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Wm Smith.

Governor of Virginia.

From the Auth

ENGLAND,
THE CIVILIZER:

Her History Developed

IN ITS

PRINCIPLES;

WITH REFERENCE TO THE CIVILIZATIONAL HISTORY OF
MODERN EUROPE, (AMERICA INCLUSIVE,) AND
WITH A VIEW TO THE DENOUEMENT
OF THE DIFFICULTIES OF
THE HOUR.

To comprehend the present, we must know the past. To conceive the future, we
must understand the present.

BY A WOMAN.

LONDON :
SIMPKIN, MARSHALL & Co., STATIONERS' HALL COURT.
HEYWOOD, MANCHESTER.


Jan. 1848.

95400



PREFATORY NOTE.

OMISSIONS there are;—errors there may be, in this work. It will be for the Author, with better leisure, to supply the former in future editions. And it will be for the science and political intelligence of the age to point out the latter.



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CHAPTER I.

GENERAL HEAD.

SHORT EXPOSITION OF THE WHOLE SUBJECT, AS EMBRACED IN THE WHOLE TREATISE, AND THE PRINCIPLES EXPOUNDED WHICH GIVE THE KEY TO ALL HISTORY.

CONTENTS.

How varying races of one common species have filled varying parts in the great drama acted on our globe.—Those filled by Rome and England.—Comprehensiveness of the subject.—How reduced to small compass in the current treatise, by means of the method employed.—What history is.—Three heads under which it may be considered.—The most important and the only scientific yet undistinguished.—The same true with every branch of knowledge.—Civilization a conquest.—Course followed by England as the modern civilizer.—How, why, and in what her influences have embraced Europe and the globe.—Progressive governmental theories which have succeeded each other through the past.—Originating in the progressive conceptions touching the principles regulative of the universe.—Fundamental error in that still prevalent.—Gives the key to all other error, both in thought and practice.—Five modes of Truth distinguishable in the Universe and in the soul of man.—Term soul, how employed in the current Treatise.—Truth classed under its five heads.—The two universal principles common to all.—These illustrated in the three simple modes.—Distinctive instinct in either sex, how procreative of civilization.—Part filled by the female.—Male instinct creative of government.—Female, of providential care.—This how restricted in its action by the male.—Woman holder of the religious bond.—Character of either sex in the rule.—Opposite nature of the two universal principles when considered in disjunction.—One-sided view of things, how and why universally taken.—Analysis of the two compound modes of Truth.—Principles distinguishable in the Political.—Idem in the Industrial.—Two master energies.—How

source of order when acting in unison.—Of the opposite when placed in rivalry.—Illustrations of the same.—How contentiously conceived of by existing science.—Human conception of economy of the Universe decisive of that of earth.—Consistency of the collective human mind.—Consequent method in the course of events.—Religion and theology of nations, how reflective of their views in science.—Also of their political practice.—Egypt, Greece, Rome.—In modern times, how progressive schemes of government have kept pace with progressive theories of astronomy.—Elucidated by fall of Catholic feodality.—By English scheme of class government.—By American scheme of individual rivalry.—By the last, outstanding theory and practice brought to the absurd.—Error of both expounded in the principle.—All governing schemes, in themselves, iniquitous.—The two universal principles, biune.—How falsely conceived of in the three elementary modes of truth.—How in physics.—How in intellectual science.—How in ethics.—Consequences of the error to the human mind, and to society.—The same, how falsely conceived in the two compound modes of Truth.—In the Political.—In the Industrial.—Consequences of the same to society.—Master error throughout the whole expounded.—Real motive principle in the material world precised.—Also in the intellectual.—Also in the moral.—Before society can be harmonized, international relations must be rectified.—Question envisaged touching political and industrial Truth.—Answer referred to close of Treatise.—Main object held in view in prefatory chapter.—What has been elicited with respect to nature and purpose of government.—How each new scheme has fought with the last.—Programme of nations—how ever more and more complicated.—How man has fought and disputed till nothing new left to fight about.—How experience has been thus earned.—Summary of subject matter comprised in prefatory chapter.—Difficulties which the student may experience.—Advice with respect to these.—Nature of the matter to be embraced in the two next chapters.

SINCE the birth of civilization, each leading race of men has rendered some one peculiar service to the great work still in process of completion. Each influential nation has played its appropriate part in the great drama, of which our globe has been the stage, and all its empires players. By no means in proportion to the early size of these has been their after influence. The foundations of Rome were laid by a small band of robbers. Those of England by a wandering horde of pirates. Each took from the beginning, for its especial mission, the general conquest of the world to civilization. And

each has held to the mission first assumed. Rome, overwhelmed by the recoil of the barbarian force she had repelled, returned to the work in another character, and with other arms. England arose, out of the chaotic elements of barbarism, to act the part both of a co-operator and a rival in the work of Rome.

Our subject is this mission of England, both as co-operator and rival. Our object, to ascertain what it has precisely been, and what it is. This done, we shall proceed to investigate in what she may have proved true to it, and in what she may have failed. Finally, we shall try to discover how she may best retain the ground she may have won, recover what she may have lost, and pursue an even and honourable course in the future.

The subject is vast, and covers the whole field of modern history. This may alarm, as if threatening—in this age of ponderous tomes and trivial ideas—a course of investigation and elucidation all but without limit. To obviate such apprehensions, and also to convey a general conception of the method about to be employed, it may be well to explain in few words what history properly is; the three modes in which it may be treated; and the one of the three that will be followed in the present Treatise.

History may be considered under three heads.

I. The events, of which we possess, with more or less accuracy, the record or the tradition.

II. The individual human beings, whose thoughts and acts have influenced the course of those events.

III. The principles which have swayed the human mind in successive epochs, determining equally the career of individuals and the course of events.

Upon the two first of these, the mind of society has expended its research and ingenuity from the invention of letters to this hour. The third is an all but untrodden field.

The same is the case, however, in every branch of knowledge. The mere facts—more or less accurately presented in their simplicity, or encumbered by extraneous matter—lie thick around us. Nor are skilful artificers wanting. But the rules of art, by which the temple may be reared in just proportions, these are in chaos; these are not even suspected to exist. The leading purpose of our present enquiry will be to distinguish, and familiarly to expound, the unknown treasures. Should we succeed, we may furnish, in this outline sketch of the course followed by England, that first of all desiderata, *an opening page in the science of history.*

To reduce that to science which presents, even to this hour, but a mass of ill-established premises, contraverted or contravertible facts, contradictory arguments, and theoretic disputation, may seem difficult to impossibility. Like the poised egg of Columbus, the enigma is solved when we distinguish the method to be adopted. That done with regard to the course of human events, history may be co-ordinated in its great outline, for the future even, no less than for the past. Then alone it will be a science. And a science which—however at the present novel to human perception—is to resume the essence of all science. It is also to thrash and winnow the gleanings of all the past generations of our race, until our libraries of voluminous lumber be reduced to a simple, portable compendium. And again, until all the delirious extravagances of human opinion shall disappear before the sun of knowledge, like to the mists of night before the god of day.

In this opening chapter, my observations will be prefatory, and explanatory of the nature of our subject. As being this, they will involve a cursory view of the political course followed by modern empires; and—in relation with this—the course followed by the human mind in its perceptions with regard to the economy of nature considered in the regulating laws of the universe.

I shall first premise that civilization is a conquest. In the outset, a conquest over savage nature and savage man. Next, over the commingled sloth and passion of the barbarian. Last, over the ignorance, error, presumption, and rapacity of man half civilized. Corrupted and misled by false instruction, rather than controlled and enlightened by sound knowledge. Beyond this, our conquest has not gone at this hour.

Civilization, then, being a conquest, all its earlier and more difficult progress is a course of violence, deception, and demoralization. And this, intelligence will see and admit. Since conquest is the result of war, and since war is the fullest expression—in the word and in the thing—of violence, deception, and demoralization.

Let us now glance at the course followed in the struggle by the great modern civilizer, England.

It was the saying of the Turkish admiral, Barbarossa, to his master, Solyman the Second, *who holds the sea will soon hold the land*. A saying profound in governmental truth. Those nations which, at different epochs have controlled the tide of events, and the direction of human civilization, have done so with effect—energetic and enduring—according to the firmness of grasp with which they held the sceptre of the seas.

And now what does this mean? It means an immense step in human progress. It means the triumph of commerce over war. Which again means the triumph of fraud over force. Nothing more; nothing better. And yet, such is the devious labyrinth of error by which, as yet, it hath been man's lot to pass from the cavern of ignorance towards the sunlit champaign of truth, that this substitution of guile for violence is a good.

Human progress hath never, as yet, presented the passage from any positive wrong to any positive right. It hath never yet exhibited more than the choice of lesser wrong for greater; and, often, only of new wrong for old wrong. In which last process, exhibiting, to cotemporaneous observation, little better than a game of hazard,

small immediate good may seem to be effected. Unless, indeed, that indispensable preliminary to all good—the breaking through of inveterate habit. And thus preparing, by passage through the turmoil of change, for future entrance into the halcyon paths of improvement.

Through all the past, the great provocator to chaotic, convulsive change has been commerce. The builder up and puller down of empires, the power which could see to wield its resources—preserving their action always in favor of itself and against every rival—had of necessity to influence the destinies of the world.

Here, then, we hold the secret of the supremacy of England. In the day that she opened the door to foreign trade more largely than any rising realm of puissance, she laid the foundations of empire; and when, at a later date, she snatched the trident from the hand of Holland, she mounted its throne.

With the maritime supremacy of England—as brought to the support of supremacy in commerce and credit—opened a new balance of power in Europe, and a new scheme of government as protective thereof, and as worked thereby.

