to be extremely irregular and faulty in its construction, yet those who are most sensible of its imperfections readily fall in with the popular usage, till the nation at large shall, with further culture, come to perceive these anomalies, and desire to have improvements effected. The method of moving on without disunion, which succeeds so well in the world of politics and in the world of literature, cannot be con-

sidered inapplicable to that of religion. All great religious reforms are brought about by the patient labour of educationists, and not by angry clamour, and revolt, and sectarian strife. More than a century ago, for instance, a revision of the English Bible, to the extent of correcting its mistranslations and grammatical errors, and paraphrasing some of its coarser passages, was advocated by a few thoughtful and progressive men, and though they were at first scarcely listened to, they held faithfully to the National Church, and persevered in persuading others, till at length, in our own time, the leading public journals have recommended the change, and popular prejudice against it has been so far overcome, that an authorized Company of Revisers are now actually engaged at Westminster, and are getting far on with the work. If, then, you have any similar reform to propose to your community, and their minds are not sufficiently prepared to work with you for its realization, abide with them still as a faithful brother, and educate them in like manner; and though you may not advance them so far as you would, you cannot fail to bring them somewhat nearer to your own ideal, and, with your charitable spirit, influence them for good. Evidently it is better that your light should be hoisted on a church candlestick, where it may be seen of many, than withdrawn to some seceding reformers' hole-and-corner conventicle, or selfishly hid away in a closet.

Reformation and progress are desirable in every department of human affairs, but before there can be a genuine religious reform effected in a community, there must necessarily be an intellectual and moral reform; and this is to be brought about not by argument, but by education. As long as people are ignorant and unreflecting, they will cling

to the superstitions which befit such a state of mind; as long as they are cruel and revengeful, they will cherish a congenial faith, and impute their barbarous and vindictive feelings to God. To attack their dark creed in the manner of conversionists, without first preparing them for a better one by strengthening their minds and straightening their morals, will do no good at all, but frequently much harm. Since, if they continue unmoved and unpersuaded, as is generally the case, they will not take kindly the attempts of their would-be spiritual conquerors; and their minds, in which a good teacher would kindle love, will only be filled with hatred and resentment. While if they are actually urged by much eloquence, or by motives of interest, to profess a higher religion, and they adopt its name and symbols, it will be a mere surface conversion and sham; their new creed will not truly accord with their sentiments; and the gross idolatries which continue rooted in their hearts will, under new forms and faces, not be long in manifesting themselves.

Thousands of years ago a zealous reforming party, whose one-sided records we have in the Jewish Scriptures, attempted to put down what is called idolatry, that is, the use of images as aids to devotion, but with just such results as would be experienced in our days by those who would venture on the forcible suppression of Ritualism. They "brake the images to pieces, and cut down the groves, and threw down the high places and the altars out of all Judah and Benjamin, in Ephraim also, and Manasseh, until they had utterly destroyed them" (2 Chron. xxxi. 1). But as there was no internal reform, as the minds of the idolaters continued unchanged, new externals to harmonize therewith were, as a matter of course, speedily produced; the groves were replanted, the altars

rebuilt, and images were again carved and set up to worship; in short, a complete restoration demonstrated to the iconoclasts that they had completely misapprehended the diversities which existed in Israel, and had laboured to simplify them in vain.

Jean Jacques Rousseau and his enthusiastic disciples argued vehemently against Roman Catholic superstitions, just as the Apostle Paul had long before reasoned against Pagan superstitions; and the French reformers, like the early Christians, had their martyrs, and at length also resorted to force, beating down and closing many temples of the religion which they desired to suppress, and slaying and driving away the idolatrous priests. Yet, when this tremendous revolutionary hurricane had swept over the country, superstition was not in the least rooted out from the minds of the French people; they were just as passionate, imaginative, credulous, and subject to illusions as before. And if Napoleon had not acted the part of Julian, and restored the old orthodox faith, the new religion which the Illuminatists, the Theophilanthropists, and others were desirous of propagating, would, by inevitable corruption, have become very much like it, and would have had, in some other French general, its Constantine.

