HENRY LUCAS, PRINTER, 3, BURLEIGH STREET, STRAND.
CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

Introduction. New epoch in the history of man.—Intellectual activities and their objects.—Practical tendencies of the age.—Achievements of science: the power it bestows upon mankind.—Illustrations of the energy and adaptation of steam in subserving human purposes: its applications and benefits.—Locomotion by steam: its effects in developing enterprise.—Power of the imponderable elements.—Electricity: its probable destination as a channel of intelligence: general ideas of its power as an agent of communication.—The electric telegraph: its wonderful properties; annihilates time; unaffected by position.—The land telegraph.—The submarine telegraph.—Mind the prime mover of all physical forces: its character: necessity of its study in order to a right idea of human progress.—The past our surest guide in conjecturing the future.

CHAPTER II.

The free concourse of individual minds the mainspring of human progress.—Facilities of intercourse, and for the transmission of thought, its chief agents.—These propositions may be proved from history.—Historical retrospection must be limited.—Essential differences in the historical phases of society.—Difficulty of assigning the influence of remote ages upon our present condition.—Example of the feudal system; its
tyranny; its brutalizing tendencies; its disre-
pect for human life and intelligence.—Prostra-
tion of the people in mind.—Industry restricted.
—Low value of moveable property.—The trans-
mission of real property hampered by legal sub-
tleties.—Natural order of events disturbed by
these causes.—Poetic views of the age of chivalry
fallacious.—Tendency of feudalism to divide the
community, and to destroy individuality.—Power
of the chieftain; its evil influence on the minds
of his followers.—Isolation and opposition of
interests.—The expansive energy of the nation
crippled.—Guilds; landlords; priests.—Rise of
the modern English period; its grand character-
istic.—Transition under Henry VII.—Feudalism
compared with the modern social system.—
Growth of the latter.—Proposal to investigate
the conditions of its development.—Restatement
of propositions.—Compendious view of the effects
of transport and intercourse.—Reasons for fixing
the beginning of the sixteenth century as a point
of departure in these inquiries.—Decline of feu-
dalism.—Revival of the human mind.—Great
discoveries . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 14

Chapter III.

Condition of England at the beginning of the six-
teenth century.—Deficient in means of inter-
course.—Character of the roads.—Appearance of
the country.—Forests.—Highways in the middle
of the sixteenth century.—Harrison's description.
—The first highway Act.—State of the roads in
Kent. — Bridges. — Parish reparation. — Fearful
condition of the metropolitan thoroughfares.—
Surveyors of highways.—Statute labour.—Grad-
dual awakening of public opinion to the import-
ance of good roads.—Numerous enactments.—
Establishment of tolls and turnpike trusts.—
Travelling still difficult.—Mr. Pepys.—Prince
George of Denmark.—Roads in 1740 described by Penant.—Their condition in 1770 described by Arthur Young.—Rise of road engineering.—M'Adam.—Acceleration of improvements.—Introduction of railways

CHAPTER IV.

Primitive modes of conveyance in England.—The pack-horse: trains of pack-horses.—Carriers.—Rate of travelling.—Dangers.—Banditti.—Caravans.—The Rochester caravan robbed at Gad's Hill.—Means of personal transit.—The saddle and pillion.—Queen Elizabeth on a pillion.—The horse litter.—Enormous number of horses required for locomotion in the sixteenth century.—Numbers required by Queen Elizabeth.—Their pressure upon the produce of the soil.—Ancient expenses of loyalty.—Habits of the nobility.—Competition of the human and equine races.—Introduction of the coach.—Description of first coaches.—Perplexities of primitive coaching.—Running footmen: their duties.—Appearance of a travelling carriage by night.—Accidents, and method of repairing.—Relics of ancient coaching.—Improved methods of transport.—The broad-wheeled waggon.—Stage-coaches: their character and performances: opposition to them: their general adoption; improvement; perfection.—They are superseded by steam.—Conveyance by water.—Navigable rivers.—Canals: Liverpool and St. Helen's: Bridgewater: their general adoption in the three kingdoms.—History of the means formerly employed for the transmission of intelligence.—Special couriers.—Foreign post of James I.—Inland letter-office erected by Charles I.—Correspondence during the civil war.—Example of an ancient superscription.—Rise and progress of the present postal system
Chapter V.

Consequences of the difficulty of communication visible in the condition of the people.—Isolation of districts.—Dialect, prejudices, and traditionary reputation.—Customs and superstitions.—The Celtic element.—Fire-worship and heliolatry.—Druidism.—Celtic and Teutonic fairies.—Prejudices against the Welsh and Scotch.—Annual execution of a Welshman in effigy.—Junius's opinion of the Scotch.—Dr. Johnson's antipathy to Scotland.—Effects of intercourse upon these false notions.—Willing justice to Scotland.—Influence of isolation on the origin and perpetuation of popular errors.—Reasons why men of great learning and ability are sometimes found imbued with vulgar errors.—Illustrations from the past.—Witchcraft: the most striking

Chapter VI.

Sir Reginald Scott's definition of witchcraft.—James I.; his book against witches.—Ranulf Higden.—Mean notions of the Devil and his subordinate spirits.—The methods of capturing and subjugating devils: labours enjoined them: their usual reward.—Terrible consequences of the belief in witchcraft.—Number of persons executed for that crime.—Witch-finders.—Hopkins; his practical dilemma.—Savage spirit of the law.—The Witch Act.—National recognition of a lie.—Effects upon the popular mind.—Brutality of the people.—Dreadful incident at Tring in 1751.—Recent instances of sorcery a proof that it is passing away.—Domestic habits of the people.—Erasmus's account of an English interior.—Barbarous profusion of the upper classes.—Queen Elizabeth's breakfast.—Lord Goring's supper.—Houses of the common people.—Food.—Clothing.—Sleeping.—Sports.—Effects of defective intercommunication upon industry.—
CONTENTS.


CHAPTER VII.

Chapter VIII.

Uses of this retrospect.—Recapitulation.—Changes effected by intercourse.—Reasons for confining our historical observations to England.—The topics that are now to occupy us.—Expansion of view required to embrace the agencies in operation.—Universality of the adaptation, and unlimited power of steam; on land; on the ocean.—Approximation of lands.—Progress of steam as an agent of transport.—The new means of transmitting intelligence require a corresponding extension of our speculations.—Character of the electric telegraph as a medium of thought: its progress in uniting different countries: anticipation of what it will enable man to perform: its probable uses when universally adopted.—The grand secret of human liberty and progress.—The social tendencies: their origin and power.—Past history not that of mankind: the future will be.—Mankind not to be judged of from parties, and combinations.—Operation of the gregarious principle more permanent than that of separating causes: its objects and benefits.

Chapter IX.

Educational influence of intercourse.—Nature of mental training.—Development of the mind.—Mediate and immediate knowledge.—Their character and influence.—Interpretation of words.—Causes of their significance.—Influence of local seclusion upon the comprehension of language.—Teaching by objects.—Pestalozzi's system.—Importance of immediate knowledge.—Words only recall past impressions.—Immediate acquisitions prepare the mind to profit by literature and oral discourse: supply it with tests of truth.—Important effects of intercourse in furnishing the mind with such acquisitions.—Manner in which
these effects are produced.—Credulity a necessary 
result of seclusion.—Impositions of authority in 
matters of belief.—Evil consequences of such 
belief.—It renders the trade of imposture and 
knavery possible.—Influence of extensive inter-
course upon popular delusions: its present agen-
cies unlimited: its future supplies.—Operation of 
railways at present amongst the people.—Object 
lessons on a grand scale.—The schoolmaster in 
reality abroad . . . . . . . . . 111

CHAPTER X.

Special educational effects.—Improvement of public 
opinion.—Exclusiveness of classes and parties: 
its influence.—Character of a consistent party 
man.—Power of accommodation in the mind.— 
Force of habit.—Evil consequences of sectional 
exclusiveness: proved to be dilated selfishness.— 
Evil effects of party upon literature, and there-
fore on public opinion.—Corrective tendency of 
extensive intercourse.—Steam the great master 
of the ceremonies.—Nobleman and tailor.—De-
crease of repulsive forces.—Partisan literature at 
a discount.—A healthier appetite to be fed.— 
A true public spirit: its perceptions: its estimate 
of the pot-house patriot.—Honours true nobility: 
despises fools.—Reaction upon literature will 
make it loftier and purer.—Decline of the obscene 
press.—Impediments to the influence of sound 
opinion.—Mistaken notions concerning capitalists. 
—What capital has performed: what it is.—M. 
Proudhon's audacious fallacy: its correction.— 
Erroneous notions of the power of Government 
over popular happiness: their evil effects.—In-
crease of political knowledge.—The spirit of 
Government correlative to that of the people . 128
Chapter XI.

The causes that separate nations are moral as well as material.—Illiberal nationality an extension of party spirit.—False and true patriotism.—National prejudices a degenerate aftergrowth: inflame hostilities: must vanish before increasing knowledge.—France and England; baseness of the sentiment that they are natural enemies of each other.—How it used to be inculcated, and its murderous effects.—Frightful character of the literature of the last continental war.—Real causes of that and other wars.—Venal talent.—A purifying process going on.—Causes of the prostitution of talent.—International communication: its salutary effects: its amazing progress.—The Great Exhibition: its effects upon national prejudices: its greatest lesson.—Correction of vulgar errors.—Injustice done to the French character, individual and national.—Injustice of the French towards England.—Daring ignorance of writers on both sides.—Ludicrous mistakes of M.M. Cassimir Delavigne, Alexandre Dumas, and the Baron d'Haussez.—Interchange of visits and hospitalities between Paris and London: rendered possible by steam.—Historical character of the Great Exhibition.—Theological antipathies.—True religion must promote union.—It is priestcraft that opposes it.—The power before which priestcraft must fall. —There is a moral stir amongst the most stereotyped races.—The Chinese and the gold movement.—Effects of steam in this movement.

Chapter XII.

Development of natural resources of all lands.—Additions to social happiness.—Artificial wants an index of civilisation.—Specious fallacy of the ascetic principle, that the fewest wants make the happiest man.—Effects that would follow the general adoption of this maxim: its effects in
Ireland.—Irish misery assigned to various causes: it must result from mental prostration: whilst that continues, legislation and philanthropy will be in vain.—Irish prostration not attributable to idiosyncrasy of race.—The Irish in America: their strong natural affection.—Character of the Celtic exodus.—Proof of the value of means of transit.—Comparison of the skilled artisans of England who are not ascetics: their general character, value, and condition: their influence. —Luxury as an element of civilisation.—Influence of civilised wants upon the natural productiveness and industry of the earth.—More equal distribution of our race.—Extension of man's dominion. —Elevation of the species.—Comparison of the ascetic and natural systems.—Purpose of this Essay.—The law of progress; happiness must be laboured for.—Latent sources and capacities of happiness.—Peaceful rivalry of nations . . . . 160

Chapter XIII.

War must cease by the blending of human interests.—Character of war.—"Ultima ratio regum." —The virtues educed by war inferior to those of peace.—The conquests of war and of peace: their principles. — Wars have been generally prompted by the passions of tyrants. — Examples.—Small number who have acquired renown in war. — Monstrous deceptions of war.—Even selfishness will rise up against it.—Fallacious views of war as a distributor of intelligence: its lawlessness; uselessness: its objective stupidity: its subjective folly.—Monstrous armaments of Europe. — Despots, soldiers, diplomatists, priests: their occupation declining: hopelessness of their struggles: silent resolution of their questions.—The essence of all worship and faith. 178
Rise of a universal language: authorities on its practicableness: the great difficulty to get men to adopt it.—Recent proposal for a "Pasilo-gical Missionary Society" empirical: cannot suc-ceed: human necessities will do the missionary work. — A universal medium of thought will become necessary.—Examples in the great maritime cities.—The union of mankind will be sig-nalized by one form of speech, as it was at first before their dispersion.—What living language will form the basis of the common tongue?—Two principles to be considered.—Illustrated in the case of the Chinese: their character, and that of their language.—Illustrated in the case of the Anglo-Saxon race: their character, power, and achievements.—The influence of these in recom-mending their language. — It will obtain its place as a proximate element in the universal language.—All languages have their distinct ex-cellencies.—Defects of the English.—Principle on which a universal tongue will be formed.—Each nation will contribute according to its power of supplying human necessities.—Exem-plification from antiquity: from the middle ages: from modern times.—Argument to prove that there is no law necessitating the retrogression or decline of nations.—Civilisation and art can never again be lost.—Conclusion . . . . . 191
THE SILENT REVOLUTION, 
&c.

"Pater ipse Colendi
Haud facilem esse viam voluit primusq. per artem
Movit agros, curis aequens mortalia corda
Nec torpere gravi passus sua regna veterno."

CHAPTER I.

Introduction. New epoch in the history of man.—Intellectual activities and their objects.—Practical tendencies of the age.—Achievements of science: the power it bestows upon mankind.—Illustrations of the energy and adaptation of steam in subserving human purposes: its applications and benefits.—Locomotion by steam: its effects in developing enterprise.—Power of the imponderable elements.—Electricity: its probable destination as a channel of intelligence: general ideas of its power as an agent of communication.—The electric telegraph: its wonderful properties; annihilates time; unaffected by position.—The land telegraph.—The submarine telegraph.—Mind the prime mover of all physical forces: its character: necessity of its study in order to a right idea of human progress.—The past our surest guide in conjecturing the future.

No one can contemplate the unexampled progress of science within the present century,
without feeling that a new epoch has commenced in the history of our race. The divine powers of the human mind are extending their grasp and rising to a state of higher activity. Fields of knowledge undreamt of in the earlier ages of the world are successfully cultivated. The farthest regions of space are explored, and the secrets of their starry depths unfolded to men. The hidden forces of nature; the laws by which her phenomena are governed in their endless variety and succession; the economy of being; the structure and properties of matter; the relations of things and of ideas; the very mind itself—all are undergoing a rigorous process of scientific investigation, from which result discoveries, that would be deemed miraculous, did not their number and frequency almost exhaust our faculty of wonder.

The great characteristic of this general intellectual movement is its practical tendency. The public in our day expects from its thinkers and experimentalists, not clever paradoxes, moving sentimentalisms, nor ingenious puzzles, but plain demonstrations of the best method of grappling with obstinate realities; discoveries of the means by which the powers of nature may be brought to subdue one another to the service of man in his ceaseless struggle with her mate-
rial elements. Learning and skill are esteemed in proportion as they conduce to the well-being of society, and their value is measured by the extent of their application to the practical affairs of life. The genius of the age has responded to this expectancy. Philosophers have ceased to speculate in retirement upon unsubstantial and useless theories. Science is no longer a lifeless abstraction floating above the heads of the multitude. It has descended to earth. It mingles with men. It penetrates our mines. It enters our workshops. It speeds along with the iron courser of the rail. It tramples on the billows. It defies the tempest. It gives to man the sunbeam for a pencil, and the lightning for a messenger. It lends to his feeble arm an irresistible might before which mountains crumble into dust; the barriers of kingdoms are removed, estuaries and straits are spanned with substantial road-ways, and the unstable waters, no less than the firm land, are subjected to his dominion. The talismans of Arabian fable never endowed their possessors with such power as that which science has bestowed upon mankind. It has placed at our command agencies, whose indefatigable energy, and adaptation to all human purposes, cast into shade even the genius of the ring or the lamp.
recorded dreams of fancy more wonderful than the force of steam in its various applications? How stupendous in its power, and yet how manageable! A child may direct it. It would crush an army. A single touch puts in motion the majestic ship laden with the wealth of a nation. The rushing train, freighted with a thousand lives, or the complicated machinery that groans and whirls throughout the town-like factory, and a touch equally slight arrests the mighty power. In one place we see it wielding without effort a Nasmyth hammer of many tons weight, and forging the ponderous anchors destined to hold the floating castles of England against the fury of the hurricane. In another, polishing with an accuracy, beyond human skill, the delicate hairspring that is to trace and record the noiseless progress of time. Here it is employed upon massive blocks of iron, which it rolls out, cuts up, and moulds as the potter does the clay; and here it is spinning threads so fine that they almost elude the sight, and weaving them into airy textures that look like wreaths of morning mist. Unaffected by place, time or climate, incapable of fatigue, untouched by passions or infirmities, there stands the universal servant of man, ready to relieve him from all drudgery, and to supplement his
limited ability in carrying out the intentions of his will. It matters not how difficult or various the services required, nor where they are to be performed. In the depths of the earth, or on the mountain top; in the open field, or in the crowded city; in the frozen north, or the burning tropics; whether they require the most gigantic strength, or the nicest care, this wondrous agent is suited to them all. It enables man, who is slow and weak compared with other terrestrial creatures, to pass from place to place with the speed of the eagle, carrying burdens in his flight that would crush the strong elephant to dust. By its means the force and dexterity of a million fingers are subjected to the control of one mind, and imbued with its intelligence. Under the transforming touch of this marvel-working power, the rudest substances assume forms of beauty and utility. The dark shapeless ore divides itself into multitudinous forms subservient to human purposes; it sparkles in the gorgeous service of the palace; it ministers to the humble comforts of the cottage; it gives instruments to the philosopher, and tools to the artisan; it furnishes man with means and appliances for executing his largest designs, and securing his conquest of the whole earth. The frail vesture of the cotton seed, that once rotted
unnoticed where it fell, becomes clothing for nations, and when it has answered all possible purposes, and been reduced to the state of filthy worn-out rags which the very beggar on the high-way casts off with disgust, even these are taken up, and, by a magical process, transmuted into fair pages which are impressed with imperishable thoughts, multiplied with a rapidity like that of thought itself, and distributed throughout the world. Locomotion by steam is the complement of all its other applications; it has broken down the boundaries which time and space had set to human enterprise; it has emancipated the genius of our race from local restrictions, made the wonders wrought in any one place the common property of mankind, and combined the material interests of all nations. These are the miracles of steam, of the latent power in that impalpable vapour which has played before mankind since the creation, but which it was reserved for our age to control and subjugate. Science has taught us the spell by which the strong spirit of the mist is conjured from his dark abode in the mine, and compelled to execute our behests before he escape into the regions of air. The imponderable elements of nature are more powerful than her most obdurate substances. Xerxes tried in
vain, with the strongest materials and the labour of myriads, to bridge the narrow Bosphorus; a single winter destroyed the vast structure: with us the most distant portions of the world are united by the invisible force that forms the summer cloud. But even the subtle influence of caloric, which thus animates the inert waters into titanic might, fails to excite our astonishment to so high a degree as electricity. If the one unites lands and transports material objects, the other seems destined to become the link of minds, the channel of intelligence and thought between all habitable parts of the globe. As yet, we can hardly venture to conjecture the form this mysterious power will assume, or the part it will perform in the future history of the world. Some general ideas are all we can fix upon as the basis of our speculations; but these are amongst the most astounding facts within the compass of human knowledge. They resemble the operations of a spiritual, rather than of a material agency, and the recondite manner in which they are effected entirely eludes our investigations. The electric telegraph is now a familiar object; we look upon it with a careless eye, we pass onward, and forget if we ever considered its miraculous properties. Yet, here we see realized more than the beautiful fiction of Strada; not between
two minds alone does it establish a responsive sympathy, it creates a communion of thought between cities and kingdoms; it enables a man to utter his feelings, at the very instant they arise in his mind, to ears that listen for them at a distance of a thousand miles. What is this surprising and intangible power? What will it accomplish in its maturity, when it so far transcends all calculation in its infancy? One might think for ever, with increasing wonder, on the one supernatural fact, that without any perturbation of its parts perceptible to the finest organs, or appreciable by the most exquisite instruments, communications are transmitted along the wire, however great its length, with such inconceivable rapidity, that the moment of transit cannot be measured by the most nicely adjusted chronometers. There is no sensible lapse of time between the giving of the signal at one terminus, and its reception at the other, though the distance between them should be a thousand, ten thousand, or twenty thousand miles. Nay, if a wire were stretched round the whole earth, and the ends made to terminate in two dials placed immediately beneath the eye, the very instant the index that supplied the influence was moved, it would be replied to by that which received it after traversing twenty-
five thousand miles of space; the movements would be to all intents and purposes simultaneous, and this result would be unaffected by the nature of the elements through which the conducting medium might pass. It would be still the same thought rivalling speed, whether the conductor were raised in the air or sunk in the earth, whether it passed over the loftiest mountain peaks, or lay at the bottom of the ocean with the world of waters rolling above. Whilst we look upon the electric wires as they stretch along by the great lines of railway, they appear perfectly quiescent. The weary little bird rests upon them in his flight, and clasps them in his tiny claws; yet along that motionless thread, and through that feeble grasp, there may be passing tidings of life or death, of ruin or prosperity—intelligence of the fall of kings and thrones, of battles lost and won, of events that change the destinies of millions, and plunge whole nations into mourning or intoxicate them with joy. A thousand fathoms beneath the keel of the war-ship, undisturbed by the tumult of the elements in which she reels and struggles; in the dark and silent abysses of ocean, where uncouth monsters make their retreat, and human vision has never penetrated; amidst objects strange to the eye of man, and scenes that have
been secret since the beginning of time, there lies the wondrous ligature which connects the minds of nations, conveying manifold contributions to the sum of human wisdom and experience, from which man shall yet learn to still his mimic thunders, and to aspire after higher glories than those won by mutual slaughter, on the bloody waters, or the groaning field. Such are the new agencies whose influence upon the future condition of mankind we have to consider. But there is another power that incalculably transcends them, an agency to which steam and electricity and all other physical forces are merely means and instruments. It is that of the mind itself, the prime mover and director of them all, which defines their purposes, and controls their operations—that restless, indefatigable, and inscrutable principle to which even the human frame is but an apparatus of exquisitely adjusted organs—that intellectual power, which, as it feels, and thinks, and wills, impels man to action, designs his objects, directs his movements, and registers their results; which pushes its inquiries into every department of creation, and with the same insatiable thirst for knowledge scans the mightiest operations of nature, and scrutinizes her minutest processes; which surveys the past, anticipates the future, and ever
and anon turns in upon itself to observe its own movements, and to conduct a marvellous analysis of which it is itself at once the subject, the instrument, and the performer—the immortal element in man's nature which tinges with the glow of its own ethereal essence his feeble and delicate frame, investing him with sovereign dignity, and giving him power over all terrestrial things and beings.

To the study of this principle we must inevitably recur, if we would either trace with accuracy the progress of our race through the past, or indicate the probable course of its future destinies. It is the fountain of all human activity, and the final issues of all man's labour and discovery depend upon its character and tendencies. We propose to estimate these tendencies and to ascertain the conditions under which their development is either retarded or promoted, in order that we may be able to form some rational conjecture of the future of our species. This would be a difficult and uncertain task, if attempted from an abstract consideration only of the human faculties. There is, however, a sure and easy method of accomplishing that object. The path which man has already trodden from barbarism to civilisation, lies before us in authentic history, strewed with the memorials of his pas-
sions and his might. There we can calmly investigate his progress, note the difficulties and obstructions it has had to overcome, and deduce with certainty the principles that have given it its forward impulse, as well as the conditions under which that impulse has acted with greatest power and constancy. From the study of what man has accomplished, we shall rise with a fuller conception of what he is likely to accomplish, for the past is a dim mirror of the future, displaying in shadowy twilight the vague outline of that wondrous phantasmagoria in which he is the chief figure, and which is gradually rising into distinctness, as the great secular morning brightens into day. The principles of human action which have issued in the events of foregone history, are in their nature immutable, and will create the history of the times to come. The ages that have fled resemble those that are approaching, as the wilderness or partially reclaimed field resembles the highly cultivated garden. Their products are different, but the powers of the soil are the same, and all that art has done, has been to give those powers liberty of development. The same vital principles of life and growth that once clothed the desert with briars and thorns, now sustain the fragrant rose and the tree laden with golden fruit. In like
manner the necessities, passions, and affections of our nature are constant in their operation, and from them spring all our actions; they are the very pabulum and support of human purposes and efforts. What we call social laws, or the principles upon which societies of men arise and are held together, are but the resultants of those innumerable minute impulses which are hourly and momentarily springing up in the breasts of individuals. To arrive at just conclusions, then, concerning the direction in which our race is moving, it will be necessary to consider this compound force by which it is impelled; this will imbue us with true notions of the subjective energy which has enabled mankind to attain its present degree of elevation; whilst, by tracing its previous course, the mind will acquire a corresponding momentum which will project it forward in the right line of conjecture as to the point at which that course will culminate, though its incidents remain hidden from us amongst the secrets of time.
CHAPTER II.

The free concourse of individual minds the mainspring of human progress.—Facilities of intercourse, and for the transmission of thought, its chief agents.—These propositions may be proved from history.—Historical retrospection must be limited.—Essential differences in the historical phases of society.—Difficulty of assigning the influence of remote ages upon our present condition.—Example of the feudal system; its tyranny; its brutalizing tendencies; its disrespect for human life and intelligence.—Prostration of the people in mind.—Industry restricted.—Low value of moveable property.—The transmission of real property hampered by legal subtleties.—Natural order of events disturbed by these causes.—Poetic views of the age of chivalry fallacious.—Tendency of feudalism to divide the community, and to destroy individuality.—Power of the chieftain; its evil influence on the minds of his followers.—Isolation and opposition of interests.—The expansive energy of the nation crippled.—Guilds; landlords; priests.—Rise of the modern English period; its grand characteristic.—Transition under Henry VII.—Feudalism compared with the modern social system.—Growth of the latter.—Proposal to investigate the conditions of its development.—Restatement of propositions.—Compendious view of the effects of transport and intercourse.—Reasons for
fixing the beginning of the sixteenth century as a point of departure in these inquiries.—Decline of feudalism.—Revival of the human mind.—Great discoveries.