The governing scheme which had previously dominated, and kept things—in the decline of the feudal system—from concentrating into the stagnation of one general oriental despotism (as in the lower empire); or from dispersing in one general barbaric confusion (as in the dark ages, which swallowed up the old western empire); had been the struggle between kingdom and kingdom; the rivalry between one royal house and another royal house.

Under this scheme the nascent political liberties of man, together with the vital energies and interests of growing civilization, were cramped and often crushed. The protection successively, or variously, afforded to these in maritime states, independent or interleagued cities, the Swiss Cantons, and even in the associated provinces of Holland, was inadequate and precarious. But

with the maritime supremacy of England, rose a power equal to their defence; and, under its cover, opened a first efficient scheme of government, worked by means of a balance of power between the more *influential classes*—which means always the *leading interests*—of society.

England! It is not I who will raise hymns to thy glory. Thy cross is blood-stained. The serpent's tooth is in the jaws of thy lion, and thy robe shows the spots of the leopard. The chariot wheels of thy triumph have passed o'er the neck of nations; and thy wealth is swelled with the amassed store of the plundered treasure of empires, and the tortured industry of peoples! But, appointed wert thou by destiny to storm the old fortress of popular ignorance and inertia. To quell the barbarian, disarm the right divine despot, supplant antiquated religions, quicken, even while thou demoralized, populations, and prepare for the future by bouleversing the present.

Such was the task prepared for thee, England! by every circumstance of thy existence. By thy commanding position with thy narrow limits of territory. By thy commingled descent. From the Briton half polished by the Roman. From the plodding and obdurate Saxon serf. From Scandinavia's piratical sea-king. From Denmark's invading robber. And from the commanding iron knight of Norman chivalry. Such was the work carved out for thee, England! even as thou wert carved out for it. And shall we not say, that—albeit often with all odds against thee—thy sagacity hath been seldom at fault; thy courage and pertinacity never?

We said that to England was owed the effective, and now, finally, universal substitution of the subtle art of commercial spoliation for the broad and open game of robbery at the sword's point. Such has been the modern scheme of government which—supplanting the feudal system—aimed at establishing a balance of classes in lieu of a balance of thrones.

But in like manner as the preceding theory of the equipoise of the forces of nations by means of the rivalry of thrones, was speedily transformed from the protector to the tyrant of civilization, so was its successor, the theory of the equipoise of human interests by means of the rivalry of classes, destined to become its tyrant also.

Founded by, and upon, a governmental concentration of capital and credit, it threatened, on the one hand, to stifle the dearest liberties—which means always the independent existence—of the individual human being in society. And, farther; sustained as it was, and—during its contention, first with the coalesced powers of catholic feudal Europe; and then with the concentrating despotism of the French military empire—*it had to be*; by the maritime supremacy of a single power, it threatened, on the other hand, to submerge the dearest liberties—which means always the independent existence—of every individual nation, and of every individual body corporate of population, on the globe. Such was the inevitable issue of the English governmental programme, which, with whatever promise opening, could only tend towards the consolidation of an ever-strengthening, ever-spreading, all controlling, all centralizing financial despotism.

But, yet, again, and in like manner: As the rivalry of classes arose to supersede the rivalry of thrones, so had this in turn, to confront and do battle with yet a third theory. One that pitched the interests of individual men alike against those of thrones and those of classes. And, also, the interests of each distinctive country, with its associated body corporate of populations, against those of metropolitan suzerains. Of governments by grace of parliaments beyond sea, and of ultra-mondane monarchs by grace of God.

Thus was it, England! that when thy scheme failing, in its turn, to establish an equipoise, threatened to submerge, instead of to bear aloft, the interests of nations and of individuals, a young rival—sprung from thy loins, or rather from the loins of all Europe's most civilized

populations—threw down the gauntlet for the freedom of the seas, the independence of nations, and the liberties of man. Such did America. And, in this, uniting all the programmes of the more advanced minds of Europe's leading nations, and of the leading sects and classes of those leading nations; and, moreover, giving a direct challenge to every article of the English programme, and simultaneously, to that of its old enemy, the catholic feudal.

Nothing less could now arise than a novel rivalry as of two antagonistic principles. Each holding its chosen seat in an opposing hemisphere; but, farther, kindling a universal conflict, as well between all the powers of the earth as in the minds of all its peoples.

And, now, behold a theory that aimed, as it were, to hold in equipoise our very globe itself, and to suspend in neutralizing opposition the great leading laws of matter as of mind. Of the economy of the universe as of that of civilized society.

To comprehend the nature of the conflict which opened with America's national declaration, we must look to that of the principles which it brought into open collision.

To do this, we must glance at them in their synthesis: i.e., in the universality of their action, whether in the economy of nature, or in that of civilized society. Before we may succeed, however, in exhibiting these as they do really exist in matter and in mind, it will be necessary previously to exhibit them as they are now conceived of in keeping with the received theory of still imperfect science.

Reflecting observation gradually arrived at a perception, in the material universe, of two master principles as supremely regulative of its energies. More synthetic observation—as now rendered facile to those who embrace a general view of the varied enquiry of the age—enables us to distinguish corresponding principles as regulative of the powers of the percipient of that universe, the human soul. Varying of course in mode according to the

modes of truth to which they appertain, but similar in their process of working and in the character of their results. To embrace a developement of this outline of the whole of things, would be foreign to our immediate purpose. I shall confine myself to what I conceive indispensable with a view to attaining that purpose.

I here arrest our course of general expositions to define a word recently employed. Under the rule of government, every thing is conflict and confusion. All interests, all sentiments, and all ideas. The very words of language—those signs of existences, phenomena, and relations by which we ought, with distinctness, to convey to each other our wants, impressions, and emotions—the very words of language are, at present, made elements of disorder and antagonistic disputation. I had occasion, in a previous paragraph, to employ the word *soul*, and may have frequent occasion to employ the same. It is important, therefore, to attach to it a definite idea. As employed in the current treatise, it will be received as expressive of our *moral and intellectual faculties taken conjointly*. When the latter only are considered, the word mind or intellect will be used. When the former, affections, emotions, or sympathies; according to the varying mode of the psychological phenomenon to which reference is made. Giving to the term *soul* the signification here precised, it is conceived that the spiritualist may receive it, and that the materialist will not reject it. We resume the thread of our subject.

I class truth under five heads: three elementary or simple, and two compound.

The simple are *the physical, the intellectual, and the moral*.

The compound, as now presented under existing civilization, are *the political and the industrial*. But, as hereafter to be presented under a more correct order of civilization, *the industrial and the administrative*.

I shall now suggest the modes in which the two universal principles referred to operate in each of the elementary modes.

First, in physical truth. We are here wont to designate their action :

In elementary, brute matter ; under the names of the concentrative and the expansive ;

In brute bodies—from the microscopic atom to our terrestrial, aqueous, and atmospheric globe—as the attractive and the repellant ;

In our planetary system ; and, beyond, in the great stellite and constellationary universe, as the centripetal and centrifugal ;

In organized being, as life and death ;

In sentient existences, as volition and inertia.

And so on. The same, you will observe, presenting always, in our *received theory*, two neutralizing opposites, but which we shall distinguish to be, in truth, only *the two extremes of an endlessly graduated scale*.

In intellectual truth :—Under this head, we have, on the one part, the unit, with the infinitesimal fractionment of its parts beyond the perception of sense, or the conception of mind. On the other, the accumulation of number, mass, and force up through the infinitesimal progression of powers coequal with the immensity of space itself, the illimitation of the existences it contains, the phenomena which ever succeed each other in its bosom, and the relations which all these bear each to each, each to some, and some to all. In one word, we have analysis and synthesis : i.e., the reduction of the whole of things to parts, with the judicious scrutiny and classification of the same ; and the assemblage of parts into a whole, with the accurate estimation and application of the truths which the two operations involve and generate. We have here again the two opposites in the operations of mind.

Third, in moral truth. We have for its basis the two great instincts common to all animality. The one prompting to the propagation, the conservation, and the enjoyment of the individual. The other to the conservation, care, and happiness of the species. Of these,

the one hath its source in the physical strength and strong physical passions of the male. The other in the maternal instinct and moral sympathies of the female.

Animated by the selfish impulse, the male, throughout all nature's tribes, stands fierce in his desires, and greedy to appropriate all that may slake his appetite, or pleasure his sense.

Animated by the generous impulse, the most timid female becomes courageous for her young, the most gentle dangerous, the savage terrible. The hunter fears more the lioness beside her cub, than the lion in his hunger. The female bear dies for her little one; covering its body with her own, and insensible to every agony save that of leaving it defenceless before the destroyer. The bird of the air, the monster of the deep, forget themselves to defend their helpless progeny. In human kind, the female instinct assumes a character commensurate with the wider range of the human faculties, and originates, sustains, and promotes the whole scheme of progressive civilization. Through and by woman alone, the male barbarian is tamed, and the fierce savage drawn to acknowledge sympathy with his fellow. But, moreover, through and by woman alone, is society at any time held together, or progress made towards the ultimate confraternity of the species. This may require elucidation in an age when scarcely any think deeply, and but a minority ever think at all.