Moreover, when a reform movement is sweeping boisterously through a community, and unsettling people's minds, those who are ill-trained and ill-prepared frequently abandon in haste the wholesome checks and firm supports of the old faith before they can plant themselves on the new with equal stability, and, consequently, are not only unimproved in respect to moral character, but actually made worse; for, losing their equipoise, they slip, as were, between two stepping-stones, and drift

away in a current of irreligion and licentiousness. All intelligent travellers who are acquainted with the Moslem population of Constantinople will testify that in general those Turks are the least truthful and the least trustworthy whose minds, from contact with reforming Franks, have been prematurely emancipated from the yoke of Islamism. And in many other European cities we know, both with respect to Jews and Christians, that the loosening of their orthodox bonds is in too many instances accompanied by a deterioration of morality, and a decline of public spirit. The best reformers are therefore not the noisy liberationists who promote disunion and confusion, but the quiet and patient teachers who go with their feeble countrymen for their good, and so strengthen their reflective powers little by little, till they grow to the height of grasping great truths which otherwise will be but half comprehended, or continue wholly beyond their reach. A people invariably make the greatest progress, both in religion and in politics, when they move forward together in concert, without noise and tumult; and the successive steps of reformation which they accomplish are regarded rather as ordinary proceedings than as grand and exciting events.

All the reforming creed churches begin with a *quarrel,* are intensely controversial towards those whom they cannot bring over to their views, and in every direction make themselves enemies. The orthodox communities being assailed and threatened with speedy conquest, are put on their mettle, provoked to retaliate in every possible way, and devise means of checking their dangerous revolutionary foe. Every shot that is fired from the reformers' camp is speedily answered, every blow calls forth its return blow, and neither party succeeds in its

design to subjugate the other, but humanity suffers greatly from their bitter sectarian strife. While the world's religious teachers are fighting in rivalry, one against the other, there is little good done, their unfortunate congregations, and the people at large, are not being effectually taught. The reforming prophets, running about with two swords, striking on the one hand at the superstitious Pharisees, and on the other hand at the sceptical Sadducees, are apt to forget that their country is infested with robbers, and in danger of falling a prey to universal dissension and anarchy. It is impossible to do much towards educating and elevating an immoral population so long as the sects will not agree to drop their jealousies and act cordially together: in order that our publicans and sinners may be properly reached and reclaimed, there must first be an intercommunion of saints.

Religious reformers have sometimes effected a vast amount of good, not by fiercely attacking the doctrines of the established churches, but by industriously supplementing their labours; by laying hold of certain classes of irreligious people that the established churches have entirely failed to reach. Of such men John Wesley is a well-known and illustrious example: it will always be reckoned one of his greatest merits that he did not go about the country to draw away the congregations from other churches, but visited the coal-mines, the rookeries, the commons, and did his best to gather into a new fold a multitude of neglected and wandering sheep. I know not exactly what Mr. Voysey and his followers are now doing in London, or what they propose to do, but have been told recently that they wish to make themselves useful to the country as the Wesleyan reformers did, only among a different class of irreligious people. The programme of re-

formation which they have chalked out before them, I am assured, is somewhat to this effect. The Church which they wish to establish will not be a new Theological Club for the gathering of men of one sort, but a new Mutual Improvement Society open to all sects and shades of belief. Their aim is not to conquer but to colonize, not to encroach on the domain of other churches, and entice the members thereof from their allegiance, but to build on the abundant waste ground. They will renounce every kind of proselytizing war, and organize only for work: instead of setting up controversial batteries, and directing them against the weak points of other religions, they will be content with correcting their own faults and minding their own affairs; instead of constituting a sect of reformers, and fancying in the illusion of their excited circle, that they are carrying the world with them, they will quietly set about reforming themselves. In short, they wish to gather into a broad church some of those people of various sentiments who now belong to no church, and, without imposing any creed on them, afford them counsel and sympathy in their various troubles, and so far ground them in the principles of natural religion as to make them happier in their domestic relations, and worthier members of society.