The free concourse of individual minds is the origin and mainspring of all social improvements, and everything that promotes it contributes so far to the increase of human happiness, and to the advancement of civilisation. Amongst the means by which approximation takes place between independent minds, facilities for intercourse must always hold the first rank, and next to them the power of transmitting thought and intelligence with certainty. These are propositions which will be abundantly sustained by an examination of the circumstances which have attended the progress of our own country from a condition of comparative barbarism to its present state of civilisation. In conducting this examination, however, we must be careful not to carry our retrospection too far back, lest we lose ourselves in the darkness and confusion of obsolete times, whilst endeavouring to illustrate those that are yet to appear. The historical phases of human society are, in some respects, almost as different from one another as the aspects of the earth at various geological epochs. It would be nearly as easy to assign to the Saurian period its proper
share in the production of the actual material condition of the earth, as to estimate with accuracy the influence of remote ages upon the rise and growth of modern society. In both cases a large amount of insecure conjecture would have to supply the deficiency of data. Even the social system which immediately preceded that which now prevails differed from it in many essential respects. The feudal tyranny held down the great mass of the people with an iron grasp, and trampled them into submission to the will of a benighted and ferocious proprietary. The incessant wars of these barbarous chieftains, either amongst themselves or against the monarch, rendered civilisation impossible, by deracinating it in the germ wherever it appeared, and degraded the minds of their followers to a state of unmitigated brutality. Human life was respected but little, and human intelligence not at all. The physical qualities of the horse or the mastiff, brute force, speed, and fierceness, were those which were most highly valued, even in men. In an age which bestowed all its honours upon the warrior who had butchered the greatest number of his fellow-men, the grandest revelations of genius would have been laughed at and scouted. We have heard of the doctrines of physical force; that was the period at which it
flourished in its full strength,—when the few had unlimited power over the many, and dealt with them as if they were beings of a lower grade, created without feelings or affections, merely to subserve the purposes of their tyrants—when the people, who cultivated the soil, were sold as part of the live stock, regardant or pertaining to the estate—when the savage landlord, to avenge the slightest insult, led forth his miserable tenantry to slaughter and be slaughtered by the equally wretched serfs of a landlord as savage—when the human mind generally was sunk in the deepest torpor, and wrapped in shadows of the most profound ignorance, its lethean depths as yet unstirred by the vivifying and illuminating influences of commerce. The towns were for the most part but mere places of protection, where the timid and defenceless were allowed to take refuge from the lawless robbers who ravaged the open country, and to exercise the simplest and poorest trades under intolerable oppression from the crown as well as from the rude nobles who claimed seignorial rights over them. The only foreign trade of the country was, in many instances, monopolised by the king, to the destruction of private enterprise, whilst the merchants of other lands were frequently scared from the English ports by the most open
and barefaced plunder. Moveable property was almost worthless, being destitute of that security without which it can never accumulate and become valuable. The land itself was so hampered with legal contrivances, either to secure its descent in certain families, or to prevent its falling altogether into the hands of the priesthood, that its conveyance with certainty of title was all but impossible. The intervals of repose were insufficient to give men breathing-time, much less to afford them an opportunity of settling down to any humanising pursuits, and the grinding exactions they suffered in peace by the multitude of subordinate tyrants who harboured in their castles like beasts of prey, and lived upon the people, rendered war itself a relief to their misery*. The social aspect of those violent times suggests the appearance of a volcanic district, where hidden and uncertain forces are in operation, disturbing from time to time the arrangement of the natural scenery,—now raising the vallies into hills, and converting the fruitful plains into stagnant lakes,—and now causing the mountains to alter their position, and the rivers their courses. Nothing is permanent in its relations with other things. The description of to-

* Erant in Anglia quodammodo tot reges vel potius tyranni quot domini castellorum.—*William of Newbury.*
day will not apply to the appearances of yesterday or to-morrow, and occasionally a fiery torrent bursts forth, sweeping away the former landmarks, and destroying all vestiges of human art and industry. This was the primitive severity of feudalism; it began, it is true, to soften somewhat under the first Plantagenet princes, and was greatly relaxed during the wars of the Roses; but its spirit remained unchanged in the church, in the state, in the laws; and even in the civil relations of the community its influence predominated till some time after the accession of the Tudor dynasty. It would be impossible to follow the natural order of social development during an epoch when so many disturbing causes conspired to confound the ordinary sequence of events. These views of the age of chivalry may be distasteful to those who have gathered their knowledge of history from the pages of the poet and the novelist, and who treasure up the magnificent description of the passage of arms at Ashby-de-la-Zouche as a sacred verity. They should remember, however, that Sir Walter Scott's chief object was to please, not to instruct, his readers; and that, although a certain vraisemblance was necessary to his design, historical truth was altogether a secondary consideration. His admirers should be reminded that, like a
consummate artist, he has placed his most brilliant and interesting figures in the foreground of his picture, whilst those which could not be omitted altogether without destroying the truthfulness of the representation, but which were calculated to shock and distress, are judiciously thrown into the distance and covered with shade.

The prominent characteristic of the feudal system, regarded in a social point of view, was its tendency to divide the community into sections permanently isolated from one another, and to suppress the individuality of persons by merging it in the collective faction to which each belonged, and at whose head stood a lord or chief, as a significant figure stands before a number of cyphers whose only use is to indicate its importance. When once men were reduced to such a condition, it was easy to deal with them in detail. The distinct masses into which the population was separated were almost impervious to any influences from without. Their thoughts, their feelings, even their pride, were dictated by the chief. He alone possessed an all-pervading influence over his clan. Fierce and repulsive to all others, they were submissive to him. Science, art, civility, might have sought in vain for entrance into their minds, whilst the errors, prejudices, passions, and bloody animosities of their
head circulated freely throughout all the members. The whole community was compressed into compact portions, each governed by its own customs and traditions, and holding little correspondence with the others; that expansive energy which would have caused the different interests of the people to commingle was cramped and hide-bound in every direction. Industry was dwarfed and restricted by guilds and monopolies. Political liberty lay buried beneath a pyramid of graduated oppression, ascending step by step, from the tenant paravail, to the mesne lord, thence to the tenant in capite, and terminating in the crown. Freedom of thought and of conscience were jealously prevented by regiments of the spiritual militia of Rome, Black, Grey, and White Friars, who kept watch and ward over the human intellect, lest at any time it should manifest a desire to issue from the gloomy prison to which it had been consigned. The growth of modern English society was marked by the decline of this fraudulent mastership of man over his fellow-man, and by increasing freedom of intercourse between independent minds, each bringing its contribution to the general stock of those opinions and principles which, being common to mankind, and calculated to promote the interests of the race universally, are destined to survive
the dissolution of all faction, and to live and flourish when the zeal, the prejudices, and the power of sects and parties are forgotten. The reign of Henry VII. is the transition period from the old artificial, sophisticated policy of feudalism, to the natural operation of those social forces which have ever since, without serious interruption, continued to build up and consolidate the nation. Feudalism, with its iniquitous maxims, tyrannous restrictions, and iron customs, was a grim fortress from which the few overawed and enslaved the many; but it fell by its own weight, and amidst its ruins the new system sprung up like a healthy plant, which has life in itself, and grows best without artificial culture, in the rain, the sun, and the winds, the free elements of nature. At first it was a weak sapling. The hard-ruled Tudors swayed it easily, but it grew, and expanded, and struck its roots deeply in the popular heart. A century later, an infatuated prince, acting on the blind maxims of days that had for ever passed away, attempted to bend it to his own purposes; but it proved too strong for even the power of a king, and, when he had exhausted himself in depressing it, it sprung upwards and destroyed him in the recoil. The ages that have since passed have increased its strength and grandeur, and even in our own
day it is full of vital sap, and its development proceeds with unexampled vigour. We propose to investigate the means and agencies which have most powerfully contributed to the formation of society, as at present constituted in England, taking for our fundamental maxim the principle already enunciated, and which we think cannot be reiterated too often. "The free concourse of individual minds is the origin and mainspring of all social improvements, and everything that promotes it tends so far to the increase of human happiness, and to the advancement of civilisation." The proof and illustration of this proposition will form the subject of many of the succeeding pages. Those which immediately follow will be devoted to the historical elucidation of the second position laid down at the commencement of this chapter, namely, that, amongst the means by which action and reaction take place between independent minds, facilities for intercourse must always hold the first rank, and next to them the power of transmitting thought and intelligence with certainty. We shall show, that of all the physical agencies by which civilisation has been promoted in our country, locomotion, including personal transit and the transport of material productions, has been by far the most important;—that the im-
provement in the habits, manners, and customs of the people—the elevation and morality of public opinion—the amelioration of law—the intelligence of the country—that all, in short, which constitutes our national greatness has advanced pari passu with the extension of our means of transport and intercourse.

Avoiding the embarrassment of a long historical disquisition, which, after all, could shed but a dubious light upon our subject, we shall take it up at the commencement of the modern English period when society began to arrange itself under influences still in operation. The origin of that period coincides with that of the sixteenth century. The insatiable avarice of Henry VII. had effectually broken the power that remained to the great barons after a generation of mutual ruin and slaughter. His marriage with the daughter of Edward IV. terminated the long conflict between the rival factions of York and Lancaster. The continental dominions of the English crown were irrecoverably lost, and with them vanished all plausible pretexts for those foreign wars which for ages had desolated and barbarized both countries. For a century and a half after the accession of the first Tudor, England enjoyed continued tranquillity, scarcely affected by some feeble attempts at insurrection;
during this long interval the seeds of civilisation had time to germinate and acquire strength. The common rights won from the Plantagenet monarchs became generally understood and appreciated. A new class of citizens began to appear, occupying the wide space that for ages had existed between lords and serfs—a class composed of men who were destitute of hereditary privileges and pretensions, and who were independent of aristocratic protection, choosing rather to rely on their own merit for success, and upon their numbers, intelligence, and power, for security. Commerce sprung into vigorous life, and extended itself throughout the land, with its unfailing concomitants—the knowledge and the love of liberty. The genial agencies of peace wrought silently in the hearts of men. The people, once split into innumerable factions, each seeking the accomplishment of its own narrow purpose, by destroying or damaging its rivals, began to forget their hostile traditions, and to unite into a true nation, with common views and interests. Those great discoveries which marked the general awakening of the human mind from the torpor of the dark ages took place about this period. A new world was discovered, which opened an unlimited prospect to enterprise, and gave almost as much expansion to thought and
speculation as it did to geography. The true system of the heavens was demonstrated to common reason, and received by men in despite of the stolid obstinacy and arrogant presumption which had for centuries usurped the dominion of the mind. The stores of ancient learning, which for a thousand years had been hidden in the dust, were brought forth and distributed, to supply the newly-acquired appetite for real knowledge. The solemn trifling of the schoolmen, their reverence for systems and precedents, the cobweb sophistries in which they strove to entangle their opponents, and the multitudinous formulae with which they hampered all mental operations, began to give place to true intellectual methods and inevitable demonstration. The press added its power of multiplying and preserving thought; and, finally, Luther, the illustrious champion of intellectual liberty, broke the continuity of that hateful, degrading, and paralyzing power which spiritual despotism had exercised over the human mind throughout Europe for twelve centuries. These were all contributory sources to the great tide of progress which henceforth flows forward to our own times with a steady setting, and a continually increasing volume.
CHAPTER III.

Condition of England at the beginning of the sixteenth century.—Deficient in means of intercourse.—Character of the roads.—Appearance of the country.—Forests.—Highways in the middle of the sixteenth century.—Harrison’s description.—The first highway Act.—State of the roads in Kent.—Bridges.—Parish reparation.—Fearful condition of the metropolitan thoroughfares.—Surveyors of highways.—Statute labour.—Gradual awakening of public opinion to the importance of good roads.—Numerous enactments.—Establishment of tolls and turnpike trusts.—Travelling still difficult.—Mr. Pepys.—Prince George of Denmark.—Roads in 1740 described by Penant.—Their condition in 1770 described by Arthur Young.—Rise of road engineering.—M‘Adam.—Acceleration of improvements.—Introduction of railways.

The state of England at the beginning of the sixteenth century is a study of the deepest interest to every one who desires to master the philosophy of civilisation. We shall find the country, in many respects, but just emerging from a condition of semi-barbarism, and almost destitute of the appliances of social advancement. Let us look at the state of its prime instruments,
the means of intercourse and transport. There were no roads, as we understand the word. The best of the highways, if we except Watling Street, the Fosse-way, and other ancient Roman works, which had been long useless through decay, were mere bridle-tracks, or footpaths, and even these were often rendered impassable by rains and floods. The surface of the country resembled that of some half-peopled island in the southern ocean: it was overrun with timber, and a great part of it covered with swamps and heaths. The forests of Waltham, Windlesore (Windsor), Pickcejg, Feckenam, Dellamore, Gillingham, Hainault, Wemdale, Clun, Rath, Bredon, Weire, Charlie, Leicester, Lee, Rockingham, Selwood, Saurnake, Witchwood, Penrise, Deane, Peke, Blackmore, Westbirie, Hatfield, and the New Forest, have many of them given place to flourishing towns and rich corn-fields; others have been converted into private demesnes, and but few of them retain the names, much less the character of forests. At the time of which we speak they were in reality what that name imports, gloomy wildernesses, savage and impenetrable, where the wild cat and the fox harboured securely, and the untamed bull roamed in unrestrained liberty; a journey even of a few miles could not be accomplished without the assistance of guides, whose
local knowledge might enable the traveller to avoid the dangers that beset his path over treacherous morasses, and through intricate woods. Even as late as the middle of the sixteenth century, the public ways appear to have been little better than tracks made at random through the fields; in dry weather they might have been practicable, but in the winter season their condition must have been dreadful. The only attention bestowed upon them by the legislature, until the time of Mary I., amounted to an injunction to the neighbouring proprietors not to plough them up and enclose them as part of their lands; but even the benefits of this would have been secured by the common law, which establishes the right of way by custom. Hear what Harrison says of them in his description of England, prefixed to Hollinshed's Chronicle: "Now to speak generallie of our common high waies, through the English part of the ile (for of the rest I can saie nothing) you shall understand that in the claie or cledgie soile they are often verie deepe and troublesome in the winter halfe, wherefore by authoritie of parlement an order is taken for their yearlie amendment, whereby all sorts of the common people do imploie their travell for six daies in summer upon the same, and albeit the intent of the Statute is verie pro-
fitable for the reparation of the decaied places, yet the rich do so cancel their portions, and the poor so loiter in their labours, that of all the six scarcelie two good daies works are well performed and accomplished in a parish on these so necessarie affaires. Besides this, such as have land lieng upon the sides of the waies doo utterly neglect to dich and scower their draines and water courses for better avoidance of the winter waters (except it may be set off or cut from the meaning of the Statute.) Whereby the streets do grow to be much more gullied than before, and thereby verie noisome for such as travell by the same. Sometimes also, and that verie often, these daies works are not imploied upon those waies that lead from market to market, but eche surveior amendeth such bye plots and lanes as seem best for his own commodotie and more easie passage unto his fields and pastures, and whereas in some places there is such want of stones as thereby the inhabitants are driven to seeke them farre off in other soiles. The owners of the lands wherein these stones are to be had, and which hitherto have given money to have them borne awaie, doo now reape no small commodotie by raising the same to exces-sive prices, whereby their neighbours are driven to grievous charges, which is another cause
wherefore the meaning of that good law is verie muche defraumed. Finallie this is another thing likewise to be considered of, that the trees and bushes growing by the street's sides do, not a little, keep off the force of the sunne in summer for drieng up of the lanes, wherefore, if order were taken that their boughs should be continuallie kept short and the bushes not suffered to spread so farre into the narrow paths, that inconvenience would also be remedied, and many a slough prove hard ground that yet (now) is deepe and hollow. Of the dailie incroaching of the covetous upon the high waies I speak not, but this I know by experience, that whereas some streets within these five and twenty years have been in most places fiftie foot broad according to law, whereby the traveller might either escape the theefe or shift (avoid) the mier, or passe by the loaden cart without danger of himselfe and his horsse, now they are brought unto twelve or twentie or six and twentie at the most, which is another cause also whereby the waies be worse and manie an honest man encumbered in his journie. But what speake I of these things whereoff. I doo not think to heere a just redresse, because the error is so common and the benefit thereby so sweet, and profitable to many by such houses and cottages as are raised
upon the same." It appears, in fact, that the last strand of the old Saxon *trinoda necessitas*, the reparation of roads, had become exceedingly weak before it received any statutory corroboration, and that it derived but little strength from the first legislative enactments. The first highway act in the Statute Book was passed in 1523: its operation was local, referring to the weald of Kent only; but the preamble strongly confirms Harrison's description of the state of the roads throughout the kingdom; it runs as follows: "In consideration that many other common ways in the said weald of Kent be so deep and noyous by wearing and course of water and other occasions, that people cannot have their carriages or passages by horses upon or by the same, but to their great pains, peril, and jeopardy."

Seven years after this, the roads and bridges throughout England were in such a deplorable state, that an act was passed, making the county responsible for the repair of the bridges, but leaving the roads to the parishes; as it was not made incumbent, however, upon any particular officer to call the parish together, and set them to work, the roads were left to take care of themselves pretty much as before. Nor was this state of abandonment and neglect peculiar to the roads in the remote parts of the island;
the great thoroughfares leading into the metropolis itself were little better in winter than rivers of mud diversified with deep break-neck gullies, whilst in summer they became hollow and rugged ravines, choked with mountains of dust. In 1533 an act was passed for paving the highway between the Strand Cross (St. Clement Danes) and Charing Cross, which is described in the preamble as "very noyous and foul, and in many places thereof very jeopardous to passengers, as well on horseback as on foot, both in winter and summer, by night and by day." The following year another act was passed for the repaving of Holborn, which is described as the great thoroughfare from the west and north-west parts of the kingdom. The complaint of the inhabitants, recited in the preamble, states, that "For lack of renewing of the said paving by the landlords which dwell not within the city, the way is so noyous and so full of sloughs, and other incumbrances, that oftentimes many of your subjects riding through the said street and way be in jeopardy of hurt, and have almost perished." Six years later, that is in 1540, another act was passed directing the paving and repair of the following metropolitan thoroughfares. "The highway leading from Aldgate to Whitechapel Church—
Causeway from the bridge at Holborn Bars unto the end of Holborn westwards as far as any habitation or dwelling is on both sides of the same street—Chancery Lane, from the bars besides the Rolls, late made and set up by the Lord Privy Seal, unto the said highway in Holborn—Gray's Inn Lane from Holborn Bars northward, as far as any habitation is there—Shoe Lane, and Fewter Lane thoroughfares and passages from Fleet Street into Holborn.” The condition of these great arterial ways, over which passes in our day the gigantic traffic of kingdoms, is described as being “very foul and full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and noyous, as well for all the king’s subjests through and by them repairing and passing, as well on horseback as on foot, as also with carriage.” The surveyors of highways referred to by Harrison were first appointed in 1556, by 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, c. 8; but, as we have seen, they abused their office for selfish purposes, and their authority was so ill-defined, that the parishioners frequently evaded it altogether. The country, however, was gradually awakening to clearer perceptions of the importance of safe and rapid intercommunication. The formation and repair of roads is repeatedly noticed in the proceedings of subsequent Parliaments. Six acts were
TRAVELLING STILL DIFFICULT.

passed in the reign of Mary, and nineteen in that of Elizabeth; as these acts, however, were all founded on the principle of enforcing statute labour for the reparation of the public ways, their operation was but partially beneficial. At last the system of tolls and turnpike trusts was established in the reign of Charles II., and from this event may be dated the gradual improvement of all the main lines of communication throughout the country. The bye-ways, and roads leading to and from many towns which are now places of great wealth and importance, continued, up to the beginning of the present century, to answer to the description of them given by old Harrison as he saw them in his day. Poor Mr. Pepys relates with much pathos the moving accidents by field and flood that befell him and his wife when they lost their way in travelling from Newbury to Reading, so little difference was there between the highways and the ploughed fields, and so little care taken to define the one from the others. Even as late as 1703 the roads in the south of England were in a condition which we can hardly imagine. This is proved by the account of a journey undertaken by Prince George of Denmark, the Consort of Queen Ann, from Portsmouth to Petworth, on a visit to the Duke of Somerset. The
narrative is given by one of the Prince's attendants, and preserved in the "Archæologia." It certainly gives us a striking idea of the miseries of travelling even to those in the highest ranks of life.

"We set out at six o'clock in the morning to go to Petworth, and did not get out of the coaches, save only when we were overturned or stuck fast in the mire, till we arrived at our journey's end; 'twas hard service for the Prince to sit fourteen hours in the coach that day without eating anything, and passing through the worst ways that I ever saw in my life. We were thrown but once indeed in going; but our coach, which was leading, and his Highness's body-coach, would have suffered very often, if the nimble boors of Sussex had not frequently poised it, or supported it with their shoulders from Godalming, almost to Petworth; and the nearer we approached the Duke's the more inaccessible it seemed to be. The last nine miles of the way cost six hours to conquer." This was in 1703. That little improvement had taken place in 1740 is testified by Pennant, who states that it took six days to travel from Chester to London, and a team of six, and sometimes eight horses to draw the stage-coach through the sloughs into which the road was broken up.
Thirty years later, Arthur Young speaks of the Lancashire roads in the following uncomplimentary terms: "I know not in the whole range of language terms sufficiently expressive to describe this infernal road. Let me seriously caution all travellers who may accidentally propose to travel this terrible country, to avoid it as they would the devil; for a thousand to one they break their necks, or their limbs, by overthrows or breakings-down. They will here meet with ruts which I actually measured four feet deep and floating with mud, only from a wet summer; what, therefore, must it be after a winter? The only mending it receives, is tumbling in some loose stones, which serves no other purpose than jolting a carriage in the most intolerable manner. These are not merely opinions, but facts; for I actually passed three carts broken down in these eighteen miles of execrable journey." Towards the close of the last century, however, road engineering began to attract considerable attention. Improvements were made in the lines so as to avoid the rugged and precipitous routes of the old roads. The proper method of laying the foundations was studied, and the best materials for constructing the surface were the objects of many experiments; until, at length, road-making
ACCELERATION OF IMPROVEMENTS.

seemed to have reached the utmost perfection, under M'Adam, and the English highways became noted throughout Europe for their excellence.

We have traced the English roads from the state of mere foot-tracks to their utmost perfection; and we have seen that their improvement proceeded with accelerated speed. From the reign of Henry VIII. to that of James I. the amelioration was almost insensible. From thence to the close of the seventeenth century, the progress of improvement was very obvious; still more so during the eighteenth century: but the improvements made in the construction and repair of roads during the first thirty years of the present century, that is, till the introduction of railways as public thoroughfares, exceeded by many degrees all the improvements of the three hundred preceding years. Such were the ways throughout England: we shall see that the means by which they were traversed corresponded with them in character.
CHAPTER IV.

Primitive modes of conveyance in England.—The pack-horse: trains of pack-horses.—Carriers.—Rate of travelling.—Dangers.—Banditti.—Caravans.—The Rochester caravan robbed at Gad’s Hill.—Means of personal transit.—The saddle and pillion.—Queen Elizabeth on a pillion.—The horse litter.—Enormous number of horses required for locomotion in the sixteenth century.—Numbers required by Queen Elizabeth.—Their pressure upon the produce of the soil.—Ancient expenses of loyalty.—Habits of the nobility.—Competition of the human and equine races.—Introduction of the coach.—Description of first coaches.—Perplexities of primitive coaching.—Running footmen: their duties.—Appearance of a travelling carriage by night.—Accidents, and method of repairing.—Relics of ancient coaching.—Improved methods of transport.—The broad-wheeled waggon.—Stage-coaches: their character and performances: opposition to them: their general adoption: improvement: perfection.—They are superseded by steam.—Conveyance by water.—Navigable rivers.—Canals: Liverpool and St. Helen’s: Bridgewater: their general adoption in the three kingdoms.—History of the means formerly employed for the transmission of intelligence.—Special couriers.—Foreign post of James I.—Inland letter-office erected by Charles I.—Corre-
spondence during the civil war.—Example of an ancient superscription.—Rise and progress of the present postal system.

For many ages the only method of transport, either for persons or merchandise, depended upon mere animal power. The horse was the great agent of communication between the different parts of the country. The rearing and training of horses were objects of great attention to the English from the earliest times, and various breeds of them were preserved to subserve the different purposes for which they were necessary. The transmission of goods and produce was effected by pack-horses, which were strong and hardy animals, capable of enduring much fatigue and privation. The pack-horse was furnished with two large baskets called panniers, one of which hung at each side, so as to balance each other, from hooks fixed in a saddle that rested on the animal's back; a strong bent pole was sometimes passed under the horse's belly, and its ends fixed in the bottoms of the panniers, so as to keep them at an equal distance from each other, and relieve the horse from the lateral pressure. Thus equipped, and adorned with a bow and bells, the panniers of the pack-horse were laden with the articles he was to carry, and with many others similarly furnished he set out upon his
journey. They were united in strings, the halter of each being tied to the crupper of the one preceding, until the line terminated in the leader, which was, if possible, a stout sagacious old roadster that knew the route by experience, and would not lead his followers astray into dangerous places. These strings consisted of a dozen, twenty, fifty, and sometimes even a greater number of horses; when very large, it was accompanied by several carriers, who were well armed, and rode beside the convoy on strong hacks. These carriers were a class of men in many respects closely resembling the Spanish muleteers in their habits of life, and the duties they had to discharge; and, like them, were frequently entrusted with charges of great value. The cavalcade, being arranged thus in Indian file, proceeded on its course at about the rate of two miles and a half an hour, winding its way to the music of its innumerable bells, through pathless moors, tangled woods, and dangerous morasses, or climbing the rugged hill-sides at a still slower pace. They seldom accomplished more than from fifteen to twenty miles in one day, and always rested at night at well-known hosteleries which afforded accommodation to man and beast. The dangers of foul ways and intricate paths were not the only ones that beset
them in their journeys. They were frequently set upon by bands of armed banditti, who plundered the convoy, and sometimes murdered the carriers. The consequence of this was, that, when a merchant in a remote part of the country had goods of great value to transmit to a distance, he was often obliged to wait for weeks, and even months, until a caravan could be formed sufficiently numerous and well armed to bid defiance to the marauders, and do battle in case of an attack. The comprehensive genius of Shakespear did not omit this characteristic of his time. He has left an interesting picture of the perils which surrounded travellers for many ages before and subsequent to his own, in the scene in which he describes the robbery at Gad’s Hill. The company assembled at Rochester consisted of eight or ten persons, and we perceive that their only connection was that of voluntary association for their common safety. There were two professional carriers, one of whom had “a gammon of bacon and two razes of ginger to be delivered as far as Charing Cross;” the other had “turkies in his panniers,” which he is under apprehension will be starved before they arrive at their destination. Then there were “gentlemen who wished to go along in company, for they had great charge;” one of them was a Franklin from
the weald of Kent, and another a collector of the royal revenue. It is remarkable, too, that, though they had but thirty miles to travel, they were up at two o'clock in the morning in order to perform the journey before night.