Up to the time present, society—as ever submitted to male government under one or other of its forms, variously styled the patriarchal, monarchal, oligarchal, aristocratic, democratic, despotic-military, or—the last variety of which it is susceptible—the money jobbing, scheming, all intriguing, all defrauding, all confounding, the hired and hireling, bank-ruled and by corruption ruling, legislative—up to the time present, society submitted, under government, to the master-action of the selfish principle, stifles, tramples under foot, or even perverts the very nature of the generous. And this by for-

cibly circumscribing all the holy influences and lofty aspirations of woman within the narrowest precincts of the individual family circle. There indeed she reigns the providence and guardian angel of the beings dependent on her care. Yet sustains this character only by forcibly closing her eyes upon the claims of the great human family without that circle. By estranging her soul from the conception of all the glorious powers as yet dormant within her; of all the sublime duties which—as the collective mother of the collective species—she can alone fulfil, she can alone distinguish. Thus becoming—and this in her very efforts faithfully to discharge her existing functions—thus becoming the stringent conservative sustainer of the established order of society, whatever that may be. Yet mark! How narrowed soever the circle of her influences, sympathies, and affections, still not for self, but for others, her thought, her hopes, her ambitions, her prayers. For the objects of her love, she suffers, strives. For the dependents on her providence, she lives and dies. In a distracted world, the living expression of the religious principle. The holder of the bond of union, wherever placed—in the family, the tribe, the nation, or, as hereafter, in the righteously and universally associated species. Man, on the other hand, feels, calculates, aspires, dares, grasps, conquers, constructs, destroys, for self alone, and keeps all things in a state of standing warfare, litigation, and confusion. Here, for the two sexes, is the rule; departure from it, the rare exception.

Thus, then, we again distinguish what constitutes—when considered separately, and, as it were, in isolated action, the one from the other—two neutralizing opposites; the one stimulating to every effort for selfish advantage; the other stimulating to self-immolation for the good of others. Throughout all animality, the chosen seat of the selfish principle is in the male; that of the generous, in the female.

It might be curious here to observe—as indicative of the universal influence of the governing principle over the mind, as over the affairs, of men—how all our philosophic reasoners, touching the origin of human exertion, as of human excellence, have confined their regard either to the one or to the other of these two instincts; variously advancing that selfishness or benevolence is the parent of all good. The same one-sided view, however, is taken in all things. Collectively considered, the human mind is never inconsistent, but follows out one and the same theory, in metaphysics as in physics, and in politics as in ethics.

We have now analyzed the nature of the three elementary modes of truth. Let us pass to the compound.

In what we call the political, we find the two principles of order and liberty. The first inspires the whole of government; the second, the whole of human resistance to the same.

Again, in the political, we have the principles of union and independence; the one drawing and holding all things and beings together; the other tending to rend them asunder.

Finally, in the industrial. We have here individual exertion of body or mind, and capital; the one representing the services and claims of the unit; the other the wealth of the collective sum.

We detect, then, throughout the whole of things—in the operations of nature, of human society, and in those of our own internal percipient and sentient soul—two master energies. These—while preserving equal forces, and acting in conjunction—keep all existences in life, all bodies in place; impart and preserve to each and all their appropriate sphere of action or of movement; and tend, throughout the world of matter, as of mind—to order, harmony, and beauty. Acting in disjunction—i.e., singly, or in opposition—these two principles are transformed into agents of disorder and death; produc-

ing variously, violence, inertia, confusion, stagnation, convulsion, decomposition, dissolution.

To render this facile of apprehension by every ordinarily informed and reflecting understanding, let us, for a moment, conceive the material universe itself, in which we move, and feel, and think, and have our being, submitted to one only of those universal energies which—as considered in disjunction—we call attractive and repellant. Conceive the material universe, I say, submitted to one only of these. It matters not which; for, select either, the result must be the same—stagnation, darkness, immovability, universal death.

Take, as it were, the converse of the supposition. And picture, if we can, all that is, submitted, time about, first to one, and then to the other, of the two modes of the great biune principle. Lo! all proportion in nature's energies annihilated! That order, which is as the soul of the universe, and of which the just perception, and yet farther, the application by man, constitutes, for our globe and for our race, science and civilization. Lo! all this absent from existence! All elementary matter, with all bodies, thrown into active conflict. Nature in convulsions. Worlds dashed against worlds. The universe in throes of dissolution. Forms and beings, with all their harmony of movements, sights and sounds, wrecked, lost, dispersed, and void in everlasting chaos.

It is not happily within our power thus to work destruction in the universal womb of things. Still, within the sphere of human influence—which extends to the uttermost limit of our world's circumambient atmosphere—we can, and do, modify all nature's kingdom. Bending towards good or ill, health or disease, harmony or discord, each part, each unit of the universal plan.

Upon our just or erroneous comprehension, then, of the laws of nature, must depend our adaptation of art for the right improvement, or for the ignorant deterioration, of nature's works. And, moreover, upon our just

or erroneous interpretation of these, in the first division of truth—the physical—will depend our interpretation of them in the intellectual and in the moral. From all which it follows, that our system of human economy will present, even as it has ever presented, a practical exhibit of our conception of that of the universe.

There is more consistency in the human mind, as in the course of events, than is supposed. In both, the first link in the chain decides the last. Man hath ever made a cosmogony in keeping with his views in physics. A scheme of government in keeping with his cosmogony. A theory of ethics in keeping with his government, and a code of law and theology in keeping with his ethics. Every perception of the human mind modifies human practice. Science is but the theory of art. Each step in the one *forces* a corresponding step in the other. India and Egypt had all their science pictured out—for the learned—in their hieroglyphics, their temples, their secret rites, and in their whole scheme of organized civilization. For the ignorant, in their superstition. In the mythology of Greece, and, equally, in her religion of patriotism, were reflected her family of states, loosely confederated, always in rivalry, and often at war. Each, too, with its presiding deity, allegorizing its character, and celebrating, in its rites and festivals, the deeds of its heroes with the favourite art and leading passion of its people.

Before the universal dominion of imperial Rome, the classic mythology and religion gave place to a union in the godhead; and a doctrine suited to restrain, to soothe, and to hold together, a corrupt, suffering, discordant, and fallen people.

In modern Europe, our scheme of the rivalry of thrones, which rendered impossible the unity of catholic feudal civilization, was prepared and accompanied by the perception of the Copernican theory, with its rotatory and revolving worlds, acknowledging a centre removed from our earth. Thus palpably reducing all spiritual

schemes of special revelation to the absurd ; involving the Protestant heresies, and challenging the whole theory, religious and political, of the priest of Rome.

Again ; the English scheme of equipoise, by means of the rivalry of classes, found its counterpart in the supposed equipoise of our planetary system, by means of a rivalry of forces among its component members. And as an error once incorporated into a successful scheme of government is usually pushed to that *ne plus ultra* presenting the impossible or the absurd, so find we the American scheme of equipoise proposing, for its agent, the conflicting rivalry of all the adult white male members of society.

We may here observe, as in parenthesis, that—some-what considerably for the women of all colours—red and black males are omitted in the American governmental programme. And that, with yet better consideration for the ultimate salvation of society, woman is set apart altogether from the whole scheme of strife and contamination ; albeit, at the temporary sacrifice of all her interests, her liberties, and her independence.

Such as I have here pourtrayed, is the American scheme of rivalry in the letter. It needs not to explain that, if exhibited in accordance, instead of being, as it is, counteracted by similar subterfuges of organized party and political trickery with those which neutralize the English scheme—it would speedily, at this hour, throw the American body politic, and American civilization itself, into the throes of death.

Let the altered position of that republic be duly apprehended—with its struggle for independence, political and financial, effectually accomplished, and the altering character of its population ever more and more charged with foreign elements—and we shall concede that the practical exhibition of the American governmental programme, could only find a corresponding theory for the universe in such a conflict of all nature's elements and

all nature's energies, as—with a view to the elucidation of our subject—I have ventured to suppose.

I could wish the student to observe, that I advert here to America's *governmental* programme, and not to that *institutional* programme, or declaration of the two great vivifying political principles, liberty and independence, which her scheme of government was organized to assert and to sustain; in counterpoise with, and in counteraction of, the two conservative political principles, union and order, as threatening, under the standard of England, to weigh down the globe. Vivifying principles which—let the world be witness!—the American scheme of government did assert and sustain, sagaciously in council, victoriously on the ocean and in the field, against the strongest government and the strongest empire upon earth. This work accomplished, its virtue is gone, and its vice becomes apparent. Its critics may now hold it as cheap as they please; and they will scarcely hold it cheaper than I do. Every scheme of government—considered in itself, and apart from the circumstances in which it originates, and which form its apology—is an engine of Juggernaut. Contrived, not to frighten the wicked, but to run down the helpless. To feed the knave. To gull the simple. To rob industry. To crush, or to delude and to demoralize, the masses. To cheat all honest men—I check myself. Since—under the action of those, now finally, universal male occupations of trade, scheming, stock-jobbing, law, politics, government, and what is sold from pulpits under the name of religion—it may be permitted to doubt if there be any honesty left on the face of the earth.

But to resume, and to apologize for our long digression.

We said that the eye of science had distinguished, throughout the universe, two master principles. Ay! but what it hath not distinguished is, that these two constitute a duality. That—in their action, and in the

phenomena they generate—they are *biune* ; that is, two in one.

We have rested all our science in physics upon two laws, considered in disjunction ; and we call these attraction and repulsion. The error is fundamental, and fraught with all the violence and discord which man—thus half-seeing, and therefore ill-comprehending—conceives of as universally existent, and which he has made to exist in what he blasphemously calls civilized society.

Attraction and repulsion—in the words and in the ideas attached to them—present us with two principles in conflict. Two opposites contending for mastery. There is no such strife in nature ; and the very principles we designate are non-existent, considered in isolation the one from the other. Attraction and repulsion, like the two poles of the magnet, or the positive and the negative of electricity, are but the two phases of one universal phenomenon—*polarity*. And now what is polarity ? The twofold energy exerted by all brute bodies—from the microscopic atom to our globe itself—to hold its own, absolutely in place, and relatively in the sum of things. To preserve intact its own independent existence, and, simultaneously, to play its part in the great theatre of universal life.