So far as this modest and reasonable programme is adhered to, Mr. Voysey and his friends have my entire sympathy, and I believe them capable of effecting great good in the metropolis among a large class of people, whom the orthodox services of every shade have no power to attract. The sectarian churches established in our large towns, such as Mr. Spurgeon's, are deserving of sympathy too, so long as they attend to their own affairs; so long as they use the edifying Trowel, and lay aside the controversial Sword: it is only their disposition

to make war on other creeds and other Churches, in imitation of the old Puritans, that exposes them to the censure of more tolerant and charitable minds.

None of the various bodies of religious reformers in this country are purely destructive; they, in general, aim at pulling down the Established Church, and building up something better in its stead; but we have to deal with another class of assailants—the Revolutionary Freethinkers, whose fixed purpose is to destroy everything ecclesiastic and rebuild nothing. The Secularists, as they call themselves, are not necessarily an irreligious people—some of them profess to be religious, but they consider religion to be an individual concern, a private understanding between man and his Maker, in which nobody else has any business to interfere. "My own mind is my own church," said Paine, and thousands of English working men who read the *Age of Reason* at the present day heartily endorse this sentiment; they, at any rate, strictly renounce public worship, and assure us that they like a "church with a chimney," and no other.

Almost any kind of Sectarian Church which brings people of kindred mind together for mutual instruction and sympathy is superior to the Freethinker's Self-church. On making a Sunday stroll a few years ago, I was much struck by the wide contrast which was exhibited between the household of a Methodist artisan and that of his neighbouring fellow-workman, a Freethinker. The cottage of the former was a picture of neatness, everything was orderly and presentable, the children were made ready for school and looking their best, and the man and his wife were in a fair way of preparation to take their accustomed places at the chapel, and command by a decent appearance their

fellow-worshippers' respect. On the other hand, the house of the neighbour, who was emancipated from religious thraldom, might, from its internal condition, have led a visitor to fancy himself in the backwoods of America; it was a scene of disorder and anarchy—he in his working-dress, she in her dishabille, and the children running about where they pleased, romping and rioting in the manner of young savages. In fact, one man was the smart soldier on duty, respecting his regiment and being respected, and deriving great personal advantages from a cheerful submission to discipline; while the other was the slovenly deserter, who, having cast off all social restraint, and made himself delightfully free and independent, becomes a debased and pitiable object, the victim of self-satisfaction and self-indulgence. What a wretched world it would soon become if universal eccentricity prevailed, if every man were led by Freethought to isolate himself from his neighbours; declare, in the language of Paine, that his own mind was his own church, and hug to his bosom the poor philosophy that he had nobody to care for or to please but himself!

Emerson,—who, by the way, is one of the prophets of Individualism,—in treating of the illusions of various kinds to which people are all more or less subject, says, in his *Conduct of Life*, "It would be hard to put more mental and moral philosophy than the Persians have thrown into one sentence:—

> 'Fooled thou must be, though wisest of the wise;
> Then be the fool of virtue, not of vice.'"

This philosophy of illusions is just what my friend the Free-thinking artisan, and many more who entertain such views, would do well to learn. We must all have illusions of some sort; we can no

more break away from them entirely than we can escape from our shadows, and they are the chief incentives to human action; the world without them would soon come to a stand-still. If it were possible to disenchant young people from their youthful dreams, we should not thereby enlighten them, for they would in such case no longer be lured on, step by step, to accomplish any great work, and, indeed, would hardly rise above a poor, dull, animal existence. So no religious illusion can be considered an evil if it serves an educational purpose, leads to the attainment of higher truths; and, when no other means would avail, bands rude, ignorant men together as one family, and induces them, in a great measure, to step out of the far worse illusions of selfishness.