This is a perfectly accurate description of the manner in which mercantile exchanges were effected between the different parts of the country till late in the sixteenth century. The means of personal transit were equally difficult. The universal resource was the horse. Ladies of the very first distinction, if they wanted to make a journey, were compelled to do so on horseback, either managing the steed themselves single-handed, or seated on a pillion behind their husbands. Even Queen Elizabeth herself, on public occasions, rode in this manner, behind the lord-chancellor, through the streets of London. The pillion was a softly-cushioned low-backed chair, with a hanging shelf to support the feet, something like those ingenious contrivances in which young children take their first lessons in equitation on the donkey. The introduction of the horse litter was the first step in improving this primitive method of locomotion. It resembled a sedan chair, except that it was borne by horses instead of men. It was seldom used, however, unless by timid persons and invalids, or on occa-
sions of great state and ceremony, and was only suitable for short journeys and for level roads, of which there was a plentiful lack in the kingdom; it could not be used for traversing the more difficult and rugged paths without imminent risk to the necks of its occupants.

The number of horses required for the limited locomotion of the sixteenth century must have been enormous, and the quantity of land necessary for their support so great as to trench seriously upon the sources from which the population were sustained. When Queen Elizabeth removed her court it required twenty-four thousand horses to accommodate her suit and household. Now, it has been demonstrated that one horse consumes the produce of as much land as eight men. Here, then, we have a cavalcade equal in its demands upon the soil to one hundred and ninety-two thousand men, and if we allow two thousand guards, servants, and officers, besides one man to every four horses, we shall have connected with the travelling court of the virgin queen a demand upon agricultural produce equivalent to that of an army of infantry two hundred thousand strong; and this, it must be remembered, was absolute consumption, altogether unprofitable, not reproductive, such as might have stimulated the national industry. In
fact, the prerogatives of purveyance and pre-emption, which this over-praised queen exercised without scruple, converted this monstrously useless absorption of the necessaries of life into a gigantic system of robbery. The royal progresses were as much dreaded as the plague, and the districts over which they passed as mercilessly ravaged as they could have been by an invading army. Months of famine, and years of scarcity, measured the prices which our ancestors paid for the gratification of their loyalty. The habits of the nobility very much resembled those of their queen. They were not, like her, it is true, entitled by the law to plunder their followers; but the fashion, as well as the necessities of the times, compelled them to keep such vast multitudes of horses for their own transit, and the transport of their households and followers, that it may be fairly said the human and the equine races contended for the possession of the land, and that the former had for a long time the worst in the contest. It was not till 1564, according to Stow, that Queen Elizabeth indulged in the luxury of a coach. At that time, says the old chronicler, "one Boonen, a Dutchman, became the queen's coachman, and was the first that brought the use of coaches into England." These first coaches were vast, unwieldy struc-
tures of timber and iron, which rested on the axle without the intervention of springs, or any other contrivance to break the force of the tremendous bumps and shocks which every moment threatened to dislocate the frames of the passengers. It required six, eight, sometimes ten horses to drag those ponderous vehicles at a walking pace through the series of ruts, gullies and quagmires which were then called roads, and what with the groaning and creaking of the machine itself, and the shouting and flogging of the postilions, it may be a question whether the grandeur of the new mode of conveyance compensated for its miseries.

It is laughable to read of the perplexities that beset coaching in those primitive times. If two carriages met on the high-road, neither could turn aside to let the other pass without infinite labour. The mysteries of tooling were as yet undiscovered, and where the road was very narrow, or much curved, the only alternative was for one to back to a wider portion of the way where there was room enough for the other to pursue its route without tumbling into the deep ditches that generally flanked it. To meet all these contingencies the owners of coaches were obliged to retain in their service a number of running footmen—a species of domestic now
extinct. Six, eight, sometimes a dozen of these attended the coach in its progress. Their duty was to run before and see that all was clear; to warn off all carts, horses, and donkeys that threatened to obstruct the approaching car of Juggernaut, and especially to explore all narrow gorges and suspected turnings, lest it should get into a dead lock. Each footman carried a strong pole, armed with an iron pike, which was of great utility in many ways; with the help of it he leaped over heaps of stones and mud, and cleared gullies, sloughs, and rivulets with great agility. He made dexterous use of it as a lever to raise the wheels out of the deep ruts and hollows into which they were constantly sinking, to prop up the carriage when it was in danger of oversetting, and, when it was fairly capsized, to right it again, and to aid his masters or mistresses to recover themselves out of the mire. If it were found necessary to travel by night the footmen were furnished with torches; and, as they leaped and ran along in their gaudy liveries, waving their lurid flames and shouting to one another, with the cracking of the postilions' whips, and the sounding of their horns for an accompaniment, the whole scene, viewed by some simple rustic from a neighbouring hill, must have impressed him with the notion of some astound-
ing spectral Saturnalia, as it danced and flickered along and at length vanished in the darkness. Numerous accidents were constantly occurring on every journey to the harness, the wheels, and the body of the vehicle, which it was necessary to repair on the spot before the equipage could proceed any farther. The coachman and footmen were therefore expected to be handy fellows, who knew a hawk from a hand-saw, and could make good such casual damage without calling in professional assistance. They carried their tools and materials with them for this purpose in a chest upon which the coachman was seated. This depository contained a miscellaneous gathering, consisting of nails, screws, iron plates and hoops, pieces of leather, ropes, chains, screwdrivers, chisels, saws, and hammers,—the whole being covered with a cloth to conceal its contents, which sometimes forced their way through chinks and crannies.

These things have all passed away, yet some memorials of them still remain even in our times. The seat of the modern Jehu has ceased to be a tool-chest, but it retains the name of a box, and the beautifully embroidered and emblazoned piece of drapery that covers it is still called a hammer-cloth. The running footmen have forsaken the mud, and effloresced into those finely
bedizened gentlemen whose round calves and powdered locks awaken popular admiration as they cluster behind aristocratic equipages, at birth-days and drawing-rooms, whilst the strong, useful iron-shod poles have dwindled into gold-headed staves, which, however elegant, are mere matters of ceremony.

With the improvement of the roads, which, as we have seen, proceeded gradually, better methods of transport were introduced; the pack-horse gave place to the broad-wheeled waggon, and stage-coaches began to run to and from the principal cities and towns for the accommodation of the public. The advertisements of these vehicles, which appear for the first time about the close of the seventeenth century, are curiously illustrative of their character and performances. Few of them, it appears, had springs: the journey from London to York occupied six days; from London to Bristol four; and to other places in proportion. The coaches did not travel by night, and the passengers were obliged to put up at the inns where the coachman and his horses were accommodated, so that the expense of a journey in those times must have been such as only the wealthy could afford. We look back with wonder at the supineness of the nation, and its inattention to the incalculable
importance of good roads and rapid communication; but we forget how slowly light breaks in upon the public mind, and how many obstinate prejudices it has to dissipate before it can make manifest the most splendid and beneficial discoveries; even the small innovation which the first rude stage-coaches effected in travelling had to pass through the ordeal of opposition. There is a pamphlet in the Harleian Miscellany, published in 1673, called “The grand Concern of England explained in several Proposals,” &c., in which the author attributes the dulness of trade, and the embarrassments of the country, to the stage-coaches. He complains that they perform the journey from London to York, Chester, and Exeter, in the unpatriotically short space of four or five days, carrying eighteen passengers each. He then calculates the vast amount of employment those eighteen persons would give to grooms, farriers, innkeepers, hostlers, saddlers, &c., if each were to ride his own horse instead of adopting the revolutionary practice of clubbing for a common conveyance; and concludes, of course, according to the croker’s hereditary formula, with an owlish lamentation over the good old times.

The obvious advantages of the new method of travelling, however, overcame all opposition, and it was generally adopted throughout the country.
Coaching became almost a science: improvements followed one another rapidly, until at last it seemed to have reached its utmost perfection in the elegant mail, with its high-bred team and its fourteen miles an hour. No sooner, however, had it arrived at its highest point of development, than its empire was challenged by the railway whistle, and its glories obscured by the rising clouds of steam.

It is astonishing that water did not at an earlier period become a medium of inland transport. For centuries it was seen that towns seated upon navigable rivers had enjoyed whatever there was in the country of commercial prosperity, and yet it was not till recently that the simple and obvious means of diffusing that prosperity, by opening new channels for the element on which it floated, were adopted. The first canal made in England does not date farther back than 1755. It is that which runs from Sankey Brook, on the Mersey, to Gerrard's Bridge and Saint Helen's, a distance of about eleven miles. The immense superiority of this mode of conveyance for heavy goods became speedily obvious, and was soon after adopted on an extensive scale by the Duke of Bridgewater. A rich bed of coal was discovered on his estate at Worsley, near Manchester, but the charge of land carriage to
the best markets was so great as to swallow up nearly the whole produce of the sales; the duke, therefore, obtained, in 1757, an Act of Parliament for the formation of a canal. The outlay was very great, but it soon cleared itself, and, besides becoming itself a source of large profit, it increased the value of the mines a hundredfold. This experiment was decisive, and canals came into general use throughout the three kingdoms about the beginning of the present century.

We have thus given a brief review of the growth of communication in England during the long interval between the beginning of the modern English period and the introduction of locomotion by steam; our retrospect would be incomplete, however, without some notice of the means employed for the transmission of intelligence. The only way in which messages or letters could be sent from place to place before the times of James I. was by special couriers, who accomplished their journeys by relays of horses, at enormous expense to the sender. James I. erected a post-office for the conveyance of foreign letters, under the control of one Mathew de Quester; but this appears to have been little more than an organisation of messengers who did not travel at stated times. In 1632 it was improved "for the better accommodation of the
English merchants." In 1635 Charles I. erected "a letter-office" for England and Scotland, and established a settled rate of postage; but this extended, according to Blackstone, only to a few of the principal roads, and the times of carriage were uncertain. The mails were carried by boys on horseback, who travelled at the rate of five miles an hour, and who frequently lost their way and were robbed of their letter-bags; so that correspondence of great importance still continued to be transmitted by special messengers. This was the method generally employed during the great civil war. The directions to the courier were written on the outside of the letter, like our superscriptions, but at much greater length, and accompanied with earnest exhortations to diligence. Here is a specimen from the Fairfax Correspondence. The letter was written by Sir Edward Osborne, father of the first Duke of Leeds, to Sir Ferdinando Fairfax, father of the celebrated parliamentary general. It is dated York, the 24th May, 1639, at 11 in the night, and superscribed:

"To mine honourable friend and cousin,

Sir Ferdinando Fairfax, knight and colonel,

at Knaresborough.

With all possible speed that may be, these deliver.

Haste! haste! haste! Post haste!
haste! for life!"
In cases of great emergency the injunction was more urgent; such as—

"Haste! haste! haste! Post haste! Whip and spur! Ride for life!"

In 1644 Edmund Prideaux was appointed postmaster by an ordinance of the Long Parliament, and soon after established a weekly conveyance of letters into all parts of the nation. The Common Council of London endeavoured to set up a post-office of their own, in competition with that sanctioned by the Government, but were prevented by a resolution of the Commons. At last, in 1657, a regular post-office was erected by authority of the Protector and his parliament, the regulations of which remained unaltered till the time of Queen Ann, and which forms the basis of our present admirable postal system. The expense of postage in the olden times was so great as to constitute a serious tax upon even the wealthy, and to place correspondence by letter altogether beyond the reach of the great body of the people. Poor persons living in different parts of the country were then more completely separated from one another than the settler in Australia is now from his friends in England, though the whole mass of the terraqueous globe intervenes between him and them.
CHAPTER V.

Consequences of the difficulty of communication visible in the condition of the people.—Isolation of districts.—Dialect, prejudices, and traditionary reputation.—Customs and superstitions.—The Celtic element.—Fire-worship and heliolatry.—Druidism.—Celtic and Teutonic fairies.—Prejudices against the Welsh and Scotch.—Annual execution of a Welshman in effigy.—Junius's opinion of the Scotch.—Dr. Johnson's antipathy to Scotland.—Effects of intercourse upon these false notions.—Willing justice to Scotland.—Influence of isolation on the origin and perpetuation of popular errors.—Reasons why men of great learning and ability are sometimes found imbued with vulgar errors.—Illustrations from the past.—Witchcraft: the most striking.

The consequences of the difficulty with which communication was maintained between various parts of the country may be traced in the manners and customs of the people, in their social and moral relations, and even in the laws of the land. The population was broken up into a multitude of distinct portions, each circumscribed by the natural boundaries of the soil, and its parts held together by local interests, or by mere mechanical proximity. Nationality was not
understood in its higher and better sense as implying a homogeneity of interest and a thorough sympathy between the various sections of the kingdom. The several districts differed as widely from one another in their habits of life, their superstitions, and even in their dialects, as the German states do from one another in the present day. Each county had its peculiar prejudices and a traditionary reputation. The folks looked upon the shires with contempt, the shires hated the folks, and both united in disparaging the sexes. The people of London and Middlesex were regarded, at least by themselves, as mirrors of urbanity, and worthy of ranking with the gentry of other counties; whilst Wiltshire and Hampshire were set down as particularly deficient in politeness. It was generally believed that Yorkshire-men were born with a strong dash of the jockey in their nature, and a constitutional attachment to horses, and that they were unrivalled for cunning under the guise of simplicity. Lincolnshire took rank as the Bœotia of England, and its people were thought to be universally thick-headed, obstinate, and flat as their county. The inhabitants of Essex were esteemed a soft and somewhat vituline race, and stories were related concerning the town-council of Coggeshal which, if true, would have entitled
them to be classed with the renowned sages of Gotham. Northumberland, Cumberland, and Durham retained, up to a very recent period, many customs and superstitions of Danish origin, some of which have not entirely disappeared even in our own day, such as the custom of placing a variety of articles in the cradle of an unchristened child, to propitiate those aerial beings known under the name of fairies—a practice which prevails throughout Denmark, and also the observance of Hoke day, so often mentioned in our old records and legal instruments. The sword dance, so popular in the north-riding of Yorkshire, and the adjacent districts, about Christmas time, is manifestly, as Wallis says in his history of Northumberland, the remains of the saltatio armata of the Roman soldiers on their festival armilustrum observed towards the close of the year. The Celtic element may be still distinctly traced in Cornwall, and there is abundant evidence to prove that a dialect of the original British or erse language was spoken west of the Tamar as late as the reign of Queen Elizabeth; many relics of which remain, even in our own day, such as the proper names beginning with Pol, Tre, and Pen. The terms glain naidr, names given to the green snake rings sometimes found there, are also
decidedly Gaelic, and would be understood in Connaught, or in the Highlands of Scotland. The practice too of lighting fires on St. John's eve is clearly Celtic; it prevails throughout Ireland, and there is little doubt that it is a relic of the ancient fire-worship brought by the Celtic immigration from the east, and preserved in a modified form by the Druids. The custom of building churches with the chancel to the east is another manifest relic of heliolatry, and furnishes a striking proof of the tenacity with which people cling to an established observance, even for thousands of years after its spirit and meaning have passed away. The Isle of Man was the central stronghold of Druidism for the three kingdoms, and, as might be expected from its insular position, has preserved many druidical customs. This is satisfactorily proved by Mr. Train, in his "Historical and Statistical Account of the Isle of Man." We need cite but one example:—The Manx peasantry never let their fires go out voluntarily, believing that such an event would portend some dreadful calamity, an idea in strict conformity with Druidical and Persian notions. We have spoken of fairies; now the Grimms have clearly shown that, whilst all European nations have believed with varying degrees of faith in a race of beings occupying a
position between angels and demons, the fancy of the Celtic stock has invested them with a light and picturesque character, and endowed them with a capricious disposition equally inclined to mischief and beneficence. The Teutonic tribes, on the other hand, have given them a sterner and more practical character. Amongst the former those aerial creatures of the imagination were called fairies; amongst the latter elves, mine-spirits, and kobalds. It is curious to observe how these notions have followed the fortunes of the people from whom they sprung. The Lubber Fiend, alias Father Rush, alias Robin Goodfellow, is evidently a member of the Kobald family, who came over here with the Teutonic Saxons. As they subdued the land, and reduced its inhabitants to their dominion, the fanciful allies of the conquered were dispossessed of their ancient homes. The old British fairies fled before the stern sprites of the north; some of them betook themselves to the lovely valleys and shady woods of Devonshire, where their descendants are still known as Pixies; others sought refuge in the Welsh mountains, and continued to patronise the ancient British race, who speak of them affectionately as the boys of the Rurrie. Only one tribe appears to have preserved the proper patronymic, and to
have come to terms with the invaders, so as to retain a portion of their original territory at Osebury in Worcestershire. It is worthy of notice, that these local superstitions have retained their hold of the people through all changes of dynasties and religions, through all the agitations of war and revolution, and that they are disappearing only in consequence of that increasing intercourse which supplants imaginary notions by broader and more practical views of men and things. In like manner better knowledge has erased the prejudices of different parts of the country against one another. If ever such things are now heard of it is as traditions fast fading from the memories of men; yet there was a time when their influence was anything but powerless: at the worst period, however, the inter-anglican antipathies were innocuous compared with the deadly hatred of the English generally against the Welsh and Scotch. Till late in the seventeenth century, it was customary in London to hang a Welshman in effigy, annually on the first day of March, amidst the applauses of the populace—a practice originating, probably, in commemoration of the hatred inspired by some successful, though unrecorded, inroad of the Cambrians, who were expert snatchers upon the English territory. Pepys in his Diary mentions
his having witnessed this mimic execution as late as 1667.

The popular detestation of the Scotch was still more intense and enduring. The long continued hostilities of the two nations, and their subsequent rivalry for the royal favour, when united under one crown, may in some measure account for this bitterness of feeling. However this may be, the enmity against the Scotch, and the universal dislike of them which prevailed even in the early part of George the Third's reign, was tremendous. The name of a Scotchman was then as thorough a disqualification for employment in England as it is possible to conceive. Junius, whose sagacity in discovering the most unpopular attributes of those whom he addressed has never been equalled, could not, in the very height and passion of his vituperation against Lord Mansfield, think of anything more likely to damage that nobleman in popular estimation than reproaching him with his nativity. "Permit me to begin," says Junius, "with paying a just tribute to Scotch sincerity where I find it; I own I am not apt to confide in the professions of gentlemen from that country, and when they smile I feel an involuntary emotion to guard myself against mischief:" and then, after charging him with every kind of treason and
even blasphemy, he proceeds, "you took that part in politics which might have been expected from your birth, education, country and connexions." Such were the sentiments uttered, and universally applauded, in the year 1770. The renowned Samuel Johnson has left similar feelings on record. He, the unapproachable and absolute dictator of the literary republic, avowed openly and without hesitation that he could not like anything from Scotland, simply because it was Scotch, and that even if Venus were introduced to him as Miss M'Jupiter he could not think her beautiful. These monstrous and unfounded prejudices, however, nearly died out with the generation to which the obstinate old doctor belonged, and whatever remnants of them survived are now entirely forgotten. That they ever existed was entirely owing to the ignorance of everything Scottish which prevailed amongst the mass of the people, and prepared them to receive as facts the malicious misrepresentations of persons who, either for the gratification of personal pique or for party purposes, found their account in calumniating the whole nation. But that ignorance itself was in a great measure attributable to the paucity and difficulty of means of intercourse, and therefore of direct knowledge. Since intercommunication between
the two kingdoms has become so rapid, easy, and certain, as to bring them face to face with each other, how much more just have English notions of Scotland become. How willingly do we compensate for the injustice of our forefathers, by recognising the intelligence, prudence, and honesty of the bulk of our Scottish fellow-countrymen, and by the admiring homage we do to the brilliant band of philosophers, historians, and poets, who have rendered the name of Scotland illustrious throughout the earth. It is not in the perpetuation of such prejudices as these only, that the absence or deficiency of intercourse is the efficient cause; we shall find it at the foundation of almost all the erroneous notions and delusions by which men have been abused in past times: a foolish thought arises in the mind of one ignorant man, and it is called a crotchet; he communicates it to another equally ignorant, who receives it without question, and it becomes an incipient opinion. The originator is confirmed in his notion through the very process by which he gains the assent of another mind. It spreads from one to another with various additions and modifications, and before it encounters one perspicuous and discriminating intellect capable of exposing its fallacy, it has probably taken possession of a multitude so great,
that their united, though stolid, suffrages in its favour overbear the single voice of truth and reason. This is no doubt the natural history of many wide-spread errors, which could never have prevailed had society been even thinly sprinkled with intelligence, or local notions been subjected to the test of general opinion before they had hardened into traditions. The presence of an educated man here and there would have been a mound to arrest, or retard, the course of many a delusion which has easily overspread the dead level of an ignorant populace. To this it may be objected that many men of great abilities and profound scholarship have been as thoroughly imbued with the popular errors of their time, as the most benighted of the people. This cannot be denied, but it neither detracts from our theory of the origin of such errors, nor is it difficult to be accounted for. The assent of great numbers to any proposition has a factitious force of conviction upon our minds, which it is very difficult to distinguish from real evidence. We unconsciously admit, as the independent conclusions of the individuals, notions which they have with equal unconsciousness adopted from others, and which have never exercised their reason. The opinions of a million persons of this kind are, it is obvious, of no more value in evidence than the opinion of
one,—now, before we would consent to adopt the opinion of any one person, we should require the proofs of its truth. Yet such is the authority of numbers, that we often forego all inquiry in deference to it, and implicitly receive its conclusions, as if they were demonstrations. It must not be forgotten, neither, that popular applause is the most enviable reward of learning and ability; men thus endowed have therefore a constantly soliciting motive to conform to popular opinions and prejudices, and, although they may not themselves be aware of its operation, there can be no doubt that it often influences their judgment, and directs their invention. There are but few capable of that heroism which dares to stand forth and boldly denounce as false and irrational, opinions that have been long cherished by the majority of his fellow-men. The justice to be hoped for from posterity, has but in rare instances emboldened men to brave the execration by condemning the follies of their contemporaries. If to these reasons we add something in consideration of peculiar nervous organisation, which renders some men constitutionally more susceptible to all that affects the imagination, we shall not find it difficult to understand how persons may be able and erudite, and yet the subjects of absurd illusions. These remarks receive
sufficient illustration in our own times, but the proofs of their truth crowd upon us from the past; when the darkness that overspread the human mind was scarcely broken by a glimmer of intelligence except what shone upon a narrow and secluded circle beyond which it could not send its light; when notions and superstitions were inherited with the soil, and descended without interruption from generation to generation, unchanged by contact with strangers, and untested by their investigations; when men generally lived their whole span and performed all their life's labours within the compass of a few miles, and rarely knew anything of what took place beyond the boundaries of their native parish or county. We can hardly conceive the power which opinions the most unfounded and absurd exercised upon the mass of the people in those times, nor the force with which popular belief in such opinions reacted upon men of the most exalted rank and the most shining talents. Of all the delusions that have taken possession of the human mind, however, the belief in witchcraft, or supernatural agency under the control of mankind, is the most extraordinary; not only for its absurdity, but for the tenacity of its hold, its power over all ranks and conditions, and the frightful mischiefs it caused.
Chapter VI.

Sir Reginald Scott's definition of witchcraft.—James I.; his book against witches.—Ranulf Higden.—Mean notions of the Devil and his subordinate spirits.—The methods of capturing and subjugating devils: labours enjoined them: their usual reward.—Terrible consequences of the belief in witchcraft.—Number of persons executed for that crime.—Witch-finders.—Hopkins; his practical dilemma.—Savage spirit of the law.—The Witch Act.—National recognition of a lie.—Effects upon the popular mind.—Brutality of the people.—Dreadful incident at Tring in 1751.—Recent instances of sorcery a proof that it is passing away.—Domestic habits of the people.—Erasmus's account of an English interior.—Barbarous profusion of the upper classes.—Queen Elizabeth's breakfast.—Lord Goring's supper.—Houses of the common people.—Food.—Clothing.—Sleeping.—Sports.—Effects of defective intercommunication upon industry.—National resources undeveloped.—Imports.—Steel-yard.—Merchant adventurers.—Exports.—Statement of Guicciardini.—Cloth trade privileged.—Monopolies dissolved by increased communication.—Origin of Halifax.—Want of means of transport, interfered with sales.—Annual fairs.—Bad effects of the wool-trade on agriculture, towns, and population.—Weak-
ness of the commercial spirit.—Despotie prohibitions.—Royal monopolies. —Discouragement of private enterprise.