Look round through nature ! Apply to vision, microscope, and telescope. See ! in the concrete strata of our solid earth each granulated particle resisting incorporation with its fellow ; yet clinging to, and making part with and of, its own appropriate element ! Thus in the infinitely little.

And in the infinitely great. Mark where the starry atoms gem the vast depths of space ! Not motionless, nor yet at random thrown. Each knows and holds its path, in time, in space, in orbit, and in system, and farther yet, in the great whole of systems.

No strife is here. No rivalry of forces. No war of principles, nor things. Lesser and greater, one and all, exert their independent, yet according, because propor-

tioned, energies. Avoiding interference, repelling contact or undue approach ; yet still obedient to one common law as emanating from, and constituting in itself, the harmony of things.

But we observed that our defective interpretation, as given to the laws of the physical world, had been followed by us in the intellectual and the moral. With this difference, that while in the world of matter, our theory throws the two master principles into conflict, in the world of souls, our practice throws them into isolation the one from the other, if it does not rather lean upon one singly, and blot the other from existence.

In the intellectual, we distinguish analysis and synthesis. Of these, we employ only analysis. With regard to its adjunct, we have the name indeed, but without the most faint conception of the thing.

I mean not that in the silent study, by the midnight lamp, or better in the fields of nature, or better still before the stirring works of human genius, industry, and skill, no gifted minds conceive of that compendium of universal truth, presenting the fair tree of knowledge from its roots through all its branches, which, when familiar to the mass of men, the human race shall be as gods, and earth a paradise.

Such may there be and are. But such as yet have laboured against time and circumstance. Man hath not asked for truth, but only gold ; and they who should have brought truth to market would have found no buyers. Truth then hath been left, as and where the old fable placed her—cold, naked, starving, at bottom of a well.

I said we had analysis. I said too much. The two handmaids of science ever dwell in company. Without analysis, no synthesis ; and without synthesis, analysis is void. Like children, we tear things to pieces, and when so torn, great indeed would be the conjurer who should distinguish their relations.

Ay ! idly indeed we toil when we thus divorce the one

from the other, the two great operations of mind. When we do so, instead of truth, we find error; and, instead of order, we create confusion. When correctly followed, they constitute but one process and co-operate to one result: *The absolute in truth.*

And how is it in the moral division of the world of soul?

We have traced here all motive energies to the two instincts common, in varying degree, to all animality: Love of self and love of the species. The one hath its chosen seat in the male; the other in the female. Both, in united action, are indispensable to collective existence. In isolated action, destructive. Without love of self, the species perishes in the individual. Without love of the species, the species perishes—if I may so express it—by the individual.

And now, how stands society? As things usually do which stand upon one foot when nature has furnished them with two. Man rides and rules the world. Hath made it what it is, and keeps it so. Let him have all the honour!

And now, how is it in that compound world of human creation, in which civilization finds shelter and executes all her works? How is it in the political and the industrial?

In each of these we distinguished, as usual, opposing elements. In the political: On the one part, order and union: On the other, independence and liberty. In the industrial; On the one part, the created and ever creating sum of collective wealth: On the other the individual human units serving as multipliers of the sum. Yet—as possessing no right comprehension of its use, and, for the most part, oppressed rather than aided by its power—striving ever at its destruction, its waste, or its powerless repartition among individual monopolists.

See, then! If, in the modes of elementary truth, our theories or our practice throw the creating elements and vital energies into neutralizing opposition, or into de-

structive isolation; in the compound, our theory and our practice, combine in horrid union, to stimulate them to open, convulsive, and universal war.

But now the master error in the whole male conception of things is readily distinguished. It sees no motive power but brute force direct; force indirect, which is corruption or fraud; or a rivalry of forces, of corruptions, or of frauds. It sets nations and society by the ears, and—in its theory at least—all nature too.

We have seen that the motive principle in the physical world is the result of two forces acting not in contention, nor in neutralization, but in harmony. We call it POLARITY.

The effective power in the intellectual world is the result of two operations, of which one is the converse of the other. We call the result SCIENCE, OR TRUTH ABSOLUTE IN ALL THINGS.

In like manner: the effective power in the moral world must be the result of the two human instincts acting conjointly and in unison. This can only be when the two persons in human kind—man and woman—shall exert equal influences in a state of equal independence. The result of this will be justice. I touch but lightly on this point. To treat it in any detail would be premature. Before we may harmonize society, we must rectify the motive principle in the great bodies which contain it. While empires clash, and nations move awry, madness alone would seek to influence the relative position of their component elements. Whirled in one common vortex, all are forced onwards by the master energy; and the poor atoms who would resist it, strive with the impossible, and are lost or crushed.

Doubtless it will now be asked if there be no results distinguishable as proper to the true principles of human economy—that is to political and industrial truth—analogous to what is exhibited in the universe? There are; and we shall invoke them before we close the course of investigation embraced in the present treatise.

My observations in this prefatory chapter, have held mainly in view the rendering apparent that master error of the human mind, with which in all things, at the present, human theory and human practice move in accordance. We may now, I think, see into the nature, and conceive the purpose of every scheme of government. Each successive scheme which has racked our world, during its painful apprenticeship in civilization, has constituted a declaration of war against that which preceded it. Ever arborating some new principle wherewith to counteract the over strengthening preponderance of the old. As a consequence, the universal programme of nations has become ever more and more complicated, by means of all the programmes which have successively challenged each other, adding always some new article as a corrective, or enlargement of the preceding. Until now, finally, we have run the gauntlet round the globe, and disputed at the cannon's mouth over every inch of ground, and every conceivable proposition. It is in this way—step by step, and by hard experience—that we have been attaining a comprehension of all that human polity has to guard against, and human economy to provide for. And it is thus—we may confidently hope—that all the errors, ay! and all the horrors, of the past, may be turned to account for the good of our race in the future.

We have now traced in rapid outline the policy of nations with their schemes of rivalry and their corresponding interpretations of the laws of the universe. During the course of this digest of the great subject before us, we have also elucidated principles to which we shall have perpetual occasion to refer. In the but too general absence of the first rudiments of science—really meriting the name—many, it is feared, may feel discouraged by these opening pages. Such are earnestly requested to subdue the feeling; and, after their perusal, to prosecute the work attentively to its close. But never failing, while doing so, to make the references, that will be found scat-

tered through it, to the contents of this really introductory chapter. During the whole of the work such frequent appeals will be made to these all regulating principles, that, as the student proceeds, he will gradually distinguish their import. After this, he will be surprised at the flood of light they will throw over the whole page of history, no less than over the whole field of outstanding society. Things the most confused will become clear to his perception; and he will find himself in train for studying with facility and profit any subject to which he may desire more especially to direct his attention.

We shall now enter on some prefatory historical developments. First, with reference to the peculiarity of England's populational origin. A circumstance equally influential in forming her character, and deciding her destinies, as that of her geographical position. This will supply the subject of our next chapter. In the third, we shall more especially elucidate the character and purposes of the feudal system, and in the fourth, the position of things on the European continent, at and after the first mounting of the same in the western empire of Charlemagne. This done, we shall be prepared for comprehending the course followed by England. The services she may have rendered to the cause of human progress. Her sins of omission as of commission. The position of things; and her position with respect to the world at large, at this hour. The responsibilities which rest on her; and the line of duty she is pledged, in all her antecedents, to follow in the future.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL HEAD.

ENGLAND CONSIDERED IN HER POPULATIONAL ORIGIN, FROM HER CONQUEST BY ROME TO HER CONQUEST BY THE NORMANS ; WITH ELUCIDATIONS TOUCHING THE SOURCES FROM WHICH HAVE BEEN DERIVED THE ENGLISH FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

CONTENTS.

Each earlier step in civilization marked by the absolute conquest of one race of men by another race of men.—No thing, and no being, can alter itself.—Progressive modes by which change is effected.—Civilization of Britain opened by all-conquering Rome.—Thrown back into barbarism by the Saxon.—How slowly revived, and by what process.—Inroads of the Danes, with subjection of the country.—Followed by conquest of the Normans.—Elucidations touching the taming of population, by its submission to government.—Alfred.—His efforts to create a nation.—Counteracting influences of the monks, and debilitating effects of their community system.—Importance of the catholic bond, as supplied by Rome.—Its absence from Saxon England.—Three fountain springs of the singular medley called the English constitution.—Real excellence which it contains, and where that lies.—How all reformers (so called) have been blind to this, combating as evil what constitutes its only good, and proposing as a good what would be the worst evil.—Two great roots of the English nation and the English language.—What flows from, and is to be the result of, this twofold origin.—The two nations, rivals through all the past, sisters through all the future, who are sponsors for the emancipation of Europe.

VIEWED as a civilizer, the history of England opens with the Conquest. Before engaging in its develop-

ment, however, I conceive it may be useful to embrace a general view of the populational origin of the English nation. This subject will occupy the present chapter.

The traditions and records of humanity uniformly attest, that each one of the earlier steps made by her in civilization, hath been marked by the entire destruction, or the complete subjugation, of one race of men by another race of men.

Until mind rule the world, the laws of matter decide its destinies. And it is a law of matter, that no existence—natural or artificial, individual or collective—can alter the mode of its own being. For this, force or influence must assail it from without. While man is yet savage, force—in his case, as in all others—does the whole. As he advances—by the process of war, and conquest, or subjugation—through the various stages of ignorant barbarism and fraudulent error, towards the precincts of enlightened practice, he employs less and less of force, and more of influence, until, finally, he is to make appeal to the invincible powers of truth and justice, when he will be lord of himself and of the globe.

We date the first dawn of British civilization to all-conquering Rome. That empire of iron strength and iron will; whose mission it was to break up barbarian Europe's soil, and to throw broadcast over its bosom the first seeds of civil polity and human fraternization.