The path of human progress is not direct, as some reformers imagine, but a great zig-zag, such as that by which the traveller ascends a steep mountain; we go winding on this way and that, from illusions to counter-illusions, and so gain ground rather slowly, but by no less devious course should we be able to make any advance at all. Every church, as well as every nation, has its educational illusions, and, indeed, cannot get on without them; the revolutionary philosopher who deplores them, and believes it desirable before all things to effect their removal, is himself labouring under a dangerous hallucination, and it is really for the public interest that he should be undeceived.

It is well that every contemplative man who studies the various forms of religion which prevail in the world should endeavour to think freely, and disencumber his mind as much as possible from all educational and sectarian bias. Yet he must not imagine, when he is able to do this, that he is actually in the eye of the universe, and has arrived

at the universal truth. The greatest philosophers that the world has yet produced—the profoundest thinkers that have stood beneath the stars—have only had, in accordance with their peculiar genius, training, and circumstances, but fragmentary and imperfect views of the constitution of nature and the great problems of human life, and from time to time have considerably modified those views, so that even in their latest years they have come to regard as doubtful or false much which they considered absolutely certain a short time before. Every Freethinker who declaims vehemently against the errors of the orthodox world, if he will only contemplate the ten thousand shades of diversity which exist among those who have emancipated themselves from orthodox thraldom, and will look back and note the various phases of free thought which have been developed in his own mind, cannot fail to find abundant reasons for moderating his controversial tone and being clothed with humility.

"The one single point on which my insurgent countrymen are enthusiastically agreed," said a sensible Pole during the last Polish insurrection, "is in their antagonism to Russia." And in like manner the anarchical host of Freethinkers have only a basis of negative agreement, are only at present held together in a revolutionary war by their common hatred of orthodoxy. Let them succeed to their heart's desire in completely overthrowing the dominant faith, and, so far from a philosophical millennium being thenceforth inaugurated, they will be instantly broken up into a number of rival camps, and furiously assailing each other. They are, however, too much divided, even in their assaults on orthodoxy, to be able to bring about this further utter confusion, while the prophetic illusions, to which they are subject—that is, the mis-

calculations which they make with regard to their prospective success and the immediate future of mankind—are scarcely less extravagant than those which were entertained by the early Christians respecting the coming end of the world.

It has always been something of a reproach against the orthodox Churches, with the exception of the Jews, Quakers, and a few others, who no longer deserve it, that they have been far more eager to conquer fresh territory than to cultivate the ground which they have already won; that they manifest a wonderful enthusiasm to set up their standard in every part of the world, and gain over to their faith new proselytes, while they are afterwards comparatively indifferent about improving their manner of life. But if the orthodox must be considered reprehensible for having too much of these Turk-like qualities, infinitely more so are the aggressive Freethinkers, who are indeed veritable Tartar hordes—all sword and no trowel, demolishing and laying waste in every direction, without any thought of rebuilding, and having apparently no other aim than to effect a general overthrow, and reduce the religious world once more to a primitive wilderness. A Secularist lecturer boasted some time ago that he had liberated at least a thousand men and women from the bondage of the orthodox Churches; but he knew scarcely anything what had become of those converts, and how they were faring, morally and spiritually; they had been merely let loose on the world to make their own law, and form so many additional elements of anarchy. Proclaiming everywhere Disbelief and Salvation from Superstition the one thing needful, he had never considered it worth his while to lecture against such a little matter as the people's moral failings, and seemed quite content that they

should only hate priestcraft, and become as irreligious as the gipsies, the London roughs, and the mob of Belleville.