Sir Reginald Scott, in his dictionary, defines witchcraft to be, "in the estimation of the vulgar, a supernatural work between a corporal old woman and a spiritual devil." It was not always in the estimation of the vulgar only that such compacts were set down as facts. The most exalted person in the realm at one time did not think it unworthy of his rank to enter the lists with the corporal old women and their demoniacal allies; King James I., whom the bishops declared to have spoken on one occasion, not with the voice of a man, but with the voice of the Holy Ghost, wrote a book against witches. In this book he notices an assertion of old Ranulf Higden, who gravely states, in his Polychronicon, that the Manx witches sold winds to distressed shipmen. The King, though declining to indorse the Monk of Chester, admits with equal gravity that the witches of Lapland were extensively engaged in the same line of industry. He also gives minute directions how to discover witches by certain marks, which the Devil always impressed upon them, and displays his learning in an elaborate argument, to show that witches ought not to be suffered to live. It must be
confessed that the popular notions of the Archangel ruined, and his followers, were extremely mean and undignified. The methods used to bring them into subjection to human authority were apparently very inadequate, consisting in certain manipulations of the briony and mandrake roots, burning the hairs of a black cat’s tail, repeating certain forms of words, and diffusing appropriate perfumes. The services also which they were enjoined to perform seem to have been of the least elevated kind; indeed, so simple, that one would think they might have been discharged by those mischievous developments of humanity called boys, or even left to accident, without calling in aid from Pandemonium. Devils are not required, in our time at least, to trample upon growing crops, break down fences, rob orchards, cause horses to fall lame, or cows to lose their milk; but in those days it was different, and all such events were attributed to satanic agency when not otherwise easily accounted for. The malignity of the witches took some curious methods for its gratification. They caused the children of those whom they hated to squint, and become ricketty; themselves to be racked with pains very similar to those caused by rheumatism, to lose their appetite for
natural food, and to swallow pins, cinders, earth, brickbats, and other delicacies of that description with extraordinary relish. And the reward of the diabolical emissaries who did all this, was merely the sucking of a little blood from the withered old creatures who employed them. We can afford to smile at such things now, but there was a time when these vile and absurd delusions stained the land throughout its length and breadth with judicial murder, and filled men's minds with terror. Between 1640 and 1660 more than three thousand persons were burned alive for witchcraft. Barrington* estimates the whole number put to death in England for that crime at thirty thousand. It is but two hundred years since Government inspectors went periodically throughout the country, to look for witches, just as they go now to inquire into the state of schools, and the treatment of factory children. One of those old Government commissioners has left some reports of his proceedings; his name was Hopkins, and he was noted for his skill in the discovery of witches. He was sent into Suffolk, and in one year destroyed not less than sixty persons, chiefly poor old friendless and help-

* Observations on the Statute of Henry VI.
less women. The method of procedure adopted by Judge Hopkins, in order to elicit the guilt or innocence of the accused, furnishes the most complete illustration of the practical dilemma on record. He caused the suspected witch to be thrown into deep water; if she floated, it was considered a decisive proof of her guilt, and she was burned; if she sunk to the bottom, it was deemed a demonstration of her innocence, but then she was drowned. It is gratifying to our indignation against this inhuman wretch to know that he fell into the very pit he had digged for so many others, and ended his life of blood by being himself drowned by the populace for a wizzard. In order to understand fully the monstrous character of those proceedings, and the moral tone of the society that could endure them, we must remember that they were not the result of unauthorised popular movements, but the formal operation of legal savagery, animated by the ignorant and merciless spirit of the legislature. Whatever excuses we may be disposed to find for the fearful severity of our ancient penal code, in the low state of political science which characterised the times, we cannot, even at this distance, contemplate without a shudder the sanguinary facility with which the ultimum supplicium was inflicted, and
that even by such a man as Sir Mathew Hale *, for crimes of an imaginary character, to which not even the simplest rules of evidence could apply. The Witch Act of 1603 (1 James I., c. 12,) ordains, "that all persons invoking any evil spirit, or consulting, covenanting with, entertaining, employing, feeding, or rewarding any evil spirit, or taking up dead bodies from their graves to be used in any witchcraft, sorcery, charm, or enchantment, or killing, or otherwise hurting any person by these infernal arts, should be guilty of felony without benefit of clergy, and suffer death." It is a startling consideration, that this continued to be the law of England till the year 1736, and shows that we are not quite so far removed from the ages of barbarism and darkness as we may sometimes imagine. The last execution under the Witch Act was that of Mrs. Hicks and her infant daughter, aged nine, who were found guilty in 1716 of selling themselves to Satan, and raising a storm by pulling off their stockings and making a lather of soap. The mischief of this national recognition of a lie did not pass away with its repeal; it was easy enough to erase the record from the Statute Book, but not so the belief it had fostered from men's minds,

* He sentenced Amy Dunny and Rose Callender to be hanged for witchcraft in 1664.
nor the ignorant brutality it had long sanctioned: a fearful proof of this is given in the Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xxi. It occurred at Tring in Hertfordshire, in 1751, that is, fifteen years after the repeal of the Witch Act. A publican in that town gave out that he was bewitched by one Osborne and his wife, who were paupers and over seventy years of age. He had it cried in several market towns that they were to be tried by ducking on a certain day, and invited the inhabitants to assist. On the day appointed the guardians had the old couple conveyed to the church to preserve them from the fury of the populace. Shortly afterwards the publican arrived with an immense mob, demanded the Osbornes, and, being refused, they stormed the workhouse, ransacked every corner of it, and even looked into the salt-box in search of their victims. Not being able to find them, they then threatened to fire the premises unless they were given up: upon this, the guardians, like cowards and villains, surrendered the Osbornes in order to save the workhouse. The mob then stripped the old man and woman naked, tied the thumbs and great toes of each together, rolled them up in sheets, and carried them off a distance of two miles to a muddy stream, into which they were plunged. The poor old woman slipped from the
sheet, was drawn out and thrown upon the bank quite naked and choked with mud, where she expired in a few minutes, the ruffian crowd continuing to kick and beat her for some time after her death. They then took the man, who was in a dying state from his injuries, tied him to the "dead witch," and threw them into a bed, where the man also died shortly afterwards.

One cannot refrain from weeping at this shameful violation of humanity, nor from shuddering at the thought that it was possible, in enlightened England, a bare century since. It is much to be feared that an ignorance almost as dense, and a brutality only not quite so savage, may still be found amongst the most degraded of the population. We occasionally see notices of pretended feats of sorcery, in the public journals, sufficient to convince us that the belief in such horrible delusions has not entirely disappeared, but at the same time proving, by the general astonishment and indignation they excite, that they are but the last streaks of darkness which often linger in the lowest places, long after they have been chased, not only from the heights, but from the general level of the land.

The domestic habits of the people in those ages of separation and general stagnation were such as might be inferred from their low intelligence.
Erasmus, who visited England in the early part of the sixteenth century, gives a curious description of an English interior of the better class. The furniture was rough, the walls unplastered, but sometimes wainscotted, or hung with tapestry, and the floors covered with rushes which were not changed for months. The dogs and cats had free access to the eating-rooms, and fragments of meat and bones were thrown to them, which they devoured amongst the rushes, leaving what they could not eat to rot there, with the drainings of beer-vessels and all manner of unmentionable abominations. There was nothing like refinement or elegance in the luxury of the higher ranks; the indulgences which their wealth permitted consisted in rough and wasteful profusion. Salt beef and strong ale constituted the principal part of Queen Elizabeth's breakfast; and similar refreshments were served to her in bed for supper, at a series of entertainments given in York by the nobility in 1660, where each exhausted his invention in order to outdo the others. It was universally admitted that Lord Goring won the palm for the magnificence of his fancy. The description of this supper will give us a good idea of what was then thought magnificent; it consisted of four huge brawny pigs, piping hot, bitted and harnessed with ropes
of sausages to a huge pudding in a bag, which served for a chariot. The houses of the common people were built with branches of willow covered with mud, and thatched with turf and straw. Their food consisted principally of rye bread and buttermilk or small beer. Fresh meat they scarcely ever ate, and salt meat was a rarity; dried fish generally supplied its place, because it could bear carriage to distant places without spoiling. They were clothed in coarse frieze, or sheep's leather, and wore shoes made of wood, whilst a good log of the same material served them for a pillow at night. Their sports were of the same character, but boisterous and sanguinary, showing little human feeling towards the lower animals. Bear-baiting and bull-baiting with dogs were the most attractive amusements of the times, varied with throwing at cocks on Shrove-tide, and the popular enjoyment was in proportion to the sufferings of these animals. In short, the condition of the mass of the people seems to have undergone but little alteration from the time of Edward the Third to that of James the First. The effects of deficient inter-communication are still more distinct in the industry of the country. The treasures of coal and iron, which have since given England the command of the world, were scarcely known in
the reign of Henry VII. There was no manufacture in the country except that of cloth; every article the production of which required a high degree of skill or intelligence was either brought from abroad or fabricated by foreign artisans resident in England. The articles imported were cloths of gold and silver, velvet, damask, satin, sarcenet, camblet, carpets, cordage and other naval stores, linen cloth, wax, steel, serges, glass, salt-fish, soap, sail-cloth, gunpowder, household furniture, arms of all kinds, and ammunition of war; in fact, everything that we should consider necessary or even convenient for the purposes of civilised life. The very importation of these merchandise was in the hands of a foreign body—the merchants of the Steel-yard, a company belonging to the German Hanseatic league, who had a virtual monopoly of the foreign trade of the nation till the year 1597, when native enterprise had grown strong enough to dispense with foreign assistance, and the privileges of the Steel-yard were abolished in favour of the British Company of Merchant-adventurers. The absence of skilled manufactures is clearly indicated by the nature of the English exports; they were, with the exception of woollen cloth, exclusively raw materials, or such as required but a simple preparation for the market. Guicciardini the
younger gives a list of them, from which we learn that they were wool, wool-fells, i. e. sheep-skins with the fleece on, calf-skins, leather, tin, live sheep, rabbit-skins in vast quantities, and various other sorts of fine peltry, beer, cheese, and other kinds of provisions. The difficulty of intercourse confined the manufacture of cloth, which was the only one that had any pretensions to nationality, to some of the principal towns and cities, where it became a privileged calling; as the facilities of communication increased, however, the towns gradually lost their monopoly, and the cloth manufacture spread into the villages and hamlets. An act was passed in 1555, repealing a former statute, by which intermediate dealers in wool were prohibited, for the manifest purpose of taking the trade away from poor persons, who could purchase only a small quantity of wool at a time, and throwing the whole business into the hands of the few wealthy manufacturers. The preamble of the repealing statute gives a singularly interesting side-view of the origin of one of our greatest cloth emporiums, and of the difficulties the people had to overcome in their industrial pursuits. "The parish of Halifax, and other places thereunto adjoining," it says, "being planted in the great wastes and moors, where the fertility of the ground is not
apt to bring forth any corn or good grass, but in rare places and by exceeding and great industry of the inhabitants; and the same inhabitants altogether do live by cloth making, and the great part of them neither getteth corn, nor is able to keep a horse to carry wools, nor yet to buy much wool at once, but hath ever used only to repair to the town of Halifax, and some other nigh thereunto, and there to buy upon the wool-driver, some a stone, some two, and some three or four, according to their ability, and to carry the same to their houses some three, four, five, and six miles off upon their heads or backs, and so to make and convert the same either into yarn or cloth, and to sell the same, and so to buy more wool of the wool-driver; by means of which industry the barren grounds in those parts be now much inhabited, and above five hundred households there newly increased within this forty years past, which now are like to be undone and driven to beggary by reason of the late Statute made that taketh away the wool-driver, so that they cannot now have their wool by such small portions as they were wont to have; and that also they are not able to keep any horses whereupon to ride or set their wools further from them in other places unless some remedy may be provided.” The same deficiency in the means of
transport interfered with the profitable sale of the cloth when manufactured. The poor people were obliged to keep it by them often for a long time, until the pedlars, hawksers, and chapmen called, by whom it was purchased up and disposed of at the annual fairs, where the cloth-merchants laid in their stock for the year. The system of giving orders beforehand was unknown, and every piece of cloth manufactured was commenced in uncertainty, and with the risk of remaining unsold till its value had deteriorated. The annual cloth fairs were held at London, Salisbury, Bristol, Oxford, Cambridge, Nottingham, Coventry, and some of the other principal towns. Whilst the fairs continued there was a large concourse of persons at these places, but at other times the communication between them and the rest of the kingdom was rare and insignificant. The great prosperity of the trade in wool and woollen-cloth, though of immense advantage in some respects, was accompanied with certain evils, which tended to retard the progress of civilisation: the unrivalled excellency of English wool, and the high prices it fetched in the foreign markets, caused an extensive conversion of the land from tillage into pasture; flocks of ten and twenty thousand sheep were common, and, as
such stock may be taken care of by a few persons, another consequence of this return to the pastoral life was the rapid depopulation of many districts, and the decay of their towns. Complaints on this subject, and vain proposals for the remedy of the evil are frequent in the parliamentary rolls of the period. Though the foreign trade in woollens was considerable, the commercial spirit of the country was yet to arise, and public opinion, as to the benefits of commerce, was exceedingly feeble. This is proved by the facility with which the despotic rulers of the times could put a total stop to the trade of the nation with any other nation whose rulers had given them personal offence. Thus Henry VII., in order to revenge himself on the Duchess Dowager of Burgundy, who had favoured Perkin Warbeck, banished the Flemings from England, and prohibited all intercourse with the Netherlands for several years. The Government monopolies, which embraced almost every article that could be named, was another cause which prevented the growth of trade, whilst displaying a pitiful ignorance of its first principles. The kings themselves took into their own possession many profitable branches of the national industry, and bestowed others on their favourites; and as both kings and favourites took care to relieve
themselves of the imposts which the unprivileged traders had to pay, and afterwards undersold them in the home market, the damage and discouragement to private enterprise, the only solid foundation of national prosperity, must have been very extensive.
CHAPTER VII.

Progress of commerce in England.—Destruction of Antwerp: its effects on English art.—Voyages of discovery.—Effects of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes on English trade.—Remarks on the blindness of bigotry.—Progress of industry slow.—Remarks of De Witt and of Napoleon.—Rise of towns.—Appearance of the country in the middle of the seventeenth century.—Evelyn at Enfield.—Mr. Macaulay’s description of England at the Revolution.—Feebleness of the laws owing to want of communication.—Their amelioration and firmness concurrent with improvement of roads.—Turpin in Epping Forest.—Enormous number of dangerous persons in the Tudor period.—Cruel severity of the laws.—Multitudes executed.—Slavery established by law.—Mr. Carlyle a plagiarist: his plan for suppressing pauperism.—Spirit of the legislature exterminating, not reforming, or preventing.—Tremendous character of the ancient Penal Code.—Blackstone’s observation.—Vindictive spirit of the executive.—Montesquieu’s observations on crimes and punishments.—Facilities of transit and transmission.

Notwithstanding all the obstacles enumerated, and very many others, which, though minute individually, constituted collectively an
almost insuperable barrier to freedom of exchange, the trade of the country was making steady, though slow progress. Some events occurred also about the close of the sixteenth century, which gave it a vigorous impulse. The destruction of Antwerp, the great emporium of Europe, by the Duke of Parma, in 1585, put an end to the manufacturing supremacy of the Netherlands, and drove about a third of the artisans and merchants of that city to England, where they settled, and instructed the inhabitants in the manufacture of many textile fabrics, of which they had been till then ignorant. Several voyages of discovery were undertaken, and though unsuccessful as regarded the express object they were intended to accomplish, they served to keep alive the spirit of adventure, and to lead the way to more important enterprises. Frobisher, Davis, and others, sailed in search of a solution to the great hydrographic problem of a north-west passage, whilst Drake and others finally determined all questions respecting the rotundity of the globe by circumnavigating it.

It is worthy of notice, that precisely one hundred years after the destruction of Antwerp, from which the manufacturing industry of England may be truly dated, it received another powerful impulse from the multitude of French
artisans who took refuge here on the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Both events were caused by savage religious bigotry, and both defeated themselves. The gloomy tyrant of the Escurial did not cherish more inhuman thoughts than the heartless voluptuary of Versailles; both the one and the other, from different motives, became the willing executioners of that dark and terrible spirit of priestcraft, which in all ages has been "hostis humani generis," and looked with despite upon the progress mankind may have made in the attainment of true knowledge and happiness. They, by dissimulation, treachery, deliberate and profound perjury, the very attributes of Hell, professed to do acceptable service to Heaven; and, to show their reverence for the God of mercy and beneficence, they butchered his unoffending creatures, bloodily and remorselessly, untouched by the feebleness, defencelessness, or innocence of their victims. But in the very blindness and violence of this hatred lay its antidote; it destroyed its own power to do evil, as the water boiling over extinguishes the cause of its ebullition.

The country which gave refuge to the persecuted subjects of those cruel dupes and tyrants, has become the home and stronghold of the opinions they sought to quench in human blood,
but which, instead, derive strength and influence from the consequences of their atrocities; atrocities which have proved to the doers a curse that still clings to their lands and memories. Accustomed as we are, in our day, to measure the progress of nations, not by centuries or ages, but by years and months, we should be disappointed if we applied the same standard to the advancement of England two hundred years ago. The return from pastoral occupations to tillage and general husbandry was very slow. De Witt, Grand Pensionary of Holland, states, in his "Interests of Holland," published 1669, that "the English were a nation of shepherds and wool-sellers." The remark of another distinguished foreigner, a hundred and forty years later, that "the English were a nation of shop-keepers," gives an impressive idea of the unexampled mercantile progress of the country in the interval. De Witt's remark is no doubt an exaggeration, as well as Napoleon's, but there is sufficient truth in each to preserve it from oblivion. Many of our largest towns have sprung into existence since the publication of the Pensionary's book. Brighton, in the times of Charles II., was a fishing village, nets were dried on the Steyne and mended on the site of the Pavillion. The places where Devonport, Poole, Ashton,
Bolton, Oldham, Salford, and Birkenhead now stand, were green fields. Bromwich was a secluded and insignificant hamlet, and many of the most flourishing towns in Lancashire and Yorkshire did not possess a twentieth part of their present extent or population, nor a thousandth part of their actual wealth and importance.

The accounts that remain of the appearance of the country tend strongly to confirm the general truth of De Witt's observation. One-twentieth of the whole land was abandoned to deer and conies. Even as late as 1676, Evelyn tells us that, whilst staying at Enfield Chase, he was struck with wonder "that, in a compass of twenty-five miles, yet within fourteen miles of London, there was not a house, barn, church, or other building, except three lodges. To this lodge," he adds, speaking of that in which he was staying, "there are three great ponds, and some few inclosures, the rest a solitary desert, yet stored with not less than three thousand deer." Macaulay's description of the appearance of the country at the period of the Revolution is familiar to every one: "Whole districts were abandoned to wild ducks, and haunted by herds of bustards—a heavy kind of bird that flew with difficulty, and was pursued and taken with dogs."
were ten thousand square miles of waste land in Great Britain which have since been reclaimed and brought under cultivation. London was not larger then than Southwark is at present. Northumberland was in an almost savage state. The limits of property were undefined on the borders between England and Scotland, and the inhabitants wandered about like the Tartar tribes, without settled residences, or rather, as Tacitus describes the ancient Germans, dwelling for a season wherever the pasturage, water, or shade proved most favourable for the flocks and cattle that constituted their wealth. Regular armies of plunderers laid the northern counties under contribution, so that the peacably disposed inhabitants were obliged to raise troops for their defence, to fortify their residences, and to keep bloodhounds at their common charge for the purpose of tracing their stolen property. The very geography of that part of the country was but little known, even after the accession of George III., and so complete a wilderness was it, that, on the circuit, the judges, barristers, attorneys, clerks, tipstaffs, suitors, and witnesses, were all obliged to travel together on horseback to the assizes of Carlisle, carrying their own provisions, and escorted by a strong body of the military, with the sheriff at its head. London was then
farther from Edinburgh than it is now from Vienna, and farther from Reading than it is from Edinburgh. It is easy to imagine that the laws must have been very feeble in times when communication was so difficult, and when so large a portion of the soil was in the condition of an unreclaimed wilderness, offering a safe harbour to all who had declared war against society. The thick forests were a place of refuge for the professional robber and murderer, no less than for the smuggler, the petty prowler, and the midnight burglar and thief. In those woodland fastnesses every evil-doer, who dreaded the justice of men, sought and found refuge from the arm of the law, which was too weak to reach any, except those immediately under its grasp; and this was the case, in some measure, down nearly to our own times, until the opening of numerous turnpike roads and of bye-ways, which perfected the communication between all parts of the kingdom, gave the executive power freedom of action, and let in the light of civil order upon the dark retreats of crime. As late as the year 1737, the notorious Turpin, and his accomplice King, occupied a cave in Epping Forest, the description of which reads like that of the robbers' den in Gil Blas. It was sufficiently large to contain themselves, their horses, their provisions, arms, and
booty. They issued from it in the open day; robbed and murdered the passengers, and stormed the residences of the neighbouring gentry almost with military preparation; yet this was little more than a century since: there are many living who might have conversed with those who witnessed the execution of this savage malefactor. What then must have been the state of society in earlier times? The number of dangerous and disorderly persons who overspread the country in the Tudor period is astounding and almost incredible. There were in each county from four to five hundred idle ruffians, who lived by robbery under the pretext of begging, as lawless as the Bedouins of the desert, and more desperate. They often united in troops, and, setting the authorities at defiance, attacked and plundered the towns. Nothing was more common than for travellers to disappear on their journey, leaving no trace of their fate. Myriads of the most atrocious crimes were daily perpetrated, and we may well believe that the majority of them never came to light. To meet this monstrous evil the laws had recourse to the ordinary resort of feebleness; they endeavoured to compensate for their weakness by their cruel severity. The modes of execution in those days were so shocking and inhuman, that we cannot read of them
without a shudder, and the numbers destroyed surpass our wildest conceptions. Harrison says that, during the reign of Henry VIII. alone, 22,000 persons were put to death; but these wholesale massacres failed to remove, or even to diminish, the evil; on the other hand they appear to have greatly brutalized the popular mind by lessening its respect for human life. Ruffianism had attained dimensions still more gigantic than ever in the reign of Edward VI., and the only expedient his councillors could devise for its restraint was a new law of still greater severity. When vagrants were captured, it was ordained that they should be whipped and stocked, imprisoned, and the grizzle of the ear cut through; but the vagrants, notwithstanding, became more numerous than ever. At last Protector Somerset and his council fell upon a method which promised more satisfactory results. It will surprise many to learn that this plan was precisely the same as that proposed by Mr. Carlyle, in his latter-day pamphlets, for the suppression of pauperism in the three kingdoms, namely, the legal establishment of slavery as part of the British constitution. Let any one take up the address of Mr. Carlyle's model prime-minister, beginning "vagrant lack-olds," and compare it with the provisions of the Act of Edward's
Parliament, and he will see at once that Mr. Carlyle's scheme was not at all original, but that slavery was actually established and recognised by law in the year 1547, 1 Edward VI. Here is the substance of the statute:—"Any sturdy beggar may be compelled to work for any one who will give him meat and drink. If he run away, he shall, when captured, be branded on the breast with the letter V, and adjudged to be a slave to his master for two years. The master is to give him bread and water only, or small drink, and such refuse meat as he shall think fit, and to force him, by chaining, beating, starving, or any other means, without restriction of law, to do such work or labour as he may be put to, however vile or degrading. If the slave run away a second time, he shall, when retaken, be branded on the forehead or the ball of the thumb with the letter S, and be adjudged to his master as a slave for ever. Finally, if he escape a third time, he shall be held to be guilty of felony without benefit of clergy, and shall suffer the pains of death as such felons ought to do."

It is some satisfaction to know that this hideous edict was repealed two years afterwards. Had there been anything like a public opinion, such as now prevails in the country, such a law could never have been proposed; but men lived in a
scattered state, their intercourse with one another in large bodies was rare, owing to the very cause which perpetuated the evil against which those frightful laws were directed; the inaccessible state of the country, and, besides all this, the science of government, consisted rather in the exercise of force to terrify and exterminate the evil-doers, than in the adoption of means to prevent the evil.

The number of persons consigned to public execution by the ordinary operation of law during the reign of Elizabeth was about four hundred annually; but, notwithstanding this sanguinary rigour, the number of beggars and vagrants continued to increase, until at last the plague was met and stayed in a wiser and more humane spirit by an Act passed in 1601, which is the foundation of all our subsequent poor-law legislation. The tremendous severity of our ancient penal code is well expressed in one sentence by Blackstone, who says, that "among the variety of actions which men are daily liable to commit, no less than a hundred and sixty were felonies without benefit of clergy, or, in other words, worthy of instant death." There is something remarkable in the fact, that, notwithstanding this merciless code, crime continued steadily on the increase, and that the only expedient to repress
it that occurred to the legislature was the enactment of laws still more draconic. The Government of the times had succeeded in diminishing vagrancy, by applying to it a remedy which stopped, or at least hindered its growth; but miscellaneous crimes were perpetrated more numerously than ever, and, in their attempts to suppress them, the supreme powers exhibited an inconceivably vindictive spirit: miserable thefts above the value of twelve pence, and the picking of pockets, were at last punished with death. Discharged soldiers and sailors wandering about the country, without committing any other crime whatever, were adjudged worthy of instant death without benefit of clergy; and, to crown this system of blood and terror, we have the Waltham Black Act (9 Geo. I., c. 22), which makes it a capital felony to appear in any of the royal forests or chases with the face blackened; so that an honest coal-heaver, returning home through one of these forbidden places after a hard day's work, might be seized and, by a short process, consigned to the gallows.

"Quelque inconvenient se fait il sentir dans un état," says Montesquieu, "un Gouvernement violent veut soudain le corriger; et, au lieu de songer à faire executor les anciennes lois, on établit une peine cruelle qui arrête le mal sur le
MONTESQUIEU'S REMARKS. 95

Mais on use le ressort du Gouvernement; l'imagination se fait à cette grande peine, comme elle s'était faite à la moindre, et comme on diminue la crainte pour celle-ci, l'on et bien-tôt forcé d'établir l'autre dans tous les cas.”*—

A Government whose subjects can easily elude its executive power will always be violent. It has no resource but violence: it is disposed to view criminals as *ferae naturae*, to treat them as the husbandman does the birds that ravage his corn-fields: they evade him so easily, that, when he captures one, he punishes it vindictively for the instinct of its race, and gibbets it *in terrorem* of the others. “Un bon législateur,” Montesquieu remarks, “s'attachera moins à punir les crimes qu'à les prévenir; il s'appliquera plus à donner des mœurs qu'à infliger des supplices.”†

But it is impossible to establish a system of prevention, or an effective police, without the most complete facility of transit and communication between the different parts of the kingdom. The messengers of justice, if not swift, are useless. Promotitude and certainty of punishment has a more repressive energy upon crime than the most frightful inflictions, if accompanied with a slight

* Esprit des Lois, liv. vi., ch. 12.
† Esprit des Lois, liv. vi., ch. 9.
chance of escape, or even with the postponement of the penalty. The proofs of this lie before us in the gradual amelioration of our own laws, coincident with their sure and prompt administration, which advanced in precisely the same degree as the means of intercourse were extended and the transmission of intelligence became speedy and certain.
CHAPTER VIII.

Uses of this retrospect.—Recapitulation.—Changes effected by intercourse.—Reasons for confining our historical observations to England.—The topics that are now to occupy us.—Expansion of view required to embrace the agencies in operation.—Universality of the adaptation, and unlimited power of steam; on land; on the ocean.—Approximation of lands.—Progress of steam as an agent of transport.—The new means of transmitting intelligence require a corresponding extension of our speculations.—Character of the electric telegraph as a medium of thought: its progress in uniting different countries: anticipation of what it will enable man to perform: its probable uses when universally adopted.—The grand secret of human liberty and progress.—The social tendencies: their origin and power.—Past history not that of mankind: the future will be.—Mankind not to be judged of from parties, and combinations.—Operation of the gregarious principle more permanent than that of separating causes: its objects and benefits.