Next, the Saxon barbarian came to visit with indiscriminate slaughter the Briton, abandoned by his protector, and enervated by a civilization grafted on him, and not bred in him.

In the days of Agricola, the fast gathering corruption and degeneracy of Rome threw into favourable contrast the wild freedom of the barbarian. And in disgust with civilization in decay, the patriot historian Tacitus, like his illustrious military friend—saw, as through a Claude Lorraine glass, the life and habits of the German tribes. So, in modern days, have we enthusiasts enamoured of the wandering Bedouin. Not to speak of the ro-

mancers who, dreaming in their arm chair, present us the North American savage, adorned with all the platonic, not less than the stoic, virtue of philosophy. Virtue there is in the wild hunter, but such unhappily as soon disappears, to make room for vice, when thrown in contact with defective civilization, of which it is easier to imitate the evil than the good.

But there is another observation self evidently deducible from history. It is this. That the tribes of Germany, as of Gaul, known to Cæsar and Agricola, were borne down and swept away by the continuous torrent, or ever renewing floods, of more savage races which poured in from northern Europe and Asia. And this until it was finally arrested by Clovis and his Franks, and then subdued by Charlemagne and the Roman priesthood.

Not, then, from any tribes known to Agricola, but from others far more barbarous who superseded them, were formed the nations of modern Europe. And again; from the more ferocious of these, were the hordes of Anglo Saxons who poured into Britain.

Like the rudest of the North American aborigines when first known to the European, the Saxon, when first allured to Britain, was a fierce and fighting savage, who found his main subsistence by plunder and hunting.

In extirpating the British race, this rude invader would also have extirpated the last vestige of Roman civilization. But despair bringing to the aborigines returning vigour, he waged a desperate though unequal contest with his invader, who ever recruited his strength from the savage hordes of central and northern Europe.

During the century embraced by this desperate struggle, various transactions between the two races must have had place. It is evident that the intruder, who arrived in the form of a fighting, wandering hunter, and with whom the culture of the soil was a secondary object, and, consequently, of the rudest kind, caught from the native Briton—as formed by, and crossed with, the

Roman—the settled habits of agriculture. From him, also, he would learn the employment of slave labour, as a matter of course previously established in the island by the usages of Rome. He is said, indeed, to have brought with him slaves from the mainland. But, from the Briton, he would necessarily learn the more extensive application and better direction of their labour. And, no sooner fixed in the island, than he would improve it, by the appropriation of captured Briton slaves, and probably even by laying the yoke upon their captured masters. Subsequently, and to far greater extent he must have done the same by his own race, during the two centuries of barbarous strife which intervened between the subjugation or expulsion of the native race, and the union of the seven petty Saxon kingdoms under Egbert.

Thus alone may we see to explain, not only how slavery was found so firmly and universally rooted in the soil at the epoch of the Conquest, but also how it wore so uniformly a Saxon appearance. In central England, indeed, the Celtic race is supposed to have been entirely destroyed by the Saxon. In Cornwall and Devon, it is admitted to have retained a footing; and, not a century since, the aboriginal tongue was still spoken by some aged inhabitants of those counties. There was the seat of the chivalrous resistance of Prince Arthur; though not of the knights of the round table. A tale that presents an anachronism of some centuries. Since knighthood, and chivalry proper, were certainly subsequent, on the continent, to the time of Charlemagne, and entered England with the Normans. The residue of the old Celtic race are thought to have found refuge in Brittany, with which country it seems probable that Roman Britain had prosecuted active trading relations. Throughout central and south-eastern England, the civilized race are deemed to have been utterly extirpated, by successive hordes of

the ferocious invader. Those counties constituted the strength of the Saxon heptarchy under Egbert.

The habit of labour once introduced, in the only form it has ever been known to take among savage tribes, monastic missionaries from the continent found the introduction of Christianity easy. It supplied a first religious bond between the master and the slave. Disposed the one to submission, and the other to some kindly forbearance and sympathy.

But, thus tamed, and partially civilized, the Saxon was destined to degenerate in body, like the Briton before him, after the rivalities of the heptarchal kingdoms had subsided under the union; and yet farther in soul, when the slothful dominion and besotted superstition of monks, had fixed their canker on the country. The wise, energetic, and gifted Alfred—formed by study, early continental travel, and residence in Italy—had conceptions far beyond his nation and even his age. Thus, he could rouse for a time a gross feeding, indolent, half enslaved, and half barbarous population, to resist the exactions and repair the ravages of invading freebooters and sea robbers, and to present organized resistance to the hardy Dane.

But the Danes, successful intruders in their turn, ruled for a period Saxon England, and established themselves fixedly in Northumberland, where they gave fiercer resistance to the Norman, than Saxon England had the force to present.

A merciless invader, like those who had preceded him, but with projects of empire and civilization in his violence, the Norman conqueror came to take possession of the country, to command its labour and to develop its energies.

All who resisted, he destroyed. Killed, or ejected, with or without pretext, the greater landholders, and put his own captains in their place. Seduced the affections, or commanded the submission, of Saxon women. Courted, or enforced, the choice of Saxon heiresses.

Encouraged continental traders and craftsmen to establish themselves in London and other towns and seaports. Vexed the Saxon clergy. Replaced it extensively with his own race. Curbed the monks, by submitting them to feudal organization. And finally, mounted both the spiritual and temporal hierarchies of his political system with Normans. The cruelty, the rapine, and the destruction, were little less than in the days of Hengist and Horsa. Out of all the crime and carnage, arose, this time, however, an efficient framework of organized civilization, with conceptions of civil liberty and political science far beyond all that had previously existed in the country.

And now we see distinctly—by the experience of our own island—to establish the position with which we started. That, civilization is a conquest. In the outset, a conquest over savage nature and savage man. Next, over the commingled sloth and passion of the barbarian. Then, over the error, vice, presumption, and rapacity of man, half civilized. Lastly, that final and glorious conquest, yet to be achieved, of mind definitively over matter; and truth and justice over deception, violence, and wrong.

And now, I feel disposed to add yet a few words, in answer to the many tomes and eloquent harangues of party writers and ingenious politicians, who have been wont to expatiate so largely touching Saxon liberty, no less than to attribute to the usages of that race the germ of the English constitution. Very little research, with any habit of reflection, will give us the truth on both of these points.

The instinct of liberty is common to all animality, and strong in the human savage. Again, man, under similar circumstances, is the same all over the world.

The liberty of the German race, when first known to Julius Cæsar, varied in little from that of the North American aborigines when first known to the European. And so, also, the wittenagemot of the Anglo-Saxon—

who had nothing in common with the aboriginal German race known to Cæsar and Agricola—corresponded in the outset, to the great council of the Indian tribes. Like the American aborigines, the Saxon, when first allured to Britain, was a fierce and fighting savage, who found his main subsistence by plunder and hunting. His after incipient civilization was the work of French Catholic missionaries, and of pontifical Rome, acting in conjunction with some of his own kings. With the gradual developement of agriculture and the ruder arts, together with the salutary power of several energetic monarchs, and, chiefly, of the distinguished Alfred, the barbarian customs of population assumed the form of law, and its wild volitions yielded to government.

Law and government! We have here the expression of order as opposed to liberty. And, we may add, of union as opposed to independence. Under Egbert, seven independent territories and tribes of population lost their individuality. This was progress in civilization made at expense of all barbarian freedom.

Under Egbert—contemporary of the great Charlemagne—the political mind of Saxon England, as led for a time by the spiritual mind of Rome, sought to advance things towards the same form they had assumed in the great continental western empire. The sagacious Alfred, who wished the Saxon people to be free as their own thoughts, organized, while saying this, the strongest government, and established the greatest severity of law and vigilance of police. As a universal rule—well to keep in mind—no government ever talks of liberty, but when it has in view the more especial object of taking it away. Let us further observe, in parenthesis, that if every people understood this, they would not be so easily duped by demagogues!

The system of mutual espionage mounted by Alfred, has probably been without a parallel unless in Japan. The horrible demoralization and lawless violence he found in the country, and, by these means, subdued,

supplies its apology. While, simultaneously, he exerted all the energies of genius to prepare the advent of popular intelligence ; that necessary precursor of civil—which is to say *civilised*—freedom. Founding instructional institutions, opening his ports to trade, and attracting, from France and Italy, men of learning and those conversant with the mechanic arts. But though a great man may do great things, he cannot work miracles. While the tools he had to work with, if suitable for a time, were certain soon to prove the contrary. We have observed the first civilizers of Saxon England to have been continental monks. These rapidly recruited their ranks with more ignorant native ones, who, sinking the country in sloth and superstition, facilitated the incursions of the Danes. The Danes again, ravaged, and in a measure destroyed, the monasteries. Alfred, like Egbert before him, found, and could find, no better means for taming and instructing population, than the importing a new supply of monastic teachers from the continent. The results, good for a time, were soon again what they had been before. Alfred dead, their influences took possession of the field. Like our modern missionaries, in the South Sea islands and elsewhere, they soon had only in view their own power and ease. And having once secured possession of land and labour, had for their sole occupation the keeping hold of both, by undermining every power and influence excepting their own. Thus effectually stifling—by the single growth of superstition in the breast of population—all sentiment of nationality. That sentiment first creative of the great existence called a people.