It has often been remarked that Christian missionaries in their proselytizing efforts upon the Jews, Hindoos, Chinese, and others, never succeed in detaching from their faith men of distinction or any well-educated and devout people; their converts are generally drawn from the humble and neglected class, who have been poorly instructed, and hardly have any religious convictions. So, also, it will be found in general that it is only those coarse, profane, indifferent people who have never been more than half Christianized that a Freethinking lecturer succeeds in liberating from our orthodox Churches. Now, whatever might have been the case in the first century, the loose fish converted to Christianity in modern times are usually well cared for—the savage has blankets given him, the poor Jew is put in the way of earning a subsistence, the outcast Hindoo is aided in the support of his family, and considerable pains are taken to reclaim them from their old vices, and get them to lead honest lives. But the unfortunate individuals who happen to be won over by the revolutionary harangues of our modern prophets of freethought are entirely neglected, having been liberated from Church discipline and the control of priests, they are supposed to want nothing further, and are left to take care of themselves. It is hard to see in what way they are benefited by those who confer on them the glorious liberty of the new gospel. So long as the immoral population of our large towns are within the pale of orthodoxy, and not quite lost to religious impressions, there is some little hope of their being reclaimed, as they will be persistently visited and exhorted by Church ministers, assisted in

poverty, comforted in sickness and in prison, and this continued kind treatment and earnest solicitude for their welfare not unfrequently induces them to start on a new course of life. But when once they are delivered up to their own selfish gratifications, and have cast off all feelings of reverence, and all sense of responsibility and duty, the orthodox, however well-disposed, cannot reach them with reforming influences, and as there are no Freethinking clergy to exhort them philosophically for their good, they are generally left to get what comfort they can from their own reflections, after obstinately following their own lusts. Tell a well-conducted Freethinker to go into the lanes and alleys and do something towards improving the character and bettering the condition of his weaker brethren, and he will doubtless lay all their shortcomings at the door of the Government, or declare that he has got enough to do to battle with tyranny and superstition, or answer, "Leave me alone with my newspaper; I am an independent philosopher, as every man should be; my own mind is my own church."

There are, it is true, among Revolutionary Freethinkers a few unselfish philanthropic men who have laboured, like Comte, to correct the prevailing "Egoism," and gather the multitude of scattered stones which have been shaken from orthodox walls into a new structure, but so far have met with such repeated disappointments and made such slow progress that they ought at least to pause and take rest in their work of demolition. Mr. G. J. Holyoake, when making a last attempt, in 1864, to improve somewhat the morality of Secularists, and organize them to a certain extent for their mutual welfare, knew well the nature of the people he had to deal with, and announced his intentions in the following diffident words:—"Somebody must have

confidence in somebody, and some representatives of the principles must be supported, or both men and principles will vanish into something worse than thin air—they will vanish into thick blasts of disappointment and vituperation. In the early stages of new opinion, persecution presses men together; those in danger stand united in self-preservation. When, however, the day of toleration comes, they fall to pieces. . . . We have had amongst us in years past a flock of the rowdy population of the Churches. The Churches ought to be very grateful to us for relieving them of this class. They have done us no good, and we have reason to rejoice when they go screaming back. . . . We shall for a couple of years try the experiment whether English Secularists are capable of concert; and if no concerted action worthy of the cause be possible, we shall say so, and decline to be mixed up with a permanent inefficiency."—*Secular World,* vol. ii. p. 69.

One or two other leaders of the Secularist party have made similar attempts at organization and moral reform, but on finding at length that they had to do with an incurable rabble, have deserted their camp in sheer disgust, and rejoined the disciplined hosts of orthodoxy, deeming a little superstitious bondage where some good may be effected more endurable than complete anarchy. Even Professor Newman, a man of powerful mind and great benevolence, thoroughly interested in the well-being and advancement of the working-class, has not been able to unite any of the numerous admirers of his writings in a new church, and after waiting in vain for more than twenty-five years for the prospect of getting any good philanthropic organization among freethinkers, has deemed it advisable, as a last resource, to conform to the

nearest section of Nonconformists, that is, the church of the Unitarians.