The glance we have thrown upon the progress of English civilisation has been necessarily brief and rapid; it has been sufficient, however,
to show that facilities of intercommunication between the different parts of the kingdom are entitled to hold the first rank amongst the material agencies by which it has reached its present state of advancement. We have seen the country emerging from a state of semi-barbarism, a heterogeneous mass of distinct and almost unconnected parts, holding scarcely any communication with one another, and moved by different impulses—an Egyptian darkness covering the great body of the people, and whatever there was of intelligence playing like meteoric light about the pinnacles of the social fabric. We have seen the population, unconscious of the rich material resources of the country, living in a rude and low condition, the subjects of hateful superstition and violent animosities, preyed upon by myriads of their own outcasts, subject to despotic rule, and governed by laws, the inhuman and irrational severity of which exhibits more of the bloody instinct of the tiger, than of the reflective wisdom of man. We have seen that, with the establishment of means of transit and intercourse, a mighty change commences. The nation becomes an organic unity, the vital energies circulate from the great centres of social life to its remotest extremities, and all its movements are consentaneous. The intellectual light
which before shone at a distance, dazzling rather than illuminating, is conducted down into the mass, passes from mind to mind, and penetrates every class of the population with some portion of its heat and radiance. The resources of the country, both moral and material, are developed. The comforts and conveniences of life increased; prejudices are unlearned; causes of separation are forgotten, and superstitions vanish away. The Government by degrees forsakes the sanguinary maxims of extermination and terror, for the wiser and more humane methods of prevention; the laws become more respected, their execution milder and more effective; crime diminishes, and a strong and salutary public opinion makes its influence felt throughout society.

We have purposely confined our view to what has taken place in our own country, and to the limited and comparatively feeble means of intercourse it possessed before the introduction of those mighty agencies of transport and communication which science has recently placed at the disposal of mankind. We have done so on the principle which leads the cautious mariner to try the powers and capacity of his bark upon well-known waters, and by familiar coasts, before he launches into the great undiscovered deep, or as the me-
chanical inventor embodies his conceptions in a model, before he constructs the engine which is to bring them into full and effective operation.

We have now to ascend to a higher point of observation, and to survey a wider prospect. Instead of our own country, the world lies before us. Counties must give place to nations, local prejudices to national enmities. Instead of the effects of intercourse upon popular superstitions, we have to consider its probable influence upon forms of religion, and the irrational faith of races. For the trade of an island, we must put the commerce of mankind; and for civil and municipal legislation, the law of nations. The influences that have softened into mercy our own code of blood, we must trace in their operation on the still more sanguinary and brutal code of war. The different languages of the earth will have to be considered, as subjected to the same process which is fast erasing all traces of provincial dialects, and, instead of the public opinion of one country, we must anticipate the verdict of mankind. This vast expansion of our horizon is necessary for the just observation of the effects in course of production by the agencies at work; for they exceed, in their potency and capacity of extension, those whose effects we have been contemplating by a greater disparity
than exists between the whole habitable globe and the realm of England.

It is no longer the stage-coach that is to engage our attention, with its eighteen passengers, and its eight miles an hour, nor the crawling waggon, nor the snail-paced barge; but the mighty train, carrying the population of a city, or the produce of a district, or the lading of a ship, at the rate of fifty miles in the same space of time. And we have to contemplate this power of transport as absolutely unlimited in its application, as penetrating every portion of every land on which the sun shines, and as affecting every race and tribe of the human family. Nor are these effects to be viewed as taking place in an isolated manner, in the midst of each country for itself alone, surrounded and cut off from all others by impenetrable barriers: for the ocean has now become truly the highway of nations; the gigantic force that animates the factory, and impels the train, has enabled man to dominate the waters also, and to hold on his direct course, without pause or deviation, in the face of adverse winds and tides, steadily and swiftly gliding towards his destined port, his gallant ship scarcely disturbed by the fiercest elemental war. By this amazing power the new world has been rendered more accessible to the inhabitants of
the old, than London was to Edinburgh in ancient times, and the broad Atlantic a surer pathway than the road that lay between them. Already we see the means of transport by steam pushing themselves into every sea, accommodating themselves to the exigencies of every territory and the productions of every climate, and establishing friendly communications between all parts of the world; nor has anything as yet arisen to induce a doubt, that these friendly communications will increase and multiply, until the intercourse of mankind becomes as general and thorough as that which prevails within our own country.

In considering the transmission of intelligence, we must also raise our view, and extend our speculations. The old mail-coaches and post-boys did good service to mankind in their day; but between them and our present means of correspondence there is absolutely no common ground of comparison. Electricity, to say nothing of the railway and steam-ship, has enabled us to omit time altogether in calculating the hindrances to communication of thought, nor are the others by any means invincible. It has been proved that the ocean offers no insuperable difficulty to the establishment of an instantaneous medium of intelligence between distant lands. Ireland is already
united to England by the electric cable, and England to France. Even whilst we write, preparations are in progress for effecting a sentient connexion between America and England, between England, Northern-Europe and Scandinavia, and between the Mediterranean shores of Europe and Africa. The extension of the telegraphic system on land is easy and inexpensive; we may therefore look forward almost with certainty to the universal adoption of a method of communication so unrivalled for its efficiency. It is not too much to anticipate a future period, when a perfect net-work of electric filaments will over-spread every civilised land in the world;—when a man in London shall be able to transmit the same message in the same instant of time to friends in St. Petersburgh and Adelaide, New York and Calcutta, and receive their answers simultaneously in another instant from the very opposite sides of the globe;—when any extraordinary event occurring in any part of the world will become immediately known in every other, whether it be a great discovery promising good, or a calamitous occurrence fraught with evil. This marvellous agent seems destined to consolidate and harmonize the social union of mankind, by furnishing a sensitive apparatus analogous to the nervous system of the living.
frame, which will make men conscious of their mutual dependency, and diffuse throughout every division and portion of our race that primary instinct which combines all the organs and faculties of the living being for the preservation of that union which is their life. The most obvious and direct consequence of these illimitable agencies of communication and transport, as they extend their operations, must be, then, to draw all nations into more intimate connexion, and to convert the whole human race into one society. Is this consummation to be looked forward to as a good, or to be dreaded as an evil? Will it be favourable to the common happiness, or will it be productive of new miseries and sufferings to our species? We believe with strong faith that the good will greatly predominate over the evil, that the happiness of mankind will be augmented, and that many of their direst scourges will be removed; and this faith is founded on the conviction, that if ever such an association as that which we have predicted take place, it must be by the free action and concourse of individual minds, which we reiterate "is the origin and mainspring of all social improvement," and therefore "everything that promotes it contributes so far to the increase of human happiness and to the advancement of civilisation." These are
words which we would have impressed, not upon wind-shaken banners, but upon the very hearts and memories of all who hate ignorance, charlatanry, despotism, and priestcraft. Those words contain, we believe, the grand secret of human liberty and progress; and it is a glorious and inspiring thought, that the principle they express is now in full operation, and can no longer be arrested by imposing delusions, despotic policy, the vain and selfish juggling of statesmanship, nor any other form of human subtlety and guile.

The tendency to association arises from the depths of our common nature. Its springs are beyond the profane reach of those arrogant intermeddlers whose most energetic and persevering efforts have been in all ages directed against the independent action of the human mind, and whose most renowned achievements are recorded in its prostration and defeat. They have succeeded but too completely: the written histories of the world contain the annals of their deeds, and the condition from which it is rising the traces of their influence. They have raised themselves by depressing their fellow-men, and venal chroniclers have employed their power and opportunities in endeavouring to exalt the cheats and tyrants still higher, whilst the majority of mankind have been ignored or forgotten. Where
can we find, in all that has been written under the name of history in ancient times, a single truthful picture of the daily life and domestic habits of a people?—of their struggles against barbarism, or their progress towards light and civilisation? These, the most interesting, important, and natural aspects of society, are all passed over with slight notice; whilst the tearful and disastrous triumphs of ambition or imposture are polished and adorned with all the art of language, and a fraudulent lustre thus thrown round the names of those whose successes are narrated.

The histories to be written will be those of the many; and if, from amidst the multitude, some names shall arise more prominently, and surrounded with the nimbus of a distinct glory, it will be the glory of merit, not accident; the distinction of a people's admiration for valiant and beneficent wisdom, not the brute fawning of a beaten and terrified hound upon the less amiable brute that maltreats him. If we were to judge of mankind by what we see daily done in the various countries of the earth, by the cliques, parties, corporations, and combinations of men who govern them, and call themselves the nations, it would be hard to find one which would justify our hopeful previsions. But we would remind
the reader that they, whatever they may call themselves, whether dynasties, governments, or political parties, are not the nations whose names they arrogate, much less mankind. They, without exception, are all striving against some determination of the universal will, and endeavouring to effect, by force and dictation, objects in which their own peculiar interests are paramount to those of the vast multitude of their fellow-men. The course of their policy has ever been to divide and separate mankind, that they might the more securely conquer and command them in detail. It would be vain, indeed, to hope for a universal congress of such parties, in which the grand and benign principle of human brotherhood should be recognised and promoted; but it does not depend upon them, and we leave them out of view in our speculations. It would be absurd and unphilosophical to estimate the general propensions of our species from the example of parties or combinations. The very essence of party union is some specialty in the interests, feelings, or maxims of the united, which so far disintegrates them as a body from the bulk of society, and removes them from the category of men actuated by ordinary motives. Amidst all the variety of party distinctions, however, there is much that is common to the whole human
family. There is a resemblance between men's minds as there is between their bodies, a specific identity, consisting in a similarity of faculties and functions, of emotions and desires. From this affinity of our moral and intellectual nature arises the attraction which mind exercises upon mind, and which is continually drawing men into closer and more intimate communion. This is what we call popularly the gregarious principle, which, if not more powerful than the causes that repel men from one another, is more constant in its operation. It inheres in humanity, and is one of its essential properties, whilst the causes of separation are accidental, local, and more or less evanescent. There is in the world a far greater number of things to unite the suffrages of men than to divide them. The vices and villanies of our nature are all anti-social. Its heroisms and great virtues are promotive of union and harmony, and flourish most where these prevail. The mind also receives its most perfect form, its highest polish, and brightest lustre, from contact with other minds, as the diamond receives its shape and brilliancy from kindred substances. Passing by the peculiarities of special combinations amongst men, and contemplating the whole race in co-operation, we come to the conclusion, therefore, that the fundamental and ultimate
principles of our nature, which under all circumstances would combine their individual impulses, are such as tend to good, and that the prospect of a universal correspondence and approximation of human interests is the result to be expected from the social union of mankind. It is to the instinctive efforts to approach one another, to exchange thoughts and feelings, not less than to the force of those necessities which compel them to seek interchangeable supplies, that men are indebted for most of their great achievements in science and their conquests of nature. It is this social passion which has inspired the noblest works of genius. It is this that rejoices in the peace and prosperity of nations; and it is to this we must look for the consummation of human happiness. Implanted in our hearts and interwoven with all our affections, it is one of the primary laws of our being, and must ultimately supervene all separating causes, which are but circumstantial and fortuitous, as the constant, though inappreciable, force of gravitation gradually reduces the loftiest ramparts to the dust. Already it has removed all physical and material obstructions to its full operation by inciting to the discovery of steam and electricity. The obstacles that remain are of a moral and intellectual kind, many of them irregular, or abnormal proclivities.
of mind, and others the unnatural growth of vicious training; but they also are destined to give way before the law of approximation, to be erased and trodden down by the mighty agencies it has called into being and activity. We propose to investigate the probable manner in which this will be accomplished; but, in doing so, we must avoid all minute particulars, and the discussion of matters which do not involve general principles. In what we have to say, we propose to speak simply, and in strict accordance with what we conceive to be truth. We will not step out of the direct course of our argument to assail any opinions or practices; but, if they come in our way, we must, to borrow a figure from the railroad, run into them, and test their strength, as well as our own, by the collision.
Educational influence of intercourse.—Nature of mental training.—Development of the mind.—Mediate and immediate knowledge.—Their character and influence.—Interpretation of words.—Causes of their significance.—Influence of local seclusion upon the comprehension of language.—Teaching by objects.—Pestalozzi's system.—Importance of immediate knowledge.—Words only recall past impressions.—Immediate acquisitions prepare the mind to profit by literature [and oral discourse]: supply it with tests of truth.—Important effects of intercourse in furnishing the mind with such acquisitions.—Manner in which these effects are produced.—Credulity a necessary result of seclusion.—Impositions of authority in matters of belief.—Evil consequences of such belief.—It renders the trade of imposture and knavery possible.—Influence of extensive intercourse upon popular delusions: its present agencies unlimited: its future supplies.—Operation of railways at present amongst the people.—Object lessons on a grand scale.—The schoolmaster in reality abroad.

One of the most deeply interesting aspects under which we can view the present wonderful system of intercourse and communication is in
regard to its educational influence, and to this we invite the special notice of the reader. It will require some close attention to follow the discussion of this part of our subject, but the importance of it is such as will repay whatever thought it demands. The training of the mind does not consist in the acquisition of knowledge merely, but also, and chiefly, in the healthy and harmonious development of the faculties, so that they shall be fitted to weigh evidence, to discriminate between truth and falsehood, and acquire, with a salutary appetite for the one, an equally salutary horror and disgust for the other. This is a proposition that will not be disputed; we may therefore proceed another step. Exercise is as necessary to the full growth and vigour of the mind as it is to the development of the body. This is a law which pervades all animated nature; there is no exception to it. But mental exercise consists in efforts to acquire knowledge, or to arrange it when acquired; therefore the proper direction of such efforts is the most important problem in the science of education, and one quod est adhuc demonstrandum. There are two methods of acquiring knowledge, with which its character corresponds, and its influence upon the mind. The one is by real, personal perception of objects and their relations, the cognizance of
which in this direct manner may be called immediate knowledge; the other is from persons who, either orally or in books, convey to us their impressions—information thus acquired may be called mediate knowledge. The immediate knowledge, which any one can acquire by the unaided exercise of his own powers, must necessarily be small, but it is generally real, and will stand the test of experience. It penetrates the intellect more deeply than any other, and pervades it more completely, for it is the impression which nature herself makes by direct contact with the mind. Our mediate knowledge, on the other hand, may be unlimited, but it comes to us tinctured and adulterated by the peculiarities of the various minds through which it has passed, and by which it has been elaborated. The great bulk of the world's scholarship consists of this latter kind of knowledge. The former we do not dignify with even the name of education; we call it mere illiteracy, or at best but intuitive information, and yet it is the groundwork of every attainment, the foundation of all possible erudition. Direct and immediate perception stores the mind with the originals and types of all our knowledge, and the most profound acquaintance with books, or the most learned tuition, can do no more than aid us in compound-
ing, decompounding, and rearranging, in endless permutation, the elements thus laid up. All the words ever spoken or written cannot convey to the mind a new sensation, except it be some slight variation in sound or colour; nay, more, without immediate intuitive knowledge words would have no significance whatever: they are arbitrary symbols, which have no natural or essential connexion with the things they represent, and their power of exciting in the mind the ideas or conceptions of those things arises simply from their intimate association with them. To a man who had lived from his infancy secluded from the open world, and deprived, as Caspar Hauser was, of every opportunity of observing the common phenomena of nature, language could convey no meaning; it would be a series of idle sounds, or mysterious marks, unless, perhaps, so far as it related to the walls of his cell and to his own person, which would, under such circumstances, constitute his world, and furnish up the whole of his immediate knowledge. There would be no more connexion in his mind between the three letters, R, E, D, or their pronunciation, and the colour they represent, than there would be between that colour and the sound of a trumpet, or the scent of a rose. The first years of life are employed in storing the mind with these elemen-
tary notions of things and beings, and there can be no mistake more egregious than that which prevails so widely, of supposing that children are being educated when their memories are crammed with words, whilst the objects these words should indicate are totally unknown. The admirable and philosophical system of Pestalozzi, who impresses the direct knowledge of the object first, and then associates it with its appropriate symbol, is calculated to put an end, however, to the blind and injurious methods hitherto pursued in infant training. The importance of these original and immediate acquisitions cannot be overstated; every idea thus laid up in the mind becomes the type of the whole class of ideas designated by the same words. The symbol of speech is indissolubly linked in the memory with the primary conception of the object to which that symbol refers: they cannot be severed by any exercise of rhetorical art. All that the most graphic verbal description of a landscape can do, for example, is to recall to us the scenery with which we are acquainted from personal observation. "The towering Alps," "the cloud-girdled Cordilleras," or the "snowy Himalaya," are phrases which, unless we have seen the mountains they designate, convey no information to our minds. They simply remind us of the loftiest hills we have
looked upon, when we read of smiling valleys, magnificent cascades, dark forests, frowning precipices, rich corn-fields, fruitful vineyards, broad rivers, and all the other materials with which a landscape may be composed in words, if we have ourselves seen objects to which the same names and epithets apply, even though we may have viewed them separately, at different times and in different places. It is possible that something resembling the scene observed by the writer may be presented to our minds by the written description; but it will not be the same scene, it will be made up of fragments from our own remembrance, which have no connexion with the impressions made upon his mind, except the vague link of similar verbal denomination. If we have never seen anything bearing the names and corresponding with the epithets he uses; if his words, in short, have not been already associated in our minds with objects and notions, they will convey no idea and have no meaning. His most splendid composition will be merely a mass of verbiage, sounding well, perhaps, but signifying nothing. We shall find it just as impossible to form any conception of what he speaks about as the king of Bantam did to comprehend the nature of ice and snow, or as the south-sea islander, who had never seen a qua-
draped, did to understand the description of an elephant. It is not, however, in descriptive discourse only that words are but spells to conjure up past impressions; it is the same in reasoning, persuasion, appeal, and all the varied uses of language, with this difference—that as the shades of thought which must be combined, and the emotions which must be awakened, in order to convince, to persuade, or to move, are more delicate and variable, so is the power of words over them feebler, since the chances are greater that the precise combinations of thought and feeling, associated in the mind of the speaker with the language he uses, may never have existed in the minds of his hearers; and that, therefore, his words will want a significant surface to impinge upon, and be merely spoken out into the air, causing no intelligent resonancy. It is manifest, then, that the more extensive we can make our stock of immediate and original knowledge; that the more numerous and varied are the ideal types with which the mind is stored, the better prepared shall we be to profit by that which is offered to us mediately, either in oral communication or in literature. It is obvious, also, that the more completely the mind is furnished with knowledge thus acquired by direct perception, the more accurate will be the judgment, and the
more difficult will it be to impose upon it by misdescription or misrepresentation. All those impressions derived immediately from the very objects themselves will be so many weights and measures of knowledge stamped and authenticated by unerring nature herself—tests ready to be applied to all ideas and notions presented to us from other sources, and to reveal to us their conformity to, or their deviation from, the pure standard of truth. In this respect the unlimited facilities which all classes of the community possess of passing from place to place, and observing manners, customs, occupations, and natural phenomena, different from those by which they are ordinarily surrounded, form an educational agency whose value can hardly be over estimated, and the boundaries of whose influence certainly cannot be assigned.

The healthful operation of intercourse between men, in the correction of opinion and the removal of false notions, whether we call them prejudices or superstitions, has been noticed in our review of the progress of civilisation in our own country. The manner in which these beneficial effects are produced demands a fuller inquiry, on account both of its own importance and of the boundless expansiveness of the agencies now operating in the production of similar effects
throughout the world. False opinions, prejudices and superstitions are all mistaken judgments, and are founded upon unsound premises. They are the result of a deficient stock of immediate knowledge of the things to which they refer, which leaves the mind without proper tests of the truth or falsehood of what is offered to it as knowledge by the malignity or knavery of men. Such notions, which are generally absurd exaggerations, cannot resist the touch of actual experience; they may be preserved by isolation, but the moment their local boundaries are broken down they disappear, as plants, forced in a hot-house to monstrous shape and proportions, return to the natural type of their species, when their artificial shelter is removed, and they feel the unrestrained influence of the climate.

The man who spends his life within the limits of his own parish, or county, or even within the confines of his native land, must necessarily have restricted and erroneous views of all that lies beyond. The local seclusion in which he has lived, by circumscribing the field of personal observation, and restricting his immediate knowledge to few and simple objects, inevitably narrows the range of his general intelligence, and all the vast world of being, action and science that lies without the borders of this contracted
circle, is to him a region of vague mystery, if not of falsehood and delusion. Of all that language can teach him he is able to interpret, with some approximation to truth, the small portion only which happens to correspond with the ideal types in his mind. To the meaning of the rest he has no key, and no test for either its truth or falsehood. It may be the wildest fiction that ever crossed the brain of madness, he cannot contradict it, he is conscious that there is much with which he is not acquainted, he has no reason to refuse his assent, his induction of natural phenomena and events has been too slender and incomplete to give him a just conception of the laws by which they are governed, and therefore he cannot see that the monstrous fable to which he listens implies the subversion of these laws, and is an impossibility. Within the scope of his immediate intelligence he may be clear-headed, prudent, and perspicacious; beyond it, he is a child, simple, uninquiring and credulous, ready to receive his principles of faith and morals from his parents, as he does his inheritance,—to think of distant things and incidents as his neighbours think, and to believe the lies that are told by every plausible knave who wishes to practise upon him.

Now these are different species of authority
which dictate his belief, and create his actuating motives. But belief founded upon mere authority, of whatever kind it may be, without reasonable evidence of the reliableness of that authority, becomes, though the things believed may be true in themselves, a nucleus of error and ignorance in the mind of the believer, from the mere fact of his having admitted them without proof or inquiry. Such credence is the commencement of an undigested deposit in the mind, which yields no nutriment to the intellect, no purity or elevation to the feelings, but, on the contrary, obstructs the free action of the faculties, and vitiates their functional health. It is, in short, an abandonment of the right which every man possesses, to examine and judge for himself,—a voluntary concession of the noblest prerogatives of his nature into the hands of others,—an exchange of independence for slavery. This is that blind credulity which is deepened and conserved by separation and local seclusion. To this must be attributed the prevalence of those absurd notions which once overspread many parts of the country. It is this that has rendered possible the trade of the charlatan, the impostor, and the knavish demagogue, who promise to their dupes, in exchange for money, exemption from natural ills by the muttering of charms, health
without the pain of surgery or the nausea of medicine, salvation without righteousness, and golden fortunes without forethought, industry, or desert. Had the minds of those who have been the victims of these jugglers been exercised by intercourse with other minds developed under different circumstances; had there been in those days the opportunities for broader and more direct views of men and nature, openings for the immediate admission of knowledge amongst the mass of the population, such as are made in ours by the agency of steam into the most sequestered corners of the island, the astounding cheats we have noticed could never have obtained credit amongst rational beings, nor human judgment been so disgracefully perverted. The mountebank displays his motley and breathes his flames with the most glaring effect, in the delusive twilight which renders the grave beauty and sober habiliments of wisdom invisible to the common gaze; in the broad day they are appreciated, whilst the screaming scaramouch is contemned and laughed at as a thing of shreds and patches. We have seen in our own land the effects produced upon the most cherished delusions, by the extensive and constant intermingling of the people. We have seen their prejudices disappear, their enmities vanish, and their superstitions grow less and
less powerful in their influence. But if the stage-coach, with its slow movement and feeble capacity, could pierce the shades of popular ignorance with light sufficient to chase away those cheating illusions, what may we not expect from the universal operation of our present means of intelligent intercourse, which are absolutely unlimited? We need not now look forward with apprehension to a period when the animal power necessary to the development of human society would itself set bounds to that development, whenever it had been increased to such a degree that it could not be sustained without diminishing the sustentation of mankind. The locomotive is not like the horse, a competitor with man for the produce of the soil; it is fed from different sources, which, if not absolutely inexhaustible, contain supplies for ages and centuries, and long before they are expended, others will have been discovered. The ocean itself is a vast magazine stored with the very materials best suited to produce and feed the energies of the leviathan power that vanquishes its tides and billows, and traverses its trackless wastes, as it does the iron pathways of the land. The maximum development of this social force is, in fact, beyond conjecture, and its operations are now, even in its infancy, on a scale of such magnitude,
as our forefathers could not have dreamed to be within the range of possibility. A myriad of human beings are now transported with ease and security from one extremity of the land to the other, in a shorter period of time than it would have cost the solitary horseman of former days to journey through woods and marshes over the space traversed by steam in a single hour. Excursion trains fly from place to place every day laden with their thousands and tens of thousands, not of those who are rich in wealth and leisure, but of the children of toil, whose only wealth is their time; men whose hands are hardened by the hammer and the file, or whose heads are still dizzy with the whirl of machinery; brown men from the fields, dark men from the mines, and pale ones from the garrets and cellars of crowded cities; small tradesmen from populous places where human necessities have economised space, to the exclusion of light and air; artisans, servants, labourers, thousands of children from Sunday-schools and day-schools,—all that constitutes the muscle, sinew and bulk of society, the creators of its power, and its hopes for the future. Nor are these excursions undertaken altogether for profit, as mammon understands the word. The dark and smoky alleys, and mephitic courts, where the art of gold-making chiefly flourishes,
are deserted for the nonce, and the trains disgorge their happy multitudes amidst the loveliest scenery of dear old England, or in the neighbourhood of objects most richly fraught with instruction. The parks and castles of our nobility, nay, their gardens, museums, and picture-galleries, are thrown open with splendid liberality on these occasions. There, for a time, the humble but intelligent man may breathe an atmosphere redolent with the noblest achievements of his race. Or, if better suited to his taste, there are the national monuments and collections, the wide free sea, the emblem and defence of liberty, groves, lakes, and mountains, upon which the weaver may steady his eye, distracted for months by the ceaseless reiteration of the shuttle, and the potter recover his brain from the revolutions of the wheel; temples and palaces, where the rustic will see the meaning of science and art written in palpable characters. The emporiums of commerce, the fleets that carry the name and renown of Britain to every bay and river, and harbour of the world; the marvels of mechanism, and the miracles of science,—these form the great object lessons which the people are learning. From these the urban masses return to their occupations with enlarged impressions and an increased love of nature; the
freshness of the fields, the odours of the flowers, and the music of the woods, dwell in their memories and cheer their labours when the objects themselves are withdrawn; whilst the rural population carry back to their hills and dales new views of life and manners, an acquaintance with the triumphs of human art which were before incomprehensible, and a truer estimate of the dignity and capacity of our common nature. The schoolmaster is now abroad in reality; not the weary student, who is condemned to see his health and life waste away mournfully, neglected and despised by that society whose very foundations he builds up; but a teacher independent of the proud man’s contumely,

"The insolence of office, and the spurns
"That patient merit of the unworthy takes;"

—one that rides on the triumphal chariot of human progress, one whose influence must increase, and cannot be retarded, for it is knit up and blended with men’s expectations in all departments of enterprise, and with every engagement of life. The transactions of commerce, the search after pleasure, the gratification of affection and friendship, the discharge of duty, the negotiations of public policy—are all dependent upon the very means which are slowly, it may be, but
surely elevating and illuminating the people. Every train that passes through the land for any of these purposes is a fresh impulse to the intelligence of the nation, a moving in the waters, indicating the accession of some new increment of vital and healing power.
Chapter X.