It should be here observed that the missionaries who had first laboured in the island were unconnected with Rome ; unembued therefore with learning, then all but confined to Italy ; and promulgators of little else than faith in their own gross juggleries, and in the sacredness of their own authority. Such apostles—however, in the outset, efficient for the first taming of a wild

race—could evidently do nothing for its after improvement. If it be a self-evident proposition that *nothing can come of nothing*, it is about as evident that very little can come of the two elements of barbarism and superstition, when left to neutralize each other. The effort of Alfred was doubtless to place the church of his kingdom in the lead-rein of Rome. The ecclesiastics he allured to his country were among the most distinguished of the age. But there was in the first rude civilization of Saxon England, the vice inherent in the narrow conceptions of a people confined within a narrow territory, and whose foreign relations were as yet entirely undeveloped. As before, the small supply of more liberal elements were speedily neutralized in the monasteries by the influx of ignorant and lazy inmates, and the natural tendencies of all ecclesiastical influences. Vain the efforts of an Alfred, when civilization is bequeathed to the guardianship of monks, and the soul of population to that of an ignorant priesthood.

The state of things, however, here elucidated, was not altogether peculiar to Saxon England. Something approaching to it existed on the continent. There also the first taming of the savage elements by Christian missionaries had been effected, mainly by individual effort. Encouraged indeed, but by no means controlled, by Rome.

The first sustained and systematic influence of the Catholic church, seems to have been brought to bear upon the mind, and with the aid of Clovis. Undoubtedly, the rampart of which the line was drawn by his sword, and the bulwarks raised by his valour, against the barbarian torrent, was suggested to his fierce intelligence by the political wisdom of the pontificate, aspiring to protect and co-ordinate the incongruous elements of nascent civilization. But the first distinct understanding between the spiritual and temporal power of the continent, took place under Charlemagne. The mission of that temporal founder of feudal Catholic

civilization was two-fold. To subdue the yet untamed populational elements, as imperfectly brought to order by Clovis; and to aid the Roman clergy in coercing the monks, and other lazy and ignorant exploiters of population, in those nests of sloth and stupidity variously styled monasteries or communities, and which were fast covering Germany and France in the manner of Saxon England. The powerful organization of the feudal system, together with the celibacy of the clergy—one of the most difficult, no less than important, regulations brought to bear by the hierarchal sacerdotal authority of that system—These two measures, acting in conjunction, came savingly both to invigorate and to regulate population, and to supply what—for a season—constituted a suitable training for its body and its mind. Let us mark these words, *for a season*. No governmental contrivances—laws, regulations, or measures—are good for anything beyond the duration of the circumstances which supply their motive and apology. While savage ignorance had to be subdued to veneration, and while humanity—bruised by conquest and lacerated by war—had to be soothed and comforted, a body of men set apart from ordinary domestic duties might alone be expected to fulfil those more general social and civilizational obligations, laid upon, and, in the outset, very generally and ably fulfilled by, the Catholic clergy.

As a rule, everything that has been *generally and successfully* established, had its uses in time. But equally, everything so established has been sustained in time beyond its utility. Ending by being fully as injurious as it ever was beneficial. This is an inconvenience inseparable from the governing principle, and which must keep the world in confusion until government shall find a substitute.

The existence of England as an independent nation, and as a power in the European system, dates distinctly from the Conquest. But let us, moreover, broadly assert; that Anglo-Saxon popular liberty is a romance,

originating in our modern party politics. This is evident from the fact: that the Conquest found the great mass of population in agricultural slavery or serfage; the land in possession either of the greater or lesser thanes; and then managed by lessees as exploiters of the soil and overseers of the slaves, or in the hands of monks who held the population, in the domains they occupied, entirely subservient in mind and body to their will. These facts are more to the purpose than whole tomes of dissertation.

No greater error than to imagine that slavery was introduced with the feudal system; either in England or on the continent. Slavery arose out of the desolating wars, confusion, rapine and ravage, which marked the destruction of the Roman empire. Or, indeed, it may be said to have constituted the only feature of latin government immediately copied, however rudely, by the barbarian destroyer. The after building up of the feudal system was the organization and alleviation of the servitude universally established. It marked a great epoch of progress. The first reappearance of religion—by which I mean human and political association—and of law, order, and humanity, after the most terrific civilizational cataclism which ever shook our globe.

Two things marked the introduction of the feudal system on the continent. The rise of the power of the pope, and the rise of chivalry. Neither of these took in Saxon England. The island removed physically, was also removed intellectually, from the great civilizational system; and having been advanced to a certain point of progress, by early continental missionaries, and some of its own monarchs, the mind of the country stopped, or—more correctly—retrograded.

During the reign of the Saxon kings, there were two voices, and, more or less, two powers, in the government. That of the king and that of the aristocracy, or great landholders, and serf holders. Under the necessities of war—as is ever the case without great political

experience on the part of population—the crown steadily acquired strength; while the influence of an ignorant native clergy, and dominion of monks, rapidly overruled both, and sapped the energies of the country. Thus were prepared the successful inroads of the Danes, ending in their victorious invasion. Under the vigorous rule of the Danish monarchs, the voice of the nobility resided rather in some one of its leading members—such as Earl Godwin—than in any regular council of the aristocratic body. The sovereign had become all in all, and the wittenagemot a cypher. Thus it was that, on descent of the Normans, one battle decided the fate of Saxon England. Harold defeated and slain, there was no power of command anywhere; and nothing left but the miserable influence of monks and priests, buried in sloth and stupified with ease and fat living; whose god was their belly, and whose country was their communities. It is evident that, in such a position, the Normans, once masters of the field of Hastings, were masters of England. Having the after game in their hands as entirely as had the Tartars, who, when they had defeated the Chinese Emperor, were in possession of China.

But, touching these monks and priests—who figured as largely in the history of Saxon England, as did the eunuchs in that of the lower empire, touching these, something more remains to be said.

Although, in the outset, the first teachers of Christianity and founders of civilization in the name of Rome, they were anything but *catholic* in the true sense of the word, since they were not even representative of the religious bond of *national*, much less of *universal* union. They understood nothing of that sentiment of elevated patriotism which, in the hour of need, places the collective interest before that of self; and makes the honour of country that of each of its citizens. Much less might they conceive the uses, in a rude age, of the high political function filled by the sovereign pontiff of all Chris-

tendom. He, who then appeared on the horizon, like to the parhelion of the coming sun of resuscitating civilization. That sun which had set in whirlwind and in earthquake, but which, now returning, threw forward a first radiance over Europe's benighted sky. Impressing on each young tribe, and nation, and incipient empire, the instinctive sentiment of its proper orbit in one common system. Infusing into all, that counteracting centripetal power by which they were held from flying off under the centrifugal forces of their own barbarism, and collapsing or dispersing, as in the night and void of chaos.

Of course, the Saxon clergy, as distinctly holding to no great central head, either at home or abroad, was representative of nothing save itself. The monks, more especially, swayed the popular ignorance, and gross popular superstition, singly for their own purposes, those of their families, (they were not sworn to celibacy,) and those of the managing heads of their *communities*. Such being the character, no less than the name, worn by their monasteries, which all but covered, and all but governed, Saxon England.

This simple expose may serve to show how little of any thing deserving the name of civil liberty, the Norman found to subdue. A circumstance explanatory of his speedy conquest of independence. Since, at all times, the struggle for national existence is in equal ratio with the value of popular freedom.

But if the Norman found little or no popular liberty, and, consequently little or no national strength, he did find *the germ* of every liberty; since he found the germ of the English—I cannot say constitution; since, properly speaking, England has none. But of the *English form of government, or constituted order of things*. The germ of this the Norman did find in Saxon England, and he had the sagacity to preserve, and to turn it to account.

Take it all in all, the bundle of usages then found and preserved; and, subsequently, enhanced by charters, and modified by legislation and judicial decisions—according to circumstances and the progress of the popular mind—may have supplied a form of government as good, and certainly more convenient, than any more regularly formulated constitution. Some elucidations may here be requisite.

A *governmental* constitution—and we have never as yet known any other—a governmental constitution means—when it means anything; or anything more than such tubs to the whale as modern kings, in the profundity of their benevolence, and respect for human reason, have thrown to their subjects,—a governmental constitution means *a written code of political law regulative of the movements of the political system; or—if we please—restrictive of the volitions of the engineers appointed to preside over the political machinery.*

Now, it is evident, that the virtue of such an instrument must depend upon three things. First; its fitness—with a view to the immediate objects in hand. Second; the intelligence and the honesty of its interpreters. Third; the knowledge resident in the mass of population.

But, considering that the thing called government, is but a succession of miserable shifts and expedients to meet the exigencies of troubled times; or to cover the ignorance of population; it follows that the chief desideratum in any governmental constitution is, that it should present *peaceful and facile means for its own alteration.* There is one constitutional code in existence which does this; the American. And, at this hour, the clause comprising that provision perhaps *is*—apart always the important principles shadowed out in the whole American constitutional framework; and, apart also, those positively arborated in the whole American institutional programme. Apart these, the clause in ques-

tion perhaps is the only essentially good thing the code contains.

If, then, we admit—as I think we must—that the feature of *mobility, or the susceptibility of being readily fashioned so as to meet the ever varying and ever progressive demands of society, and the ever fluctuating exigencies arising out of national and political conflicts*, be the first desideratum in any governing scheme,—if we admit this, we shall readily distinguish the advantages inherent in the English scheme, and the good derived from all the old Saxon usages.

Among these old Saxon usages, besides the wittenagemot—out of which grew, in course of ages, the omnipotent British parliament, with a whole scheme of transitory civilization—we have to note; the common law and the trial by jury. By aid of these three old barbarian heirlooms, has ultimately been attained that power of modifying things so abhorrent to the old Christian catholic system, as mounted on the Asiatic model by the priest of Rome; and which it has been—as we shall distinguish in our future researches—the especial mission of England to undermine and upturn.