The illusion which many religious reformers labour under is that of supposing that if the world's orthodox creeds be thoroughly broken down, so that every individual shall have to depend on his own reason, all the churches and sects will be speedily reconciled and naturally come to adopt the same rational and sensible views. In reality, however, if such a result could be achieved, it would not tend to bring people more together, but to further divide them, for the diversities which now exist would be multiplied a thousandfold. Our temperaments and other mental peculiarities are as varied as our external features, so that no two religionists who think freely respecting God and the invisible world are able to think precisely alike. Even if they confine their attention to the visible creation around them, and ignore the idea of a Supreme Being, they will not succeed any better in harmonizing their sentiments: there are just as many distinct types of Atheism in the world as there are individual Atheists. I wonder if Mr. Bradlaugh and Mr. Holyoake have yet succeeded in reconciling their anti-theological views which so strongly antagonized some few years ago in a public discussion?

At the close of the French Revolutionary War, St. Simon, one of the greatest thinkers of this century, was busily at work organizing in France a new scheme of rational religion, which he fondly hoped would in time become universal, and effect the pacification of Europe, and the complete regeneration of mankind. His high character, great ability, and noble aims soon attracted to him a number of young and talented disciples, and they worked well together for awhile, and so long as they respected the autho-

rity of their master seemed likely to achieve important results. Being, however, sturdy, self-reliant Freethinkers, it was difficult for them to submit with childlike simplicity to any authoritative yoke, and repress their individual proclivities. One of them, Auguste Comte, soon said to himself, "My genius is quite as good as that of St. Simon, and, indeed, I think considerably better; therefore, instead of following him any longer as a disciple, I will start a more perfect religion of my own." And now we have, as a result of this determination, Positivism and its band of enthusiastic literary adherents. But just as the founder of Positivism ventured to disregard the authority of his master, St. Simon, his own freethinking followers at the present day will be found everywhere differing from him. Get into conversation with any one of them, and he will soon give you to understand that, however much he may be an admirer of Comte, he is very far from bowing submissively to all the philosopher's opinions, or of deeming him to be free from many serious hallucinations and errors.

It has been said that the world's great political systems *grow*, like the fish-shell, and are not *made*; and it is no less clear that the same kind of formation has produced all our systems of religion. French philosophers are in general very slow to comprehend this, or loth to reconcile their minds to it; they are especially fond of inventing for the people more perfect and harmonious institutions than the people can produce for themselves. What the constitution-makers of France are ever trying their hand at in the field of politics, Comte attempted in the realm of religion: he designed a magnificent temple, with festivals, ritual, priesthood, and all that seemed to him necessary to satisfy human wants and aspirations, and then there re-

mained for his followers nothing to do but to drive the people into it. The freethinking multitude, however, obstinately refuse to be driven into a fold skilfully prepared beforehand for them; and if they could be got into it in any considerable number, they would soon alter it in various ways, and to such an extent that were Auguste Comte to return to life, he would not be able to recognize his own work.

Unless men are willing to sacrifice their crotchets and sink their peculiarities to some extent, for the sake of union and fellowship (which those who are of Comte's disposition can never be got to do), no organic society is possible. We may go on asserting our superior views, disputing and dividing on this and that point, till the world becomes nothing but a mob of individualists. All people that exercise their reflective powers at all are more or less Freethinkers; that is, they occasionally have thoughts on religious matters which might be considered peculiarly their own, and a man will do well to manifest as much as he pleases of this genius or eccentricity, if he has the power to influence other minds strongly, and establish his reputation in the world as a poet; but it is much best that ordinary beings should forbear to publish their occasional inspirations, and keep their free thoughts to themselves. I know of a large Wesleyan community in the neighbouring town: it must not be supposed that these people think exactly as John Wesley did because they agree to worship together according to his rules and are called after his name. Perhaps there is not one of them who believes, like Wesley, in apparitions, or who believes in the numerous miracles which are ascribed to him, or who holds his benevolent doctrine that animals as well as human beings are endowed with immortal

souls. If we interrogate them privately, we shall soon find that they all have their private views, and that each of them, if placed in circumstances favourable to meditation, and the calling forth of his special predilections, would be capable of constructing a new system of religion. What I admire of these people in their present circumstances is, that they are capable of concerted action, that they have the good sense to sink their individual tendencies, respect the voice of authority, conform to the orthodox line that has been chalked out for them, and join hand to hand in carrying on a divine work; whereas a number of revolutionary freethinkers, if collected in their chapel, would instantly become a Babel of cavilling self-assertion, and be broken up and scattered abroad.