Special educational effects.—Improvement of public opinion.—Exclusiveness of classes and parties: its influence.—Character of a consistent party man.—Power of accommodation in the mind.—Force of habit.—Evil consequences of sectional exclusiveness: proved to be dilated selfishness.—Evil effects of party upon literature, and therefore on public opinion.—Corrective tendency of extensive intercourse.—Steam the great master of the ceremonies.—Nobleman and tailor.—Decrease of repulsive forces.—Partisan literature at a discount.—A healthier appetite to be fed.—A true public spirit: its perceptions: its estimate of the pot-house patriot.—Honours true nobility: despises fools.—Reaction upon literature will make it loftier and purer.—Decline of the obscene press.—Impediments to the influence of sound opinion.—Mistaken notions concerning capitalists.—What capital has performed: what it is.—M. Proudhon's audacious fallacy: its correction.—Erroneous notions of the power of Government over popular happiness: their evil effects.—Increase of political knowledge.—The spirit of Government correlative to that of the people.

We must not occupy the reader's attention at too great length with general reasoning: it is
sufficient to have pointed out, or rather suggested, as we have done in the preceding chapter, the manner in which our wonderful system of transit and communication is likely to operate upon the popular mind. We shall now endeavour to show, more definitely, some of its special effects, premising that, although this is a deeply interesting phase of our subject, its extent far surpasses the scope of this essay, and therefore we shall not be able to do more than touch some of its more important and prominent points. Our first object will be to show that the intermingling of the people will purify and strengthen public opinion everywhere: it will in time destroy the exclusiveness of classes, parties, and professions, and thus remove one source of corruption and weakness in public opinion. The effect of an entire abandonment of the mind to one set of notions and maxims, in whatever rank of life it takes place, is most pernicious, both to the intellect and morals. It is a voluntary determination to hear nothing, see nothing, believe nothing, except what lies within the small circle with which we circumscribe our faith and judgment. It is an arrogant and foolish presumption, that at the moment we choose our party we have reached the culminating point of human wisdom; that we have nothing more to learn, no further expe-
rience to acquire, no possible improvement to look forward to. This amounts to a predetermi-
nate sacrifice to the present moment of all the remaining years of a man’s life, with the instruc-
tion they may bring—a wilful shutting out of all the future light which science and civilisation
may shed upon the world in their progress. It is, in short, a mortgage on his soul without equity
of redemption; for the man who gives himself up wholly to a party has no means of recovering his independence without incurring the charge of being a traitor and renegade. It matters not how well he may demonstrate the necessity of the change, how profound his convictions of its righteousness, or how imperative the sense of duty to God and man which compelled him to make it; there is henceforth, between him and his former associates, no reconciliation; he is to them an apostate whom it would be wicked to forgive. He has committed the unpardonable sin against his party, and the only mercy they can show him is annihilation. On the other hand, a blind fidelity to the creed of his election, in opposition to the facts of nature and the force of logic, is what constitutes a consistent partisan, and entitles him to all the credit and recompence that can be bestowed upon him by “the party with which he has the honour to act,” though there are not
unfrequently, to such rewards, the awkward addenda of a whole nation’s execration, with the contempt and scorn of every enlightened and free-minded man. The effects of this constriction and confinement of the mind to a certain range of topics, and to one view of them only, is similar to that produced by local seclusion, except that the latter is generally involuntary, whilst the former is deliberate. The consistent partisan excludes all subjects from his consideration, except such as have relation to the object of his party, and ignores all interests but theirs. At first he may find this somewhat difficult, but it is astonishing how rapidly the mind degenerates to the level of its constant sphere, and what a factitious importance even small things acquire by continual meditation upon them exclusively. The mind is like the eye in this respect; by fixing it upon one thing steadily, perception is morbidly excited, and the object grows beneath the gaze until it fills the whole field of vision.

Man is also a creature of habit. Now habit is nothing more than the tendency to perform certain acts, which arises from their frequent repetition, so that it is in a man’s own power to create what habits he pleases, by determining to repeat the acts he wishes to become habitual, whether mental or corporeal. Hence many who
have commenced a monotonous pursuit reluctantly, have ended with a strong attachment to it. Hence the liar, by repeating continually the fiction of his brain, may bring his own mind at last to regard it as truth. Hence the thick-and-thin partisan, though he may at first feel some natural yearnings after the liberty he has abandoned, soon reconciles his mind to the traces and winkers, suppresses all longing after green fields, and even begins to take pleasure in the beaten track he is henceforth condemned to travel. These remarks apply especially to political factions and theological sects; but they are not without force and point in reference to classes of society, as well as to persons trained to the practice of distinct arts and professions. There is in them all a sectional exclusiveness which leads to an undue estimate of their own importance, and an unjust depreciation of others. Like M. Jourdain's masters, each thinks his own pursuit worthy of the chief place in public estimation, and will listen to nothing which does not help to strengthen that notion. False judgments are formed, and facts often unconsciously misrepresented. Enmities are generated which are bitter in proportion to the unsubstantial character of their causes; and, worst of all, where any rivalry exists, there is in parties a truculency and animosity which
rejects no means of inflicting mutual damage, being unrestrained by individual conscience, and sheltered by a divided responsibility. It must be confessed, also, that party, sectarian and professional bigotry, as well as that of social classes, partakes largely of the character of dilated selfishness. The ambition, the pride, the hopes, and the interests of the man are, he conceives, dependent upon the success of his party; he regards all that concerns it, therefore, with a personal feeling, which the mere sense of duty could never have awakened. This selfish element disposes him to believe, with small inquiry, everything that makes for the advantage of the section in which he is bound up, and all that tends to the disadvantage of rival sections. The malign influence of this disposition, engendered by party associations in the mind, is manifest in the literature of our own day, as well as in that of former times. Each clique and combination of men has its literary organ, whose mission is to flatter their prejudices, exaggerate their excellences, exculpate their failings, defend their weaknesses, and cover their vices; to cast odium on all who differ from them; to assail their principles, depreciate their talents, deny their virtues, magnify their vices; to impugn the veracity of all they say, and the wisdom of all they perform;—
and to do this day after day, without scruple or hesitation, by suppressing or misrepresenting the truth, by open falsehood or guileful innuendo, by all the devices of rhetoric and the cunning of sophistry, decorated with the highest beauty of style, and but too often radiant with unquestionable genius. There are splendid exceptions to this description of journalism, but to the partisan prints it applies in its full force, and the influence of the press upon general opinion is, we know, all-powerful. But when so large a portion of it is employed in furnishing tainted and adulterated supplies for the nourishment of that opinion, it must necessarily become corrupt and feeble by the very process of its nutrition. The intercourse of the people will cut up by the roots the distinctions upon which this power of corrupting public feeling and opinion depends. Steam, if not the great leveller, is the great master of the ceremonies, who is daily introducing the various classes and ranks of society to one another, and making them better acquainted in common. It is breaking down the hedges and ditches, and walls and ramparts of exclusivism, and letting in fresh light and wider prospects upon men's minds whether they will or no.

The nobleman rides in the same carriage with his tailor, and is astonished to find that the sub-
missiveness of his manner in the shop was, after all, only a professional habit, and not a mark of natural inferiority—that he is a well-informed, educated man, who has sufficient ability to make a respectable figure in "another place," if not in "the house" itself; whilst the tailor perceives that the choking pronunciation of his lordship in the measuring-room, and his lofty inattention to others, is only his professional manner; and that, though still somewhat stiff, he is in reality an amiable man, and one who, if trained in a proper manner, would have been able to build a coat or design a waistcoat. The same process is going on between all other classes and sections of the community, and with similar results—a decrease of their repulsive forces, and a more accurate knowledge of one another. The venal ministry of the literary partisan will become daily less marketable as his exaggerations and falsehoods are detected: he will at length have to cater for a healthier appetite, to prepare for a more impartial and discerning circle of readers, and to furnish them with truth, which is the only article that no tests can disvalue. The action and reaction between the general feeling of the community and the press will tend to their mutual improvement. The people will forget, in all their divisions, the petty feelings and narrow interests of
sects and parties, and true views of the general interests will prevail throughout society. To this the literature of the day will accommodate itself, instead of exhausting its power in sustaining a small combination of the population in a false position, and in recommending their selfishness and prejudice as liberality and wisdom. It will begin to teach lessons of real patriotism, and to cultivate a true public spirit: a spirit consisting not in a bull-headed determination to force our own untried plans upon society, and to scout every other method proposed for its benefit, nor in declarations of contempt or hostility against all classes of the community, except that to which we happen to belong; but in the sagacious perception, and thorough adoption of the principle, that every human being has the power of communicating some portion of happiness to others, and the capacity of receiving happiness from them; that we are all dependent upon one another for our well-being, and that he who honourably and truly performs the part, however humble, that falls to him in life, does the most he can to promote the welfare of his fellow-men, as well as to secure his own: a spirit which will estimate at their proper value the professions of the contemptible scoundrel who rants in the pot-house about patriotism and reform, whilst he
is defrauding society of the work he might perform, and robbing his family of their necessary food to procure the potations that inflame his zeal. The rascal who says, "I want my rights; give me my rights: only let me have the franchise; that is the remedy for all evils," and, at the same time, abuses the most precious right that man can possess—the right of reason and self-control—and abandons the natural franchise which enrolled him amongst rational creatures, by descending voluntarily to the condition of the brute;—the raving of such a fellow, with a loud voice and confident, insolent manner, might, when the knowledge of public interests was a rare possession, have obtained some credit in remote places; but his day is gone by, and there are few now who do not feel that, if he had his rights, they would be the horse-pond or the cart's tail, and that the greatest misfortune that could befall a nation would be a government after such a base heart.

A spirit that will honour true nobility, not because it is descended from Cedric the Saxon, or Brisefer the Norman, but because its patent is sealed by the hand of nature, and its principles, learning and genius, are worthy of the dignity of its rank, will estimate a fool according to his folly, though the roots of his ancestral tree are
buried in the depths of antiquity. The vast facilities for observation, and the interchange of thought, which our power of communication affords, will thus not only create the appetite for a higher and purer periodical literature, but also call forth the talent best suited to supply it, and afterwards distribute it in a cleansing flood over the land. The vicious and obscene publications which at present disgrace the press, will prove a losing speculation, and be deserted by their proprietors for a more creditable calling; this is no mere hypothesis, but a fact which is already making itself evident, and is felt by the base men who pander to prurient and disgusting tastes. The proprietors of three of the worst of the cheap prints have become bankrupts, and one of a questionable character, which circulates largely, fell off ten thousand in one week after the publication of an article which was more indecent than usual. It has been observed that since then its tone is somewhat better than ordinary. These are cheering symptoms, and they will increase, until vice is banished from the open haunts of men, and virtue, honour and integrity assume a predominant influence over public opinion, and become the gauge and standard of character amongst the people at large.

The same agencies that are effecting these
salutary changes in public opinion, will assist in removing some of the most serious impediments to its legitimate operation upon the mass of the population; we can only glance briefly at one or two of the gravest. A notion has prevailed widely amongst the working classes, that those placed above them in society, and especially the capitalists and owners of property, were their enemies; nothing can tend more effectually to dispel such a delusion than a personal visit to the different seats of our great manufactures, and an inspection of the wonders which capital has performed, and which never could have existed without it. Let the intelligent artisan, on such a tour, ask himself what has created Manchester, Leeds, Halifax, Huddersfield, Birmingham, Liverpool, and all the other busy hives that cover the face of the country, and what has found employment for the millions who inhabit them? and the answer must be, Capital. What has converted forests into navies, rocky strata into mansions, and the clay he treads upon into towns and cities? still it is, Capital. What has raised the hidden wealth of the soil to the surface, and dug canals, and excavated docks, and built bridges?—what is the power to which he is indebted for his swift transition from place to place?—what the magic which summoned from all corners of the
land the thousands who pierced those hills with tunnels, and spanned these valleys with arches, and laid down the rails and constructed the ponderous engines and the costly vehicles in which he rides?—and the answer is still the same. Wherever he goes he will discover that it is capital which gives energy to enterprise and excitement to ingenuity, which encourages industry and stimulates genius; that it is the prime source of national prosperity and of individual comfort; the concentration of power in the hands of the few, under conditions which compel them to use it for the benefit of the many; clouds formed by the insensible transpiration of minute particles which, by the very law of their nature, must descend again in refreshing and fertilizing showers. *La propriété c'est le vol,* says audacious and mischievous Proudhon. Yes, if it be robbery to snatch mankind from barbarism and ignorance, from want and crime and insecurity, and to surround them with the means and appliances of civilisation, property must plead guilty to the charge. But we have little fear that the case will be so viewed by the practical intelligence of England or any other country. MM. Proudhon, Owen, Thoré, Fourier, and Icarian Cabet, are somewhat too late in the history of the world for the success of their
schemes. They might have had some chance in the dark times of the illuminati, but the day is now too far advanced, and the motley too plainly visible. Another popular error which has obstructed the growth of sound public opinion, and vitiated its operations, has been the idea that the Government of the country possesses the power of increasing the prosperity of the people. There is scarcely anything that has engendered more violent passions and heart-burnings of a political kind than this. It has withdrawn men from their ordinary occupations and real interests, arrayed them in deadly hostility against one another, made them stake all their hopes and prospects upon the attainment of imaginary objects, and left them disappointed and exasperated, yet adhering with fatal obstinacy to the original delusion, refusing to attribute its failure to its inherent impossibility, and ready to yield themselves once more to the guidance of the first clever and unprincipled demagogue who flatters them with the fulfilment of their expectations. The light that is everywhere breaking in upon the people is fast dissipating this erroneous shadow also, and imbuing them with just and capacious views of both the nature of government and the power of law. Many husbandmen and mechanics of the present day understand the philosophy of civil polity
better than the kings and statesmen of bygone ages. They perceive clearly enough that governments are, in constitution and action, exactly correlative with the spirit of the people whom they rule; that where the people are petitioning, cringing, and disinclined to help themselves, their rulers will inevitably be tyrannical and exacting; but that, when the spirit of the people is bold, free, and self-reliant, the government will be wise and moderate. The truth is also becoming known, that the very best laws can do no more than direct men not to damage one another, and protect each in the secure enjoyment of his possessions,—and here their action ceases. They cannot communicate the energy, skill and prudence, by which those possessions are created; these are the natural endowments of the individual, and where they are deficient, governments are powerless. Such are a few of the educational effects in process of accomplishment, by the free concourse of minds which is taking place through the agency of steam, not in our own country alone, but in every other where it is in operation, preparing them separately for a closer union with one another.
Chapter XI.

The causes that separate nations are moral as well as material.—Illiberal nationality an extension of party spirit.—False and true patriotism.—National prejudices a degenerate aftergrowth: inflame hostilities: must vanish before increasing knowledge.—France and England; baseness of the sentiment that they are natural enemies of each other.—How it used to be inculcated, and its murderous effects.—Frightful character of the literature of the last continental war.—Real causes of that and other wars.—Venal talent.—A purifying process going on.—Causes of the prostitution of talent.—International communication: its salutary effects: its amazing progress.—The Great Exhibition: its effects upon national prejudices: its greatest lesson.—Correction of vulgar errors.—Injustice done to the French character, individual and national.—Injustice of the French towards England.—Daring ignorance of writers on both sides.—Ludicrous mistakes of MM. Cassimir Delavigne, Alexandre Dumas, and the Baron d'Haussez.—Interchange of visits and hospitalities between Paris and London: rendered possible by steam.—Historical character of the Great Exhibition. —Theological antipathies.—True religion must promote union.—It is priestcraft that opposes it.—The power before which priestcraft must fall.—There is a moral stir amongst the most stereotyped races.—The Chinese and the gold movement.—Effects of steam in this movement.

"Germania omnis a Sarmatis, Dacisque
mutuo metu aut montibus separatur*;" thus Tacitus commences his description of Germany. It is a compendious statement of the barriers which have divided nations from the beginning. They are of two classes; material, and moral. The material obstructions to the intercourse of even countries the most remote from one another, are, as we have seen, in process of removal. What are the moral causes of division? and are they likely to resist the law of approximation? The prejudices of nations constitute a very powerful repulsion which operates almost universally between them, but it must give way under the influence of the same force which is enlightening and uniting the public mind in each. All that has been said concerning local seclusion and restriction of the mind to the purposes of a party, with their power of generating false views, erroneous judgments, enmities, and hostilities, over estimation of self, and unjust depreciation of others, applies with still greater force to a confined and illiberal spirit of nationality. Why should men hate and fear one another because they dwell in different parts of the earth?—and why boast with arrogance and insult of the natural advantages they possess, into

* All Germany is separated from Sarmatia, and Dacia, by mountains or mutual dread.
which they have fallen unconsciously? The simple fact is, that much of this loud nationality is merely self-gratulation, under thin disguises and equivocal forms. It is sometimes called patriotism, but falsely, if patriotism be anything true, or just, or heroic. The love of a man's country can never consist in flattering the vanity of his fellow-countrymen, in magnifying their virtues into heroism, and covering or excusing their vices. It is not honest or noble, in the man who professes to be the friend and advocate of the people, whether he be called statesman, editor, or stump-orator, to kindle in them an overweening pride by confounding their reason. It makes them conceited, boastful, contemptuous, whilst it adds not one jot to their real merit. It encourages them so highly to overvalue themselves, that no other people will accept them at their own estimate. The true patriot is he, who teaches his countrymen how they may become worthy of genuine praise, to stir them up to a brave emulation with the foremost in the battle and the march of life. We do not say that the glowing memories of infancy and youth will not diffuse a charm over the scenes and associations of a man's nativity, which none other can ever wear: but it is not necessary to the tenderness and beauty of that spell, that his
mind should be filled with dark passions, and hateful prejudices. These are a rank after-growth, when its first, fresh and spontaneous affections have withered. Their seeds are scattered by falsehood, and flourish in deceit.

To such aberrations of feeling may be attributed, in many ways, the fierce hostilities which have marshalled nations against nations, and stained the annals of mankind with blood. As the opportunities of acquiring authentic knowledge increase, as it becomes easier for men to observe and judge for themselves, the less inclined will they be to adopt without question the hasty or malignant opinions of others, or to yield themselves to the influence of general rumour, which is often as thickly laden with the sporads of error, as the autumn breeze with those of the unsightly and pernicious weeds that deform the landscape. There was a time, it has not yet passed from the memory of the living, when it was sedulously inculcated upon the people of both France and England, that they were the natural enemies of each other; when the most brilliant orators and effective writers of both nations lent their best powers to recommend this murderous and devilish sentiment—a sentiment which, if justice were done, should have been branded on the forehead of every one
who taught it, as an ineffaceable stigma for his treason against humanity. The literature, whether we take the English or French, of the last continental war, is a reeking mass of the most odious calumnies and improbable misrepresentations, an astounding monument of the depravity and folly of man. And yet the unhappy people, who had no other sources of information, believed it all, and allowed themselves to be excited to madness by it, and to be tarred on like wild beasts in the ancient arena, to throttle one another for the gratification of slaves and tyrants; making what, in many cases, ought to have been a matter of private arrangement between individuals, a question of mortal arbitrament between millions. If the real causes of that and other wars could be stripped of their ostensible character, how weak and miserable and pitiful would they appear, and with what shame would mankind confess their fatal beguilement. The hireling scribes, and purchasable orators, whose business it is to invest the private designs of the ruler, the wishes of the minister, the ambition of the general, or the cupidity of the Government contractor in a public dress, will, however, find the difficulty of their occupation increase, as the means of passing from land to land become more numerous and available. There will be in each country a suffi-
cient number of persons possessing a personal knowledge of other countries, to counteract and discredit the false reports of partisan journalists, who write for the gratification of such passions, and expect their reward from that party alone whose purposes they subserve. It is a melancholy thing to see talent so prostituted, and we can only attribute it to that slowness of belief which sometimes characterises men of ability, and their readiness, like Esau, under the pressure of necessity, to sell their birthright to a share in the general but future good, for the mess of private and immediate pottage which they can devour alone.

There is an increasing preference for men and things before words in every civilised country—a rational curiosity to observe personally what is going on in other parts of the world, and it grows by what it feeds on. "The grand tour," which, not long since, was looked upon as the last polishing and finish to the education of a gentleman, is now the holiday recreation of our clerks and shopmen. The representatives of England in the Champs Élysées and La Guillotière on the Corso, and the Strada di Toledo on the summit of Etna, and the Grotto del Cano in the square of Saint Mark, and at the gate of the Sun—on the Seine, the Rhine, the Elbe, the Po,
and the Danube—are not, as formerly, the lonely lord and melancholy marquis, but the busy, practical, observant middle-class, in hundreds and thousands. It is even now a rare thing to meet a man of tolerable education, who has not some acquaintance with continental cities and countries, whilst the strange costumes and bearded faces that throng our own streets show that our country and manners are in their turn the objects of foreign curiosity. In fact, the nations of Europe have, in our day, more intimate personal communication, and more constant intercourse with one another, than existed between the counties of England two hundred years ago. The most signal proof of this was given in the Great Exhibition of last year. How promptly and cordially was the world-wide invitation to a friendly contest in the arts, that enoble and regenerate mankind, accepted. How grand and beautiful was the gathering of nations beneath that crystal roof. Who can predict the full glory of the harvest that will yet ripen from the seeds of union there scattered, or the number of absurd prepossessions trodden down in that great meeting of peoples. The tales that formerly circulated freely concerning the inferiority of other countries, will not be so easily credited in future by any who witnessed that wonderful
manifestation of their skill and science. The
prejudices that were once universal, will not find
ready access to the minds of those who traversed
these shining aisles in courteous intercourse with
the people misrepresented. The great lesson of
the industrial congress of 1851, however, is the
impression it has left upon the public mind, that
there is nothing insuperable to prevent such a
system of peaceful intercourse from prevailing
universally.

That the character of different nations presents
no essential obstruction to an amicable co-opera-
tion in all that is calculated to advance the
highest interests of our race, a more just estimate
has been formed by each people of the manners
and capacity of the others, and their old tradi-
tionary errors dissipated. The English labourer,
who has visited the Crystal Palace, would look
somewhat sheepish if now told, what was once an
article of popular faith, that there was an amount
of humanity encased in his smock-frock, and
marching in his ponderous high-lows, equivalent
to three of the handsomely-dressed and clever-
looking Frenchmen he stared at, or that they
played fiddles and danced incessantly whilst
producing the splendid and elaborate articles
that excited his wonder. The writers who re-
represent the French people as a frivolous, fantas-
tical, saltatory race, will be laughed at and disbelieved by the humblest of their readers, who witnessed that demonstration of French capacity for the more important and graver business of life. It may even begin to be understood that their gay and cheerful disposition is the natural result of a sunnier climate, and that there is profound wisdom in the observation of their great jurist. "Qu'on donne un esprit de pedanterie à une nation naturellement gaie. L'état n'y gagnera rien ni pour le dedans, ni pour le dehors. Laissez lui faire les choses frivoles sérieusement, et gaîment les choses sérieuses." But it has been too long the practice to apply the standard of our own manners to people living under totally different conditions, and to set down all that differs from that rule as wrong and ridiculous. Thus, what we have considered the defects in the character of the French, such as their fondness for amusement, have been exaggerated, whilst the temperance and urbanity that invariably characterise their most joyous assemblies have been unmentioned. Our public writers dwell too much on the blemishes of France, and too little on her excellences. The failings and crimes of her politicians and statesmen are published to the world in exaggerated and indignant language, whilst the splendid con-
tributions she has made to science, and the host of illustrious names she has inscribed on the very foremost banner of human progress, are disingenuously ignored and forgotten.

It must be confessed that our neighbours have repaid us in our own coin with interest. If we have attributed to them a universal passion for fiddling and dancing, an addiction to lace, ruffles, and batrachian preparations for the table, they have given us a national propensity to suicide, and a character for boorish selfishness and insolence, both being equally violent perversions of truth which could have obtained in a state of mutual ignorance only. It is astonishing what gross errors have been propagated on both sides of the channel by men who, relying on that ignorance as a shelter from detection, have professed to describe things of which they knew positively nothing. One of the most popular of the French feuilletonists, not many years since, in pretending to pourtray English manners and customs, stated that it was a common and legal transaction amongst us for a nobleman, if his lady displeased him, to take her to Smithfield with a halter round her neck, and sell her in market overt, as he would any other part of his moveable property. Another informs his countrymen that it is usual with our popular preachers
to advertise their sermons as follows:—"The discourse delivered by the Rev. Mr. —— at the church of St. ——, on last Sunday, and which was received by the faithful with unanimous applause, will be repeated every Sunday evening till further notice." M. Cassimir Delavigne, a member of the Académie, represents the Earl of Derby as a candidate for the office of lord-mayor of London. M. Alexandre Dumas talks of a loving couple who fly from human society to "une petite maison bien simple et bien isolée, une jolie petite fabrique à jalousies vertes avec un jardin plein de fleurs," in Piccadilly, somewhere near the Burlington Arcade. Baron d'Haussez, who was minister of marine to Charles X., and accompanied him in his exile at Holyrood Palace, strove to enlighten his countrymen as to our manners, by publishing a book which he calls "Great Britain in 1833." In this authentic document he represents the English nobility as passionately addicted to cock-fighting, and states that they season the enjoyment of that refined pastime with stamping, swearing, and quarrelling; that sometimes an individual peer will become so obstreperous and pugnacious as to threaten the interruption of the sport, when the rest throw themselves upon him, and force him into a basket, which is immediately run up
to the ceiling of the cock-pit with cords and pulleys. The game then proceeds; the hereditary legislator, who had forgotten himself, looking down grimly and helplessly, until his passion has cooled down to par, and it becomes safe to release him. The veracious baron states, in another place, "that, at an English dinner-party, when a dish is laid upon the table, all the guests attack it at once, each man caring for himself, and no one for his neighbour." This book was extensively read in the legitimate salons of Paris nineteen years ago. The Baron d'Haussez is now laughed at by every intelligent man in France; since then, and especially within the last few years, the exchange of real knowledge between the two nations has been constantly augmenting, not only by the transit of individuals from the one to the other, but by the visits of vast bodies of the people, and the interchange of magnificent hospitalities. Thousands of the national guard, and other French citizens, have visited us, and mingled with the population of our colossal city. Our own lord-mayor, with his loving aldermen, and the pride of London's municipality, with their families and friends, have been fêted by the Parisian authorities, from which it is to be hoped they have both left and brought away improved impressions.
Since the publication of "Great Britain in 1833" the railroad system has sprung into existence, and Paris has been brought within eleven hours of London, whilst daily excursion trains render the passage easier, cheaper, and less hazardous than was that from London to Margate at the mouth of the Thames before the age of steam. In short, wherever we look, we see the affinities of human nature drawing men together in spite of national prejudices and preventions. The concourse in Hyde Park was but the first Panethnnon of the world—the formal and visible beginning of a union which nothing can prevent—the solemn inauguration of the era of peace and brotherhood—the commencement of the manhood of our species. It was a great thought, and it will be regarded in the times to come as the first distinct and unequivocal streak in the dawning of that brighter day which is breaking upon the destinies of our race.