Of these three institutions, the first—the parliament—presents us with our statute law; undoing to-day, perhaps, what was done yesterday. The second—our common law—with the opinions of judges; astute to find what is convenient in those of their predecessors. And the third—our trial by jury—with the impressions of ordinary men. Who, if sometimes poor in sense and honesty, are likely to have more of the one than the hired servants of authority; and, at least, as much of the other as the more learned in law.

And now here, in passing, it may be curious to note the fundamental error inherent for the most part, in the efforts of modern reformers. Ever seeking to replace the inform crudities of England's outstanding order of things, with elaborate judicial codes, governmental constitutions, new contrivances for fixing society in an old

house, rotten in all its foundations. Not seeing, that it is principles and not measures, science and not government, which are to save the world; and that until we see to establish truth in the form of principles, the more shapeless and shifty the texts, and the laws which rule us, the safer and the better. Oh, may we never see aught fixed on earth, till justice mount her throne. And, even then, it is truth in its principles, and not in its modes, that we must formulate. There is, there must be, no fixed point for man. No lasting shackle on his liberty, no limit to his progress. The law of his being, throughout all his generations, is—*ever onward, ever upward, excelsior! excelsior!*

But to return from this digression to the usages of England's barbarian ancestors. We ought not perhaps to see any thing very peculiar in these. The real peculiarity lying doubtless in their being preserved. Consistently with the famed answer of the barons: *We will not change the laws of England.* Meaning: *We will not change those ancient forms and usages which give to our political system its feature of mobility, and leave in our hands the guardianship of its independence.* Every incipient nation has its usages. And which, as being the natural growth of circumstances and dictates of human instincts, are often less removed from truth than the elaborate contrivances of the learned error of subsequent defective civilization.

On the continent, the pressing necessity of unity in the political system—for the conquest of barbarism on the one hand, and resistance of the hopeless oriental despotism of Mohammedanism on the other—favoured the early ascendancy of the power and influences of Rome. Thus tending to make a clean table of all the most valuable peculiarities of Europe's varied localities and populations.

Happily, however, there was every where, more or less, successful resistance to this overwhelming Catholic ascendancy. To which resistance, Germany owes that

incipient federation that is ultimately to gift her both with liberty and nationality. To which Spain owes those never obliterated provincial feelings, which are yet to effect her salvation and that of her sister kingdom. From which Italy has inherited those rivalities of states and cities, presenting ever the living germ of liberty; and wanting only the federal bond to give her independence. From which France held the wise and ancient usage of her provincial parliaments. A usage that, when renovated by political liberty, enlarged and rectified by political science, will, at one and the same time, break her oppressive administrative centralization, and harmonize all the conflicting sentiments and diverse interests of her people. To which Poland owes her soul of fire; her resistance in the very grave; her faith in country even while its quartered limbs are the prey of ferocious beasts and carrion vultures. To which Switzerland and Scandinavia owe their forms and their liberties; their ancient valour and their modern industry. To which Holland—ah, Holland! in her history, great among the greatest, wise among the wisest! But enough. We have other ground to traverse. Back to our subject!

While, from the epoch of Charlemagne to that called of the reformation, the continent was ever forced more or less into catholic unity, England's insular position allowed of more latitude. And her political mind happily distinguished, both at and after the conquest, how to throw and how to keep the country within the general European system; and yet to preserve its individuality and independence of volition.

I have thought it necessary to say thus much respecting the populational and civilizational origin of the English nation, not only with a view to the satisfactory elucidation of the great subject before us, but also to meet those idle rivalities of race and origin, which—if they have served some purpose in time past—are utterly unworthy of the new age now dawning upon England, Eu-

rope, and the world. A few observations yet seem called for with a view to this latter object.

It has been common—in the absence, as one might think, of all consciousness of personal and cotemporaneous merit—for men, and whole races of men, to seek their own importance in that of their ancestry. And in England—as if to carry political rivalry to its utmost possibility—it has been, and yet is, the fashion for historians, politicians, idlers, romancers, distinguished or inconspicuous individuals, to pin their personal and national importance to some imagined purity of descent, either from subjugated Saxon barbarians, or from tyrannical Norman robbers.

Were we disposed to pleasantry, we might recal that, as the learned ingenuity, no less than the blessed uncertainty of the law, draw the lines of descent, with the claims to name and worldly inheritance, along the doubtful side of the house, the supposed virtue of antique hereditary blood borders on the romantic. And, really, if we look to all the accidents of early invasion—uncounted inroads of all races; Phœnician perhaps, Celtic, Gallic, Latin, German, Danish, and so largely of Norman French, with the subsequent recruits from all tribes and nations, Welsh, Irish, Scotch; not to speak of the Spanish Moor, and the universal Jew, and the Hollander, and the Huguenot, and the many exiles from every land whom trade and larger liberty have enticed to these island shores—if we look to all this, it would be hard to distinguish the peculiar appropriateness of the term *Anglo-Saxon* race, as applied to the English people. *Anglo-Norman* race might indeed be appropriate, as denoting the two races, of which the blending has undoubtedly supplied the leading national characteristics, together with that national tongue now spread by commerce and colonization throughout the world.

And here we may remark that the language proclaims distinctly the share that each of these leading races has

had in forming the country. The body of the language—if I may so express it—is Saxon, its mind is French.

While all words expressive of natural objects, or the first parent idea, are from the former, all those which denote the arts of civilization, and in general the finer shades and distinctions of thought and sentiment are from the latter. Thus shewing how the Saxon supplied the rude block, and how the Norman hewed it into shape.

And now, may we not find, in this early association and intermixture of the Saxon and the Norman on the soil of England, an augury of that solidarity of feeling and interest which—after ages of national and political rivalry—are, at this hour, drawing together the French and the English people. And surely the political experience and sagacity of the one, the more profound science and learning of the other, fit them to take their place conjointly at the head of the European family; and to achieve, throughout the whole civilizational system—and this in despite of any counter alliance of imperial barbarians and regal despots—to achieve, I say, the righteous independence of each of its states and kingdoms, together with the intellectual and physical emancipation of all its populations.

CHAPTER III.

GENERAL HEAD.

THE CATHOLIC FEUDAL SYSTEM EXPOUNDED.—ILLUSTRATED ALSO BY CONTRAST WITH THAT OF OLD CHINA AND WITH ORIENTAL DESPOTISM.—ITS ESTABLISHMENT IN THE MIDST OF DANGERS.

C O N T E N T S.

WHAT was the feudal system?—Question put and answered.—Discrepancy between its theoretic model as placed in heaven, and its practical exhibit on earth.—Consequences of the inconsistency, and of all *inconsistency*.—Political rivalry, how generated in feudality as mounted after the Egypto-Asiatic model.—How absent from that mounted after the Chinese.—Consistency of the last between theory and practice.—Predicament consequent on the same.—How experienced by China, and avoided by Japan.—How, under oriental despotism, duration is purchased by absolute immolation of all the principles of truth.—How the feudal system of Europe, as revived from Egypt, supplied the machinery of modern political science.—Important definitions and expositions supplied with regard to political science.—Civilizational system.—What it is.—Political bodies.—What they are.—How the continental system was mounted by Charlemagne in understanding with the Roman pontiff.—Necessity of submitting the lead rein to the hand of the latter.—Political science not yet existent north of the Alps.—Exceptional position of Italy.—Commanding position occupied by the popes.—Their policy explained.—Necessities for Italy, and those for northern Europe, in counter sense.—Dangers which environed the youth of catholic christendom.—Problem then presented in the civilizational system incapable of satisfactory solution.—Decision of the popes with regard to it.—Their civilizational supremacy established: and prostration of the political crowns of the feudal continent.

To render facile of appreciation the part assumed by England on the general field of Europe, it will be necessary to exhibit more clearly than we have yet done, the character of the order of things established on the continent by the sword of Charlemagne and the skill of the Roman pontiffs. Farther, it will be necessary to expound the course of policy followed by the latter; together with the immediate consequences of that policy, as diverse in character; for the Italian peninsula on the one part, and for transatlantic Europe on the other. To the development of this leading matter we shall devote the present chapter.

And first—with a view to all this—let us distinctly put and answer the question: *What was the feudal system?*

The feudal system was the powerful conception—revived from the grave of Egypto-Asiatic civilization—of the christian catholic priest. In its theory, it presented the two principles of power and submission, personified and graduated in the spiritual world as a model for the temporal, and in the temporal as a type of the spiritual.

In the feudal heaven of catholic christianity—the theoretic division of the subject—the cherub, seraph, angel, arcangel, principedoms, dominations, powers—up to the king of kings, in whom centred the deified principles of power omnipotent and wisdom infallible—The whole graduated scale typified strictly the feudal nobiliary, monarchal, and sacerdotal earth. With this difference; and here arose immediately the great difficulty in feudal Europe, and which cost a first mortal strife of three hundred years, between the popes and the German emperors, to settle.

While the Christian catholic heaven presented but one order of existences, and one hierarchal scale—consequently but one kind of authority, and one sovereign head—the Christian catholic earth presented two. A discrepancy this, between the theory and its practical

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illustration, which was to generate instant dispute and confusion.

Good it is here to take note of a rule without an exception. That a discrepancy between any order of practice, and its theory will end by convulsing both. Or, in other words, that consistency between any science and its corresponding art, is a *sine quâ non*, with a view to any fixity of duration. Happily, consistency is difficult of attainment. We say *happily*; since, in proportion as consistency is obtained, will an order of practise be durable. And since it is not desirable that any should be durable until based upon irrefragable principles. Here, however, is a demonstrable position only conceived of when truth itself is conceived in those principles. While, in the meantime, the controlling power in society—as divided against itself in consequence of the discordance between the practise and the theory—will pull different ways until the whole be dislocated. Which, again, does not prevent that—in the absence of any very distinct rule, or any great fixity of things—the dissentient governing power will come to secret understanding touching points of common importance to its common interest, and unite to sustain the same by any and every available contrivance. In ages past, by fire, faggot, and the inquisition; and, down to the time present, by every subterfuge of fraud, violence, corruption, and intimidation.