If it be clear that a vast amount of good is effected in all parts of this country by sectarian conformity, it is no less clear to all who take a comprehensive view of society that much greater beneficial results are produced by national conformity: and this is sometimes acknowledged even among sectarians themselves. Mr. W. E. Forster, M.P., said, in a recent speech at Bradford, "As England is now constituted and circumstanced, I believe the clergy of the English Church do much good. I should feel, that if the Church were disestablished and disconnected from the State, a great engine of good would be removed. I consider that engine of good to be the parochial system. I believe the fact of having a man in each parish whose business it is to look after the welfare of his parishioners, is an enormous advantage, and in the present state of society I should be most loth to do without it."

We know very well that a great many clergymen of the Established Church are unfitted for the im-

portant duties which devolve on them, and have need to be superseded by better men; but this reform is being effected gradually, and perhaps quite as fast as our social circumstances will admit of. It is acknowledged on all hands that the clergy as a body are vastly more zealous in their ministrations than they were forty years ago. The Dissenters claim credit for having been to a great extent instrumental in bringing about this improvement, and I think they are justly entitled to do so, though in my opinion many of them would have done better in the way of rousing the Church to increased activity if they had been content to remain, like Lord Shaftesbury, working within her own pale. But having accomplished so much in awakening the conscience and kindling the zeal of the Church, why are they not satisfied with the prospect of effecting still more in the same direction? If the course which they have followed, of labouring side by side peacefully with the Established clergy, has hitherto produced such good fruit, there is certainly no reason why it should now be entirely reversed. So long as they confined themselves to working quietly and industriously in their own vineyard, visiting the sick, comforting the sorrowful, instructing the ignorant, reclaiming the wicked — they were constantly prompting indolent church ministers to go and do likewise; but now that they have assumed a belligerent attitude, and are resolved to attack the Church, it is not emulation that they call forth in the clergy, but enmity. The Liberation Society, having raised many thousands of pounds for war purposes, and sent its paid lecturers all over the country to excite a feeling in favour of Disestablishment, a large number of ministers who might, if let alone, be studying only the welfare of their parishioners, are

provoked to join the Church Defence Association, and go forth here and there with a fierce controversial spirit to stand on the platform and parry their opponents' blows.

The Dissenting communities, in their best days, have not conferred more benefit on the National Church than that which they have received from the Church in return. With all her failings she has been to them a good mother, and has kept them together by her influence as members of one religious family, when, had they stood alone, they would have soon gone more widely apart in their views, and become entirely estranged from each other.

I have been much pleased to see how Baptists, Independents, Methodists, and Presbyterians take each others' pulpits occasionally, and maintain friendly relations; but this could not have been the case only for the fact that they have a National Bible derived from the National Church. Nor would there be at the present time any prospect of their getting a revised Bible, which they may, one and all, accept as a common authority and bond of union, were they left, like the sectarian churches of America, to get along by their own independent lights. In that case they would probably each have a different version or a different canon of Scripture, and there could be no more religious fellowship or intercommunion between them than we now see existing between the Shakers, the Roman Catholics, and the Mormons. I have often thought that if those Puritans who hated our Episcopalian system, and fled across the Atlantic in the seventeenth century to have things entirely their own way, could have only foreseen the monstrous sectarian growths which were destined to spring up in America, and especially the present strength of Romanism in

that quarter, they would have preferred to remain quietly in England and conform to the English Church. Had they succeeded under the Commonwealth, to their entire wishes, in permanently disestablishing the Church, their expectations as to the religious future of their country would in an equal degree have been falsified. Those who are now following in their steps with reforming enthusiasm are not in any respect more clear-sighted; and could they be got to realize some of the confusion and trouble which their success is certain eventually to produce in England, they would recoil from the ultimate consequences of their disestabment blows with amazement.

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