We have said that nothing can prevent the union of mankind into one family; but it may be thought that religious distinctions are an exception; that they will resist the attractive power which would otherwise bring men together, and, in despite of all material agencies, and the strong charm of association, with its manifold benefits, continue to keep the world in a state of
permanent division and alienation. We do not think so. There is nothing in the essential character of religion, itself being the judge, to warrant such a supposition. The fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, which is that of the dominant portion of mankind, expressly tend to unity, and profess to cultivate the moral qualities and affections, which are its cement. It is impossible, therefore, that it can obstruct the practical consummation of its own theory. There is nothing, then, in the essence of true religion to distract or separate; but the lust of wealth and dominion has, in many instances, taken advantage of the ignorance and darkness of the human mind, and contrived to turn the religious sentiment in man to its own purposes. Hence we find that sentiment surrounded with a multitude of accessory feelings and passions with which it has no natural connection, and the truth after which it aspires invested with formulæ through which it cannot penetrate. All these are mere human devices, the subleties by which priestcraft studies to confuse and darken the intellect, to etiolate and enfeeble the mind, until mankind lies prostrate at its feet. These will doubtless, for a time, exercise an obstructive influence, in opposition to the commingling of races and the blending of interests; but they must give way,
finally, before a nobler conception of the divine attributes and a juster appreciation of human nature, like earth-born fogs which obscure the level sun, but are dissipated as it rises. The agencies which will emancipate man from priestly bondage, and assert his moral equality with his fellow-men, which will enable him to stand free in their midst, and erect before his Maker, are the same that have already broken the spell of old superstitions and banished its quaint phantoms from the world. They consist in every conscious movement of society, everything that develops the intellect and excites it to freedom and independence of action, every true thought exchanged amongst men, and everything that assists them, even in the feeblest measure, to advance in the knowledge of themselves. It may take ages to abolish the walls of partition which priestcraft has erected between men; but the process is going on before our eyes, and the sappers of these strong foundations are stronger than they, consisting in the very desires and necessities of our nature. For the first time in the history of the world, the demonstrable and practicable have been brought into direct and general collision with the visionary and impossible,—the actual, real good which man may obtain, and the sufferings of which he is conscious, with the vague
promises of priestcraft and its impotent threatenings. The effect must be to strip the priest of his presumptuous and false character, and to destroy the belief in his pretended power, whilst the wisdom and goodness of the Creator will be more immediately felt and more intelligently worshipped. Already there is a moral stir and commotion amongst the most stereotyped and inaccessible sections of the human family. Even the Chinese have felt it. Myriads of them, breaking through the strong traditions of their nation, and the prohibitions of their faith, have gone in search of gold to California and Australia—the desire of wealth, or it may be the sufferings of poverty, and the necessity of food, has proved stronger than the authority of Fo or Confucius. Many of them will return with truer notions of distant countries, and swell the impulse which will at last explode the shell that surrounds the flowery land.

We have here a striking result of extensive intercommunication. In earlier times, when Busbequius, and Sir John Mandeville, and Marco-Polo were the only expositors of foreign wonders, the discovery of the precious metal in regions so remote would have remained a secret in the breast of the discoverer and died with him. Now the intelligence spreads through all nations
with the certainty of steam and the swiftness of lightning, and all are moved by it in various ways simultaneously. The gold movement exemplifies the process by which the most rigid national exclusiveness will be dissolved, and an entrance effected through the thickest and oldest barriers of priestly and despotic power for new ideas and principles. This is all we propose to say upon the causes, whether moral or material, which divide mankind and resist their tendencies to union. It is enough to prove that, although that union may be retarded, it cannot be finally prevented; and now we address ourselves to some of the effects and incidents which will accompany its progress, and arise from the causes by which it is promoted.
Chapter XII.

Development of natural resources of all lands.—Additions to social happiness.—Artificial wants an index of civilisation.—Specious fallacy of the ascetic principle, that the fewest wants make the happiest man.—Effects that would follow the general adoption of this maxim: its effects in Ireland.—Irish misery assigned to various causes: it must result from mental prostration: whilst that continues, legislation and philanthropy will be in vain.—Irish prostration not attributable to idiosyncrasy of race.—The Irish in America: their strong natural affection. — Character of the Celtic exodus.—Proof of the value of means of transit.—Comparison of the skilled artisans of England who are not ascetics: their general character; value, and condition: their influence.—Luxury as an element of civilisation.—Influence of civilised wants upon the natural productiveness and industry of the earth.—More equal distribution of our race.—Extension of man's dominion.—Elevation of the species.—Comparison of the ascetic and natural systems.—Purpose of this Essay.—The law of progress; happiness must be laboured for.—Latent sources and capacities of happiness.—Peaceful rivalry of nations.

The natural resources of all lands will be developed by a universal system of communica-
tion, and important additions made to social happiness. The progress of civilisation is invariably marked by an increase of physical as well as of intellectual enjoyments. The number of artificial wants amongst a people, and the estimate they form of what constitutes comfort, are the infallible measure of their advance from barbarism. There are many, we know, who hold contrary opinions, and maintain that the highest condition of human wisdom and happiness is where a man has succeeded in contracting his desires within the narrowest space, and in reducing his wants to the lowest number. This looks very philosophical, and will sustain considerable declamation about independency of changing fortune and security from disappointment; but we shall see that it is a monstrous error, which will not bear the momentary touch of reason or experience; that, if universally adopted in practice, it would extinguish science, destroy all the arts by starvation, put an end to commerce, and erase every vestige of civilisation from the face of the earth. It would cut down the human race more rapidly and fatally than wars and pestilence; it would turn the populous cities of earth into deserted ruins, and its fruitful fields into howling wildernesses, where a few wandering savages would contend with birds and
beasts for the precarious supplies of the stream and the scanty fruits of the forest. The wild man of Australia, whose wants extend no farther than a piece of raw kangaroo and a palm leaf, must be the beau ideal of such felicity; and yet he is not happy; on the contrary, he is miserable and degraded: he is sunk in sloth, and spends his life in alternations of gluttony and starvation, whilst the immortal mind within him has shrunk and withered to a mere brutal instinct.

This philosophy of fewest wants is the grand difficulty which meets the legislator and philanthropist in Ireland upon the very threshold and beginning of their labours. All efforts to impress upon the Irish peasant the advantages of a neat, comfortable dwelling, and the pleasures of cleanliness,—all endeavours to show him how he might obtain a better supply from the soil, both for his table and his back,—all the anxiety of Government to give him good laws, must be in vain, so long as he remains in that state of philosophical contentment which requires the least for the supply of its wants. He is content to live in a mud hovel, which he builds himself, and to share its accommodation with his pig. He is content to live in a state of typhus-breeding squalor, to wrap himself in rags, to sleep upon straw, and to eat nothing but the squasy potato he grows
himself. He has arrived at that state of miserable isolation which almost destroys the bonds of human society. He looks for nothing from others, and they expect nothing from him. He has lost the power of either receiving or conferring happiness. This may be independence; but, if it be, it is only that which springs from the doleful prostration of all that constitutes the glory of man—an independence amounting simply to separation, such independence as death bestows upon the parts of the animated frame, by dissolving their vital union, and permitting each to rest alone in the earth silent and motionless. A condition like his excites none of the higher yearnings of our nature, stimulates to activity none of the nobler inventive faculties; it requires little more for its fulfilment than mere animal instinct, and therefore allows the reasoning intellect to dwindle and decay by inanition, whilst the passions of humanity only add malicious cunning to brutal rage.

It is a law of nature that she never puts forth more power than the occasions on which it is exercised require. Hence the mind of the Celtic peasant conforms to his physical circumstances. The little mental effort required by his few wretched occupations scarcely stirs the intellect, and consequently it has sunk into a state of help-
less and hopeless lethargy. This mournful prostration of our Irish fellow-countrymen has been ascribed to a variety of causes. A long course of misgovernment, which for ages proscribed the Irish people, repressed their industry, and set a stigma upon their name; a proprietary alien in feelings, interests, connexions, and faith, who have for many generations vexed the cultivators of the soil with the most grinding and heartless tyranny; or a priesthood animated with a double portion of the priestly spirit, into whose arms the population have rushed from the horrible secular oppression to which they were exposed, and who use the power thus acquired in desperate antagonism against everything calculated to enlighten and elevate the people, conscious that, as they are raised, the priestly authority must decline. These are the causes assigned, according to the different views taken of the subject; whether any or all of them are true, it is not for us to decide; we have to deal with the melancholy fact only, that the peasantry of Ireland have been reduced, by some cause or causes, to a state of the lowest degradation; that some unusually fatal influences have concurred to bring them low and to keep them down.

We say unusually fatal; the common disasters to which a conquered people are subject
could never have produced the helpless coma that afflicts the sister-island; there is an elasticity in the human mind that resists all mere external pressure, and often rises up more vigorous from the weight laid upon it. To subdue it to the condition in which we see it in Ireland, a corroding power must operate within the mind itself, weakening the springs of its activity and blunting its moral feelings. This power, whether priestly or secular, is the real cause of Irish misery, and, so long as it cleaves to the soil, it will nullify every effort for the improvement of the country. The people will never recover from their abasement; they will remain without energy or enterprise, benumbed by a dead apathy, in the very blaze and warmth of civilisation, without any rightly founded hopes or rational ambition; the ready dupes of every knave and impostor who flatters their absurd expectations, and, though a thousand times deceived, ever willing to be deceived again, grasping fiercely at shadows and neglecting the substance, struggling for the possession of a dream and casting away the reality—the natural cement of society, the power of administering to human wants, and the very wants to be administered to. The common dependency of man upon man will not even begin to exist. The legislator and
philanthropist may lay down their plans for the regeneration of Ireland with consummate skill and large benevolence, but they will have no practicable foundation to build upon, no materials to embody their designs. Their efforts must end on paper, like those of an architect who, having designed a beautiful edifice, finds that the only material offered to him for its erection is a mass of sand, which has neither stability nor cohesion, and whose particles are isolated from one another, though in mechanical contiguity.

That the defects in the Irish character are attributable to local and, let us hope, transitory influences, not to an idiosyncracy of race, as some would compendiously account for it, is very manifest. Look at the change that takes place in them when they leave their own country and emerge into freedom from the deadly influences that cling round their nativity. A great proportion of the most influential and prosperous citizens of the United States are of Irish birth or extraction. The immigrants from Ireland, who arrive there in thousands every year, soon feel the genial influence of that liberty of thought, action and belief which pervades American society; they throw off, as if by magic, their squalid habits and cringing dependency. They become a hard-working and prudent peo-
ple, characterised by great economy and fore-thought. Above all, they are endowed with the strongest natural affection; for the gratification of filial, fraternal, or parental love, they exhibit the most extraordinary and self-sacrificing devotion. During the present year the poor creatures who have fled from famine and degradation to the new world, have transmitted to their relatives in Ireland, for the purpose of enabling them to emigrate, the almost incredible amount of one million sterling, in sums varying from five to twenty pounds. A people capable of such desperate fidelity to the purest and brightest instincts of our nature, must have in them something very noble and heroic; and the natural causes which have given rise to the present vast emigration from the Irish shores must be regarded as a merciful interposition of Providence, for the salvation of a race which was tending to extinction in spite of all the wisdom of men. Here, also, we see the infinite value of abundant means of transit and communication, in improving the condition of mankind; they have enabled the Celtic peasant to exchange the most abject misery for comfort and plenty, a state of suffering and degradation, and paralytic indolence, for one of comparative happiness, respectability, and active industry, healthful alike to body and soul.
Let us turn, however, from the sad illustration of the ascetic philosophy which the Irish people have furnished, and consider the condition of the great mass of the English, amongst whom the happiness arising from the fewest wants is neither believed in nor desired. Take the skilled artisans of England: as a body they are manly, self-reliant and independent, conscious that their intellectual power and manual skill are respectable, they respect themselves, and understand the force of duty, as well as the attractions of pleasure. With the exceptions that occur to every rule, they are sober and religious, they avoid the maddening and brutal indulgences of the tavern, and seek their enjoyments in the library, the lecture-room, or at their own fire-sides in the bosom of their families. A man of this description is an ornament to his country, a portion of her most precious wealth, and a benefactor to his species: nor is he unrecompensed. He commands his portion of the world's good more easily and certainly than the mail-clad baron or warlike monarch of old; he helps to stimulate the industry and to elevate the character of mankind, and in return every region of the earth contributes to his enjoyment. He is surrounded with comforts, and there is not one of them for which he has not paid, out of his bravely won
stipend, to the wages of workmen like himself; and to the interest of the capitalist, who sets them in motion.

Ascend higher in the social scale, and see if even what we call luxury is not a positive element of beneficence and progress. Take one of the mansions of the aristocracy. It is a compendium of the products of the world and of the genius and enterprise of man; myriads of our own countrymen have been employed in constructing and furnishing it; a hundred thousand persons probably have each done something in the various processes by which the result has been effected, and each derived some profit from the employment. The raw materials have been fetched from all parts of our own land, and from the forests and mines of regions the most distant. The daily supplies required for the household, and the dress and ornaments of their persons, contribute to the activity and profit of multitudes at home, and exercise a beneficial influence upon the remotest corners of the world: and let us remember that the habitual enjoyment of these things grows by degrees into an absolute necessity, creating for them a continued demand and permanent market. Further, it is a fixed principle of political economy that the demand creates the supply; therefore, when the requisitions of
a high state of civilisation have, as at present, the power of making themselves felt universally, they must tend inevitably to awaken the energies, and to stimulate the invention, skill, and industry of all countries which have the natural ability to administer to them. The animal, vegetable and mineral resources peculiar to different parts of the world will no longer remain profitless in the hands of their inhabitants. The tidings will reach them in various ways, that those creatures and things, which they had for ages passed by with contempt as useless to themselves, or regarded as absolutely injurious, may be exchanged for the most precious commodities of other lands, and the unlimited power of transport will offer itself for their conveyance to the destined market; new mines of wealth will be discovered, strange animals will be rendered serviceable to man, rare and beautiful plants will be cultivated both for food and ornament. The capacity of all soils will be tested, and nature herself assisted in bringing her richest productions to a maturity hitherto unattained. This process will not be stayed by the limits of man's present dominion over the earth. It will enlarge his domain, our race will be more equally distributed throughout the world. When the agencies of transport are universal, men will
no longer consent to be crowded together in towns and cities, whilst the pure air and joyous landscape are easily accessible, nor to jostle one another in millions within the confines of narrow islands and territories, snatching the bread from one another’s mouths, whilst in other lands, and beneath skies as serene, the rich bounty of nature ripens and decays untouched by man. The fruitful continent of Australia, sufficient in itself to sustain the whole population of Europe, will in time be traversed with rail-roads. The vast though hitherto impenetrable regions of Africa will be opened by the same mighty agency. The broad Savannahs, and measureless Steppes of America, will be brought within the scope of human industry, and the wild-horse and buffalo which now roam over them in undisturbed possession, be yolked to the plough. The half-peopled regions of the north and east, the beautiful but desolate islands of the Indian Sea, will be made accessible to the enterprise of mankind; an amount of territory fifty times greater than what man now inhabits and cultivates, still lies unwrought and unpossessed upon the surface of the globe; it will one day furnish its full tribute to the necessities of our species.

Nor will the course of development cease with the physical and material. It will affect the
minds also of the people whom it embraces in its operations. An increasingly steady intercourse will be established between the most advanced sections of mankind, and the most barbarous tribes: if the latter find a market for the raw productions of their fields and woods, it must be by accepting in return the results of high skill; and every article of this kind that makes its way into a barbarous community, will carry with it a savour, however slight, of the civilisation from which it sprung; it will shine with a faint light even in the most savage gloom, and prove an incitement, however weak, to the deepest intellectual apathy. We cannot read of the clamorous and childish curiosity with which the untutored savages of distant lands crowd round the sailor who exhibits to them some of the meanest articles in use amongst a polished people, without feeling that that very curiosity, which indicates their wildness and ignorance, is itself a proof of the strong interest which man everywhere and under all conditions takes in man; of the power of mind to impress its marvellous influence upon inert matter, and thus convey that influence to other minds. It is not the mere novelty of the object that excites the curiosity of the savage, so much as the manifest indications it presents of having occupied the attention and
labours of his fellow-man. He sees the marks of design upon it, the unmistakable tokens of thought, and, however rude and confused his notions of what the intent or uses of the object may be, he does involuntary homage to the intelligence that produced it, and feels unconsciously the dignity of the race to which he belongs.

The single impulse is slight: we have purposely chosen the lowest example; but, when repeated indefinitely, and followed by millions of others more powerful, and repeated in like manner,—when these are accompanied and succeeded by the force of example, the warmth and light elicited by collision with cultivated minds, by the power of reason, by direct tuition and persuasion, and, finally, when glimpses of the treasures of literature are from time to time afforded, and their value begins to be appreciated,—when this process goes forward, not for any given period, but extends over generations, and, if needs be, centuries, we cannot doubt that its ultimate effect will be to raise every portion of mankind to the highest degree of civilised advancement they can attain.

The hope of such a consummation as this must be founded on a faith very different from that of the ascetic philosophers. Theirs is a system of selfishness, pride, idleness, separation, and degra-
dation. We commit ourselves to a system which finds its highest satisfaction in the common happiness, which regards all men as equal in dignity, and exalts labour, whether of mind or body, to the highest place of honour, which seeks its happiness in union, and is calculated to develope human nature to its utmost perfection; and in doing so we merely follow the course which nature herself is manifestly taking. We propound no theory, offer no plan to our fellow-men, the adoption of which would require the previous abandonment of their established customs and practices; we are content to follow the current of events, and to indicate the direction in which that current is flowing. But to what purpose? *Cui bono*? — a great purpose, a sublime and beneficent purpose, could we but accomplish it even in the smallest part, that men may learn to employ their energies aright, and not, with infinite damage to themselves and to their fellow-creatures, endeavour to swim against the stream, and for the effectuation of systems and plans which have originated in their own imperfect view of things — attempt, with whatever power they have, and whatever fear they can excite, to force all mankind into their adoption.

The adjustment of social forces, not their creation, is the business of the legist and philan-
thropist. The man who comes with a scheme concocted in his own brain for the regulation of his species, and founded upon his individual estimate of the world, and all things, moral and physical, that are therein, is merely a conceited empiric who imagines that he knows more than all other men, and that they ought not to be trusted with the liberty of moving or acting unless as he permits. The efforts of such persons may retard, but they cannot prevent, the march of events. The law by which the Creator governs all human activities is written with his own finger upon the very foundations of our nature, so plainly that we can read it even without the light of revelation, and its force is, as we have seen, in direct antagonism with artificial systems. The Roman poet expressed that law in the motto prefixed to these pages. The reign of universal peace and happiness cannot be brought about without effort. There is no royal road to it paved with edicts and constitutions; it must be the work of man in his individual capacity, and in his strivings for it there are strength and reward. The intellect is sharpened with cares and difficulties, but the sharpness and efficiency of the powers constitute in themselves an unlimited source of enjoyment which amply recompenses the labour by which they are obtained.
A thousand capacities for wise and rational happiness lie latent in our nature, and can only be stimulated into vital action by the objects created for their gratification. The powers of vision would have lain dormant for ever without light, and those of hearing without sound, and so it is with all the organs of sense and the susceptibilities of the soul; but he who implanted them has also stored the universe with objects appropriate for them, not merely the old and familiar, but with multitudinous combinations and new forms, which are daily rising into existence, and adding the charm of novelty to their inherent and simple power of pleasing.

It is obvious that the ever-extending intercourse of nation with nation, and man with man, must have the effect of ascertaining more and more the nature of the riches with which the earth is stored, and of giving human necessity a commanding power over them, of combining the interests of all nations, and so implicating and interweaving them that no part can be disturbed or damaged without deranging the whole, as in a well-ordered family. The different members may have their individual peculiarities and endowments; but yet each in his place, and to the degree of his ability, contributes to the well-being of the whole household, and, in doing so,
feels conscious that he can do nothing better for himself. Thus combined in their social in-
terests, the rivalry of nations for the highest place in one another's confidence must result in
the moral and intellectual elevation of our race, and the lofty development of all the inventive,
executive, and administrative faculties of man.
CHAPTER XIII.

War must cease by the blending of human interests.—
Character of war.—“Ultima ratio regum.”—The virtues educed by war inferior to those of peace.—The conquests of war and of peace: their principles.—Wars have been generally prompted by the passions of tyrants.—Examples.—Small number who have acquired renown in war.—Monstrous deceptions of war.—Even selfishness will rise up against it.—Fallacious views of war as a distributor of intelligence: its lawlessness; uselessness: its objective stupidity: its subjective folly.—Monstrous armaments of Europe.—Despots, soldiers, diplomatists, priests: their occupation declining: hopelessness of their struggles: silent resolution of their questions.—The essence of all worship and faith.

A CONDITION like that which we have been describing implies peace, that men have forsaken the doctrines of mere brute violence, and have betaken themselves to the not less powerful, though infinitely nobler, methods of preserving and benefitting themselves by humanity and reason. The blending of the interests of mankind, and the multiplied relation and dependencies
to which it will give rise, will put a final end to war. War is a rude, brutal, and inglorious system, and those who say it is the natural condition of man are a disgrace to the immortal nature they pretend to expound. It has been called the "ultima ratio regum"—the final argument of kings. Yes, too long it has been not only their final, but their sole argument, in the season of darkness, when goblin superstition joined with hood-winked despotism to carry out their night-mare dreams in the face of nature's living truths and realities: but the day has dawned; the sleeper is arousing himself; the spectres and apparitions that frightened his slumbers have vanished, or are vanishing away. The hour is coming, hastening with the momentum of ages, when the "ultima ratio regum"—the argument of murder, rapine, famine and pestilence, shall be banished from amongst men—consigned to the chamber of horrors, in which history preserves the memorials of crime, and mentioned in low whispers with tears and mourning and shame, as the most fearful and damnable example of human depravity—the most ignoble and ungodlike of all man's aberrations from truth and justice. The railway signal is the knell of war, the anticipative requiem of that military thing so monstrously miscalled glory.

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That great devotion and magnanimity have been educed by war is unquestionable, but that fact ought only to increase our horror of a system which has perverted the noblest attributes of our nature to purposes so vile and pernicious. There are opportunities in ordinary and peaceful life for the exercise of a higher and more sustained heroism than ever yet displayed itself on the field of slaughter. The life-long struggle with poverty and pain, without one cheering word to encourage, much less to applaud, the struggler who yet nobly maintains his integrity unaided and alone—the daily fight with temptation—the strong disinterestedness of affection which devotes itself with more than Roman fortitude for the welfare of others—the voluntary relinquishment of the opportunity of inflicting merited vengeance on a prostrate enemy—the stern subjugation of our own passions to the laws of reason and equity—all these are heroisms of purer and loftier origin than that of the most successful warrior; but no trumpet announces them. The attention of mankind is not attracted to them by flaunting banners or glittering decorations; they do not utter themselves in the loud and imperative accents of physical power, nor require multitudes for their proofs and witnesses. Quietly and silently, like the great forces of
nature, they pursue their beneficent career, unseen in their working, but not unfelt in their effects; they supply and renovate the healthy character of public opinion, as the tender herbage and sweet flowers, in their genial, but unnoticed chemistry, renew the vital element in the physical atmosphere; whilst war, like the sulphurous volcano, or the headlong flood, which only spreads ruin and death, impresses the imagination more deeply and excites louder admiration. Nor does the character of these ennobling conquests differ more from the debasing victories of the sword than the principles from which they spring. The former arise from a secret and conscious appreciation of the beauty and value of beneficence, a feeling of good for all who are capable of receiving it; the latter are the fruits of our darkest and guiltiest vices compressed into heart-hardening and exclusive selfishness.

The most frightful, sanguinary, and ruinous wars that have afflicted mankind, were prompted by the personal passions of the most odious and perverse tyrants. Their lust of dominion, their desire for vengeance or renown, nay, the gratification of the mere habits of warfare and bloodshed, have, separately or combined, been the actuating motives which in all ages have armed men against each other's lives, and spread deso-
lation over the nations of the earth. Excited by such passions, Xerxes invaded Greece, and sacrificed a million of the people subject to his sway. For such objects Alexander led his phalanxes into the East, and marked his way from the Granicus to the Ganges with the ruins of cities and the unburied corpses of men. For motives like these Julius Cæsar destroyed two millions of the human race; Charles XII. performed his capricious tragedies; Napoleon, for a whole generation, filled Europe with destruction and alarm, carried the flower of the French nation to Moscow, and left the bones of five hundred thousand gallant men to bleach on the desolate wilds of Russia, or to pave the bed of the wintry Beresina; and from all the constancy and bravery which these multitudes must have displayed, a few names only have acquired renown, not sufficient to form a Roman cohort, or an English regiment of fighting-men. The rest are passed over and forgotten, as war passes over and despises the common rights of mankind.

A new light is dawning upon the world which will render such monstrous deceptions impossible; men, by a more intimate association with one another, and by the more perfect blending of their real interest which must ensue, will see, in all the broadness and perspicuity of truth, that
the clumsiest and least rational way of disposing of enemies is to kill them. There are no nations so utterly blind as not to discern that a living assistant in the business of life is better than a dead foe, and that there is no tribe of men, born to stand erect and look upon the stars, however degraded and prostrate, who may not be made something better of than carrion. The universal community of interests will supervene all national animosities. The countries separated from one another by material barriers will be but distinct members of the great commonwealth, each contributing to the general welfare, and receiving contributions from all the rest. The object of greatest horror to mankind will be in time the occurrence of anything likely to interrupt the friendliness of their common relations. The most warlike people, instead of burning down the cities of their neighbours, and shooting them like wild beasts, will learn to rejoice in their prosperity, if for no other reason, because they will feel its reflex themselves, and to mourn over their calamities as members of a vast family, whose hopes and fears are identical, and whose happiest condition is their individual portions of the happiness that irradiates and vivifies the whole.

The only argument ever adduced in support
of war, is that it favoured the diffusion of intelligence, and broke up the continuity of barbarism. But this view of the subject was never taken except by the members of debating societies, and they must now relinquish it. Whatever apparent force there might have been in such a notion, there can be none since the introduction of steam, which has manifestly a distributive power incalculably greater than that of war, and unaccompanied with any neutralizing influences. The benefits of war are only incidental. Its prime object and immediate effect have ever been, and ever must be, desolation, famine, pestilence, and death. Whatever good has arisen from war has been in spite of it—has escaped it, not been caused by it. To say that war has assisted in the spread of civilisation, is the same thing as if one should say that an incendiary and robber increases the wealth of a city which he fires, and, to prove the assertion, exhibit some fragments and costly articles which did not happen to have been consumed. To war we are indebted for the destruction of the Alexandrian library, and all the precious monuments of ancient literature and art. To war we owe it that Athens does not shine like the eye of the world, as it once was of Greece: to war must be attributed the present pitiful condition of all the great cities of
antiquity, which still rise above the incroaching verdure, and the nations which have still a name in the world; the rest war has buried under their own ruins.

The advances of mankind in a just comprehension of their own nature, have ameliorated the sanguinary character of penal laws in every country. Their further progress must have a similar effect upon war. Much has been written by Vattel, Puffendorf, and Grotius, upon international law, and by the last-named upon the laws of war; but the summation of the whole is simply this, that a state of war is one of the most complete lawlessness between the belligerents, like the Faustrecht of the ancient Germans, or the club-law of the times of James I., or the Jacquerie of France—a bloody, cruel, remorseless system of brute violence prevailing between nations, as in the old inhuman times it prevailed between individuals and districts; a system that arms millions of men with sharp mutual destruction, and sets them grinning at one another like exasperated devils, watching their opportunities for inflicting the deadly blow and the pang of agony, equally hateful and hated, animated with similar malice, and tormented with like dread.

The most enthusiastic militarist cannot point
out, in the whole range of history, a single good object effected by war, which might not have been infinitely better accomplished without it. It has always left the world worse than it found it, and, in passing away, has strewed the seminal principles of distraction, hatred, and confusion. Like the fabled bird, it dies in flame, and revives again from its own ashes. The passions of man are specific, and propagate themselves in their own likeness; hatred, pride, and violence beget hatred, pride and violence; love gives birth to love, and justice to righteousness. These are truths corroborated by every day's experience; it is not to be supposed that mankind will for ever remain ignorant of them. We have seen how they have displaced the old doctrine of municipal law, which taught that tyranny, injustice and cruelty were calculated to make men virtuous and obedient. The objective stupidity of this principle has been demonstrated in detail, and is now acknowledged even by warriors themselves. Its subjective folly is becoming plainer every day. The nations of the world will not be always content to see their very pith and marrow exhausted by profitless preparations to exhaust one another. For it is not the old and feeble and useless that are withdrawn from the business of life and trained to the trade of
human butchery; but the young and vigorous and useful, the men whose strong arms and undecayed energies might win from bountiful nature her richest treasures, and who, under happier auspices, might become the wise and venerated progenitors of a virtuous and happy posterity, instead of being a bearded, ferocious and dreaded race, abandoned to the unrestrained movements of the worst passions of man.

There is too much knowledge and light in Europe, at least, with its crowded multitudes and ceaseless struggle for life, to suffer the prime energies of its nations to be made an incubus and a curse as they are in its standing armies. Three hundred thousand men, all in the bloom of strong manhood, are taken from the profitable occupations of society, armed with weapons of death, and set apart for the service, as it is called, of Austria, meaning the will of the youth who rules the people comprised under that name; and these, in peace, do nothing but waste the substance of the patient and industrious population, whilst in war their only use is to destroy and desolate. Five hundred thousand serve the Czar in the same way; two hundred and fifty thousand the French President; two hundred thousand the King of Prussia; twenty thousand the Pope; Naples, one hundred thousand; whilst
the armaments of the petty sovereigns of Germany and Italy amount to a quarter of a million more. The Scandinavian kingdoms, according to the Almanack of Gotha, arm one hundred and twenty thousand men, and England has her quarter of a million like France.

If there were nothing to put an end to this monstrous system but the prospect of liberty and affluence, which the agencies of transport have opened in the most fruitful regions of the earth, even that would be sufficient to cause its fall, to teach men groaning under despotic villany that the safest remedy against tyranny is, as Bentham says, to leave it to itself, and it will fall like an unproped rotten tree. Despots and tyrants may sit together in gloomy conclave, devising fresh schemes for enthraling mankind; soldiers may whet their swords, and invent new engines of destruction, looking upon men merely as targets for Minié rifles and zündnadelgewehr; diplomatists may puzzle their brains and their governments in settling official disputes about which their nations know and care nothing; priests may continue to plot, as before, for the quiet extension of their power, whenever the confusion and disorders of war, to which they ever look forward as their most favourable season, may call off attention from their stealthy and feline movements; poli-
tical parties may try to consolidate their power, and to conspire against the well-being of the nation, for their own private and special advantage. It has been so, and it yet will be so, for some time to come. But who does not see that all these schemes and practices, those systems and contrivances, are deviations from the great natural law of approximation in interests, feelings, and action which we have been endeavouring to elucidate?—artificial hindrances, set up in opposition to the attractive power of mind upon mind, arising from our specific identity, and not likely to be arrested by anything short of an alteration in our nature itself—mounds of sand against the rising tide—screens and bulwarks against the influence of the approaching spring. They who trust in the one may be drowned, they who surround themselves with the other may be starved; but not even for a moment will the flood be arrested, nor the genial power that covers the earth with beauty and fruitfulness. The great questions that occupy kings and statesmen, priests and politicians, are silently resolving themselves. The ages of chicanery and deception have grown hoary. Those of clear-seeing truth are already upon us, when the world shall become one dominion, of which sovereigns shall be local magistrates, and enlightened reason the
monarch, from whom they will derive their power, and to whom they will be amenable for its exercise; when the essence of all worship and faith, that a man's duty to himself coincides exactly with his duty to his neighbour, and that both run into and are exalted by his duty to his Maker, shall become the common creed and practice of mankind. These are not mere random conjectures, or presumptuous vaticinations, expressive only of the views and opinions of the writer; they are deductions legitimately drawn from the past history of man. The thing that has been is the thing that shall be—the tendency of mankind taken in the mass. The equivalent force resulting from the most numerous and constant of human impulses has sufficiently manifested itself to justify the prediction of its future direction, and the agencies by which that force is operating, and will operate, upon society, are so vast and illimitable that the most extended speculations cannot overrun their influence and results.
CHAPTER XIV.

Rise of a universal language: authorities on its practicableness: the great difficulty to get men to adopt it.—Recent proposal for a "Pasilogical Missionary Society" empirical: cannot succeed: human necessities will do the missionary work. — A universal medium of thought will become necessary.—Examples in the great maritime cities.—The union of mankind will be signalized by one form of speech, as it was at first before their dispersion.—What living language will form the basis of the common tongue?—Two principles to be considered.—Illustrated in the case of the Chinese: their character, and that of their language.—Illustrated in the case of the Anglo-Saxon race: their character, power, and achievements.—The influence of these in recommending their language.—It will obtain its place as a proximate element in the universal language.—All languages have their distinct excellencies.—Defects of the English.—Principle on which a universal tongue will be formed.—Each nation will contribute according to its power of supplying human necessities. —Exemplifications from antiquity: from the middle ages: from modern times.—Argument to prove that there is no law necessitating the retrogression or decline of nations.—Civilisation and art can never again be lost.—Conclusion.

There is one more consequence to be looked for from the universal blending of national in-
interests, and the general intercourse between all parts of the world, which we must not pass over, and with a few remarks on which we shall terminate this subject:—the rise of a universal language. This is a topic which has occupied the attention of most of the great speculatists, from Bacon and Des Cartes, down to our own times. Lord Bacon says*, "it is a well-known fact, that in China and the provinces of the furthest east, a kind of characters is in daily use, which are real, not nominal, expressing not letters or words, but things or notions; so that many nations, differing altogether in language, but agreeing in the use of these characters, communicate with one another by writing, insomuch that each can read in his own language any book written in such characters." Bishop Wilkins, Leibnitz, and Lord Monboddo also deemed a universal language practicable, as far as the adoption of a common written character; and these views are corroborated, more or less, by Sir Thomas Smith, Sir John Herschell, and Mr. Latham; whilst Mr. Pitman has practically demonstrated the possibility of representing sounds, apart from their arbitrary signification, by means of written symbols. Now, since the human voice has only a certain limited compass

* De Aug. Scien., lib. vi. c. 1.
or scale of sounds, and therefore that all spoken language must consist in the various combinations and permutations of the same sounds, it is obvious that the phonographic system possesses the elements of universal adaptation.

The idea of a universal medium of thought is, then, by no means either new or chimerical. Having fortified ourselves, however, with these distinguished opinions, we must confess that they all leave the great difficulty of the subject almost untouched, namely, the means by which a system of universal speech is to be diffused and established. The contrivance of a convenient character and grammar would be an easy task to any of our accomplished philologists, but how to get it into use "hoc opus hoc labor est." Fontenelle, in his *Eloge* upon Leibnitz, after commending his invention and efforts towards forming a universal language, remarks, "But, after this language had been invented, however useful or convenient it might be, it would be still further necessary to persuade different nations to adopt it, and this would be by no means the smallest difficulty." Mr. Grove, the author of a recent work on the subject, proposes to erect a voluntary association for extending a universal language by means of "Pasilogical Missionaries." All efforts of this kind are empirical, and never
could succeed: they resemble the bloomer attempt to force ladies into trowsers by logical demonstrations, in spite of their own habits and wishes, and the long-established customs of society. In fact, it is not in the nature of man to undergo labour or suffer pain, or even to depart from the ordinary routine of custom, for merely prospective advantages, how great soever they may be, unless the hopes they excite are sustained and justified by experience. An untried scheme, however grand and important, will be always regarded in this matter-of-fact world as a speculation, and the majority of men will turn aside from its most splendid promises of future advantage for the paltriest amount of immediate profit. The most powerful motives that actuate mankind are those which arise from their necessities; their action is immediate and constant; they allow no pause nor hesitation; onward, onward, towards their objects, with an indefatigable and unbroken force, do they impel us, leaving but passing opportunities to glance at what lies out of their course, and few even of these. These necessities themselves will, however, accomplish all the work of Mr. Grove's "Pasilogical Missionaries."

The discovery of the degree in which one land possesses the means of supplying the wants of
other lands, and the practicability of its receiving from them in return what has been denied to its own soil, will in time produce a universal system of exchange throughout the world. People of all nations and tribes will mingle in social intercourse, and interpenetrate one another with their several customs and habits, both national and personal. Reason, guided by practical experience, will have to make its election between the various laws and manners thus offered to its choice. Those that are best adapted to the purposes of life will acquire force and permanency, not by any sudden and formal resolution of mankind, but by the gradual perception of their congruity and fitness, which will secure their adoption unconsciously; whilst those that are unsuited to human ends must, in the same insensible manner, fall into desuetude and be forgotten. Rapid and certain appreciation will universally follow the announcement of anything likely to benefit the species, and the knowledge of this will stimulate the inventive faculties of mankind everywhere, and induce every one who has found out anything calculated to supply a human want, or to furnish a new pleasure, to make it known without delay, whether the discovery be that of a strange natural production, a mechanical invention, a great scientific truth, a wise aphorism, or
a glowing thought. He to whom the secret is first revealed will find his highest and most grateful reward in publishing it to his race, and the more rapidly it can be made known, the more immediate will be the fulfilment of his desires. This will require a common vehicle of thought, and its formation will be absolutely necessitated by the coalescence of all special and separate interests into one which will be universal and homogeneous. The necessity which discoverers would feel of a medium by which they could diffuse the intelligence of their successes, might not be sufficient to induce men to adopt a common system of communication, since discoverers are a very small minority of mankind; but when the bulk of our species blend together in the promotion of their reciprocal views and common interests, the necessity for such a common medium of intercourse must inevitably arise—a form of speech in which the natives of all parts of the world may transact, not the great and astounding affairs of history, but the little businesses of traffic, the concerns of every day. We see this already on a small scale in some of the great maritime cities, especially those on the Pacific coast of North and South America, the cities of the Mediterranean, and some in the Indian Archipelago.
Where the natives of many countries meet for mercantile purposes, and contrive to carry on their intercourse in a strange gibberish, made up of the odds and ends of many languages, it is of necessity a poor and bald dialect; but it subserves well enough the purpose for which it was formed, and furnishes a positive proof that there is a tendency to the formation of a common medium of thought amongst multitudes whose necessities bring them into constant and close association, however various may be their native tongues. We may safely infer, therefore, that when the precedent condition of mankind resembles that which obtains in those cities, it will give birth to a similar phenomenon, and a universal language will begin to arise. It may require centuries to give it shape and general acceptation: with the question of time we have nothing to do; we would simply point out the fact without calculating the period of its accomplishment. That the necessity for some vehicle of communication which shall be common to mankind, will result from the universal extension of the means of intercourse, is obvious enough. But it is the order of nature that a felt necessity always tends to supply itself, or, as popular wisdom expresses the same principle, "necessity is the mother of invention." We may therefore, without risking
our sternest respect for probability, look forward to the universal adoption of one form of speech or language: we have already adduced experience in support of this opinion; it is not less forcibly sustained by analogy. The Scriptures inform us that, in the infancy of the world, when mankind dwelt together in unity, "the whole earth was of one language and of one speech." But when they had displeased the Almighty by their impious attempts on the plains of Shinar, He determined to disperse them into different lands by varying their speech. The divine resolution and its accomplishment are recorded in human language:—"And the Lord said, behold, the people is one, and they have all one language: let us go down and there confound their language, that they may not understand one another's speech. So the Lord scattered them abroad from thence upon the face of all the earth."

As the dispersion of the human race thus commenced with the rise of a multitude of various languages and dialects, may we not reasonably infer that their reunion will be signalized by the rise of one form of speech which will be universal? It would be interesting to ascertain what language, if any of those in use, is destined to form the basis of the common medium of communication; but, in this respect, our previsions
must of necessity be exceedingly limited. We can, in fact, only point out certain general principles which are likely to influence the result. There are two such principles worthy of attention. The first is very obvious, namely, that the extent to which a given language already prevails, gives it a corresponding position as a proximate constituent of that which may be universally adopted; and this arises from its power of resisting the introduction of any other, as well as from its tendency to propagate itself. The mere territorial extent of a language is, therefore, to be considered in reference to the probability of its general extension, as consisting of this active or expansive, and this inert or resisting force. Now both of these will be found to be essentially affected by the genius and character of the people by whom the given language is spoken. If they be free, bold and enterprising—if the arts and sciences are cultivated, and invention encouraged amongst them, their language will accord with their character; it will be expansive and aggressive. If, on the other hand, they be a people of fixed habits, with whom art and science are stationary, and who are deficient in the spirit of adventure and enterprise, it is manifest that their language will not only not have any tendency to extend itself, but that it
will be likely to be supervened by others which contain the records of man’s highest intellectual achievements, and which constitute the chief means by which his welfare may be more completely secured. As the types of these two extreme cases, without encumbering our argument with intermediate degrees of national character, let us take the Chinese and Anglo-Saxon races. The Chinese language is monosyllabic, and, though uniform in writing, its spoken dialects differ widely in China and its cognate nations. Considered as one tongue it is already in possession of not less than one-third of the whole human race. Now, if this vast proportion of mankind consisted of adventurous and enterprising nations, we might fairly infer that their language was destined to absorb all others and become the groundwork of a universal medium of thought. But when, on the contrary, we find them a hide-bound, exclusive, and stereotyped race, which two thousand years ago arrived at its maximum point of civilisation, and has there stood immoveable ever since—a people who segregate themselves as much as possible from all others, who do not believe in the possibility of improvement, and discourage everything like enterprise in relation to foreign adventure or intercourse—we cannot for a moment suppose that they are likely to
become the great philological missionaries of the earth; and this conclusion is corroborated when we consider the character of their language, which is, in every case, the unerring index of that of the people amongst whom it is spoken. That of the Chinese corresponds exactly with their social condition: it is a clumsy mixture of pictorial representations and arbitrary symbols—a kind of hybrid between the Egyptian hieroglyphics and written words—an instrument so rude and unwieldy, that by no adaptation or modification can it be ever fitted to the rapid transaction of the momentary negotiations of commerce, or the affairs of social intercourse. The smallest conjunction or particle requires not less than from six to a dozen lines drawn in distinct forms and with special relations to one another; and as there is no word which has more than one syllable, it requires as many distinct characters to express a complex idea as there are simple sounds appropriated to the elementary notions of which that idea is composed. The language has no plasticity; for every new thought a new character must be invented. There are already in use amongst the Chinese more than eighty thousand distinct characters, and they are constantly increasing, so that it may be truly said that their most learned men do not yet know their alphabet.
It would be absurd to think that a people like this, who have scarcely anything to communicate worth learning, and whose medium of communication would require for its thorough study the labours of a whole life, are destined in any considerable degree to impress mankind with either their character or dialect. The Anglo-Saxon stock presents a very different picture. Their original home an island in the Northern Sea, their whole numbers not more than fifty millions, or about a sixth part of the population of China; yet, by their resistless energy, their indomitable persistency and lofty genius, they have become the masters of the mighty empire of Hindoostan, the colossal continent of North America, and of the great southern land, with its thousand islands and territories. They possess already a much greater extent of the world's space than all the sinimic races put together; and, as time advances, their spirit of adventure and intrusion manifests itself more and more powerfully. Besides this, there is their amazing power of administering to human necessities, their ingenuity and enterprise, offering itself to turn into value the most worthless products of the lands they visit, and to teach their inhabitants the secrets of wealth and power. We cannot doubt that the Anglo-Saxon tongue, thus propagated
and recommended, will exercise a far wider influence upon the character of that which may be finally adopted by mankind, than the Chinese, which exceeds it so much now in the mere numbers who use it. We are not vain enough, however, to suppose that our language will be universally adopted as it exists at present: this would be mere national vanity, if not arrogance; it would be a wilful partiality, which would partake largely of selfish pride and injustice. We must not overlook the merits of other languages, nor hide the defects of our own. The melody of the Italian, the sonorous energy of the Spanish, the conversational adaptation of the French, and the wonderful plasticity and flexibility of the German, or, to borrow one of its own words, which expresses and at the same time illustrates both these qualities, its geschmeidigkeit, are distinct excellencies which cannot fail to be appreciated. Our own language, too, has its philological advantages, but, though they will no doubt obtain a suitable place in the great combination, we cannot expect that its defects and difficulties will be perpetuated. Its irregular orthography, its arbitrary and unregulated pronunciation, its capricious extension of the significations of words and sentences, and its incessant sibilation, must continue to present the most formidable difficulties
to its extensive displacement of other languages. In short, according to the principle already laid down, it seems reasonable to anticipate that the universal language will be constituted from the elements of all others; that those forms and constructions of speech which are best suited to men's necessities, will force themselves into permanent and general use, whilst those peculiarities of dialect which rest upon no philosophical or natural principle will be dropped and forgotten.

There is yet another principle which we think will come into operation in the formation of a universal language, at least so far as furnishing its vocabulary: it is that each nation which arrives first at distinguished excellency in particular arts, sciences, or even peculiar natural productions, seems to be tacitly invested by all the rest with authority to dictate the technicalities, or terminology of the departments in which it excels. Thus the Greeks, who carried the science of architecture to a degree of perfection never since surpassed, gave it that terminology which it still retains in its principal parts, although the language itself has been dead for fifteen centuries, and the building art has passed through the different changes of all those ages. In like manner the other sciences and arts in
which that wonderful people excelled have come down to us with the names they bestowed upon them. The art of measuring the earth we call by the Greek word *geometry*; the elementary symbols of speech we call *alphabet*, from the Greek names of the first two characters. The science of numbers we denominate exactly as Pythagoras did, who was its first great improver. And Aristotle, who first reduced the doctrines of abstract relations, metaphysics (\(\mu\varepsilon\varepsilon\alpha\tau\alpha\ \tau\alpha\ \phi\upsilon\sigma\upsilon\alpha\kappa\alpha\)), that which lies beyond physical being, to a systematic science, has also given it a name which it is likely to retain for ever.

But further examples from antiquity are hardly necessary; they will occur abundantly to every one who has studied the history and technology of divinity, medicine, politics, or law. It will be found that, at the time of any discovery or announcement, there prevails a general deference to the will of him who makes it, as to the terms that shall be applied to it, and that afterwards, according to the ordinary influence of time upon the human mind, this deference to superior knowledge becomes a species of reverence, such as we should pay to a superior being, and to break through which would be generally deemed the most impudent presumption, if not actual impiety. This curious tendency of the human
mind is not limited to any particular age or country: the proofs of it which we have adduced from remote times are not stronger than those which modern ages furnish. The science of music arrived at a high degree of perfection in Italy, whilst as yet it was but a rude art amongst the tramontane nations of Europe; and we see that the Italian language furnishes the principal portion of its terminology. Composers do not write their directions for the movement and expression of harmony in the language of their several countries; they defer to its first masters, and universally adopt their technology.

One more example from the middle ages. The Arabians were either the first inventors or the promulgators of a method of representing numbers and quantities by symbols. This system they called Alghebra e Almukabala, signifying resolution and composition. We have adopted their method, and with that strong tendency to abbreviation by which we are characterised, we have omitted the latter clause of the original title and called it simply Algebra. The age in which we live is equally fertile in examples of this general rule. Our French neighbours have long been celebrated for their taste in dress and their skill in cookery, and we have only to take up some fashionable morning paper in which
the particulars of some grand entertainment or magnificent assembly are recorded, to see the most unquestionable proofs that we regard the French as our masters and teachers in the gastronomic and sartorial arts. In a similar way we cheerfully accord to the people from whom we derive any natural production, the right to give it a name. All Europe has accepted the word tea from the Chinese, and tobacco from the Carrib Indians; whilst the term gutta percha comes to us from the Malayan, the language spoken in Borneo, where that substance is produced. A multitude of other instances will occur to every one. The influence we ourselves have exercised in this way is very extensive; our unrivalled progress in the mechanical arts, and especially in the application of steam as a moving power, has given our language a connection almost indissoluble with the regulation and management of machinery. An Englishman entering any of the great factories at Sarang or Liege, or, indeed, those of any other continental city, must be surprised at the number of English words he hears spoken by the workmen in transacting their business. It is the same in foreign steamers; to whatever nation they belong, the directions of the captain to the engineer are generally in English. Whether you navigate the
gulf of Finland or the bay of Genoa, the waters of the Golden Horn or those of the Skager-Rack, you will generally hear exactly the same curt official sentences as you do on a Thames steamer. "Go a-head"—"Slow"—"Stop her"—"Half a turn a-starn"—"Back her"—in all varieties of intonation, Greek, Turkish, Italian, Spanish, French, Dansk, Swedish and Russian.

Without entering into any abstruse disquisition as to the reasons of this general law, we shall take these examples as a proof of its existence, and as establishing the fact that, in proportion as a nation contributes to the well-being of others, so will it furnish its contingent of those elements which will at some future day constitute the universal language of mankind.

We have thus endeavoured to look into the future by the light of the past, and ventured to predict the increasing happiness of mankind as a necessary consequence of their intercourse and social approximation. We are aware that such views may be objected to as deficient in that support which experience alone can give to human speculation; but we would beg to say, in reply, that what we have done has not been to erect a new theory, but merely to apply, on a grand scale, principles which have been long in operation, and whose results are before us in
detail: we have only endeavoured to trace the general character of the tree from the appearance of the germ, having special regard to the conditions which are known to be most favourable to its development. A more specious objection arises from the historical fact, that hitherto all the great nations of the earth have had their periods of growth, maturity, and decline; from which it may be argued with apparent force, that such is the law of national existence, no less than of individual being. This reasoning will, however, be found, upon closer examination, to be unsubstantial in its premises. The analogy between national and individual existence is manifestly fallacious: nations consist of numbers of individual and independent beings; there is no tendency in them to degenerate spontaneously; on the contrary, each successive generation comes into the world with faculties and functional powers as vigorous as those of their primitive ancestry. Unlike the individual, then, whose powers must after a certain time decline and perish, in accordance with an inevitable law, the essential energies of a nation, which consist in the intelligence and virtue of its citizens, must continue in a constant process of renovation, unless some accidental and abnormal cause intervene to disturb the natural order of things and
to change the character and relations of the citizens. But we affirm that such disturbing causes and such alterations are not the necessary result of any natural law like that which produces decay and death in individual beings. They are, as we have stated, abnormal and exceptional deviations from the ordinary course of nature. The force of analogy in argument is generally deceptive, and here it is distinctly so. The abstract collective idea of a nation presents itself to the mind as if it were in reality a living being, and then we unconsciously apply to it the laws which we see in operation upon every form of life around us. If we examine the cases of any of the great nations of antiquity we shall find these views fully borne out. Egypt, Assyria, Greece, and Rome, arrived, no doubt, at a high degree of civilisation; but in each case their material prosperity was owing, not so much to their own innate productiveness, as to the power with which they oppressed surrounding nations and appropriated the results of their industry and activity. This prosperity, therefore, though for the time it favoured the cultivation of the arts and sciences, could not possibly endure; it was based upon a foundation which all the instincts of our nature tended to undermine. Take Rome as an example; the prosperity and grandeur of
that one city, whilst it remained the seat of universal empire, required the oppression and robbery of kingdoms for their support. It was like a huge billow rising in the midst of the ocean, which depresses all around it, and looks massive and portentous for a time, but sinks at length by the general law of gravitation to the common level. The advances of the Romans in science and civilisation were confined to themselves and a few of their tributary provinces; the bulk of mankind did not participate in them, and when the Roman power fell and its civilisation perished, it was the result to be expected from the isolated position it held in the midst of barbarous nations. This can never occur when the supremacy of countries in the different departments of social excellency shall come to be regarded as so many proofs of the general progress of mankind. The prosperity of any nation cannot decline so long as it is founded upon principles which promote the prosperity of others; arts and sciences can never again be lost whilst their records are daily multiplied, distributed throughout the world, and laid up in the archives of all nations. The forms of governments may change, particular families may cease to be called dynasties, even nationality itself may be merged and lost in the confederation of mankind; but this will not be the retro-
gression of humanity; it will not deprive our race of a single forward impulse, nor stay its progress for a second of time.

Here we pause—the boldest speculations must have a limit: we have merely indicated the elements of a great problem. It may take centuries to work it out, but each successive day brings some approximation to its solution.

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