This effort on the part of government to keep, as far possible, the comprehension of its own quarrels to itself, and to quarrel also with reservation, has been instinctive rather than reasoned. And this because self preservation is instinctive in the impulse, and only reasoned in the mode of its exertion; whether on the part of individual or of collective existence. And thus it is that government will continue to force a theory down the throat of population, after it has ceased itself to have faith either in its truth or its efficacy. Without a rule to steer by, pilotage is impossible, and a ship is lost. A

state which lets go its theory without another to put in its place, is in a similar position with the ship. Worthless then as may be its rule, madness alone will let it go, until a better be found. Might we not ask, in parenthesis, if such has not been the state of things, throughout the civilized world for some years past? If the governing power in every country, have not ceased to have faith in the system which it sustains? Is it not embarrassed at this hour, with its own toils, and encumbered with its creatures? Is it not sick to death of the mask which it wears, and of the dull tricks, quibbles, and useless, no less than wicked, crimes it is repeating to satiety?

But—before elucidating the difficulty which prepared the fall of the feudal system; and happily also, its fall in a mode unfavourable to replacement by oriental despotism—let us consider the system itself after the best rule of its theory.

As the representative of Deity, the sovereign pontiff of all christendom—which it was designed should embrace the world whatever its extent might be; a matter then unknown,—The sovereign pontiff of all christendom was the guardian of the soil of earth for the use of its children. The mode of occupancy by population had of course to be regulated; and this was a leading point held in view by the feudal system. But all were to have place upon it, and possession in the absolute was to rest with no individual. Society, was to be held bound, through all its members, for the reciprocal fulfilment of an established order of duties and services. This from the first holders in fief—temporal or spiritual—under the popes, to the lowest vassal in the graduated scale of social command and obedience.

Two different orders of men were employed to represent on earth the two differing classes of attributes always united in every popular conception of deity; and, equally, in every scientific conception of the regulating laws of the universe: power and wisdom.

The omnipotence of physical power—whether vulgarly conceived of as lodged in a being made on the human model, but with colossal stature and faculties of proportionate puissance, or scientifically conceived of as principles inherent in all the energies, and regulative of all the occurrences, of the universe,—The omnipotence of physical power was the mystic source of the divine right, *alias* might, of kings; while the infallible wisdom of Deity, or scientific order discernable throughout the whole of things, found its corresponding emblem, and organ, in the infallible pontiff, or spiritual head of the Christian catholic church.

Under these two human representatives of [the divine attributes,—to wit: the pope and the king,—and, in strict keeping throughout with the graduated scale of dignity and authority employed in the feudal catholic heaven, was the organization of the two great *spiritual* temporal orders which ruled the feudal catholic ~~and~~ *spiritual* earth. In one we find the priest,—or spiritual type of deity—rising, from the humble, barefooted, mendicant friar, up through the grades of officiating vicar, deacon, dean, abbot, bishop, cardinal, and pope. In the other, the squire, the knight, the count, the duke—rising always to the great suzerain head however called—duke, prince, king, emperor, or monarch. In either, and both, of these ascending scales, each dignity held of the other. Each owed, to his immediate superior, deference and service, and all owed together homage, service, and devotional obedience to the great temporal and spiritual heads of church and state. While the great mass of the labouring population, under the name of villains or serfs—attached to the soil, and bound to their different leaders and protectors, spiritual or temporal—furnished the bread which was to nourish the whole of this organized society.

Such presents a general view of the framework of the catholic feudal order of civilization. In few countries thoroughly brought to bear; and not at all towards the

more eastern confines of Europe. Where the influences of the lower empire on the one hand, and of Tartary on the other—as felt by all the Slavonian race—prepared population, more generally, on issuing from errant barbarism, for government on the Chinese model.

Thus, at least in Muscovy. Poland, trying an experiment between the two—lighted upon anarchal ground, somewhat similar to that occupied by old Ireland. And—curious enough!—it appears to have been pretty nearly that occupied, in ancient days, by China herself. The varieties to the tune of government are wonderfully few.

And now let us distinguish where lay the flaw in that catholic unity of design which could alone secure to the civilization any chance of peaceful duration, with that universality of extension after which it aspired.

We observed that the theoretic model of the feudal system—as placed by its sacerdotal designers in the Christian heaven—presented but one hierarchy of authority. Catholic polemics might perhaps dispute this. But we may observe, that whatever nice distinctions might be drawn by theologians between cherubs and seraphs, or between angels and arcangels, among each other; one heavenly squadron holding in charge the more active and belligerent service of executing the divine missions, and subduing spiritual rebellions against the divine will, and another filling the more pacific functions of adoring servitors, contemplative worshippers, and hymning choristers,—Whatever legends might tell, or visionary logicians expound, touching two orders of celestial existences, co-ordinated under one celestial head, their natures were so necessarily conceived of, by the mass, as one and the same, that the peace of heaven might seem secure against disturbance. And this notwithstanding the tale of one rebellion as led by a belligerent arcangel, and subdued by the thunders of Deity.

But the old Egypto-Asiatic distinction, between the sacerdotal and political functions, was otherwise esta-

blished upon the earth of feudal Christendom than imagined in its heaven. And, in consequence, the question had evidently to be fought out between them—which was to give the law to the other.

Doubtless the same had occasioned, in the ancient world of India and Egypt, a struggle of yet more infinite duration than in modern Europe. But whatever, then and there, the length of the contest, we know the course it followed to have been similar. The priest carried the day in the outset, and afterward the king. Out of the collision, however, and long sustained rivalry, arose evidently, the commercial activity of Phœnicia, the liberties of Etruria and Greece, the political science of republican Rome; and thus, ultimately, our scheme of progressive modern civilization.

But it may assist our comprehension of the two parent rivalities which racked the feudal system of our modern Europe, if we should illustrate the course followed by empires to which such convulsive excitement remained unknown.

China, for instance, escaped the struggle by merging all the attributes of deity, or master energies of the universe, into one representative. Thereby—be it observed—establishing arbitrary government as lodged in a single brain and a single hand. Which is to say, by inaugurating the rule of union and order, without any counterpoise of opposing principles. Consequently, without any possibility of working any effective change in the political system, or in the bosom of society. Or indeed of doing anything more than presenting some occasional check to power run mad by dethroning the individual madman. Such is the lamentable position of things in all empires submitted to what is called *oriental despotism*. There principles are altogether unconceived of. A man is all in all, and political science a thing unknown. In consequence, the only renovation attainable by public affairs is supplied by occasional changes of dynasty, and the substitution of a soldier statesman of

energy for some old fatuous relic of worn out races. To escape the Chinese predicament—either by conquest and complete absorption in the celestial empire, or by a similar domestic catastrophe with that induced by Chi Hoangti—Japan turned to account her insular position, by cutting herself off from the whole world. They who deride the policy should learn that of which they are ignorant; the nature of the governing principle. Her nobility are no smatterers in political science. Japan is a Norman England, on the outer disk of old Asia's civilizational system. Let European England see to respect her!

But while under this head—important for elucidating our especial subject—let us recal that, until the epoch presented by the reign of Chi Hoangti, the celestial empire had an inform feudal system also. It presented, like that of Japan at this hour, one hierarchy of command—the political. Its overthrow was consequently facile, and single-headed despotism was substituted for polyarchal confusion, all but without a struggle. Thus putting society in one lead-rein, and so holding it by the simple absence of all counteracting impulse, either from within or from without.

In this simplicity of the Chinese governmental programme, and also in this its perfect consistency with its celestial type—from which the appropriate term of *celestial empire*—we have the secret at once of the pacific duration of that empire, and of the stagnant statu quo of its civilization. It has preserved its existence at expense of all progress. No quickening rivalry has been possible within its bosom. No principles have been there to set in motion. Nothing to outshadow or prepare a future.

If the student will turn to our prefatory elucidations, (page 9, paragraph beginning “Reflecting observation,”) he will see the principles they expound, distinguished for analogous in their nature, and universal in their application. If under despotism, all the poli-

tical principles are dead, so of necessity, are the industrial. If both of these, so farther, of necessity, the intellectual and the moral. No progress there in science nor in art. Analysis and synthesis have no play. The female principle—inactive everywhere, down-trodden by the male—is there unheard of, non-existent, dead, in the altogether annihilated independence of woman. Strictly confined to the harem and the nursery, no influence of hers pervades the bosom of society, or tempers male violence in the brutality of its divine right. There indeed despotism reigns secure, where consistent China stamps woman in the cradle a slave for life by laming her feet; and where the impious Turk, denying the existence, and preventing the developement, of her soul, effectually kills his own. Ha! male admirers of drawn sword heroes vaunt the dominion of Mahomet, and see how his law advances society! The play of the moral principles is indispensable for that of the political; and of both for the intellectual. Where woman is a slave can man be free? Look to the east and answer! Who there may, or can, or will enquire? Who take things to pieces? Who build them up again? Who contrive improvement in the same? All this demands liberty of thought; liberty of volition. And liberty of both, not in man only, but also, and most, in woman. Without developement of all the universal principles there is no energy. There is no genius. Humanity is without a pulse. Civilization without a soul.

Of major importance the subject here elucidated. It lets us behind the scenes to study the course of humanity in the causes which impressed its first direction, and those which have arisen to alter that direction, and impress on it progress, with now distinctly perceptible, ever accelerating speed of progress.

It is not the object of the preceding strictures to derogate from the high service rendered to the march of general continuous civilization by the empires which

followed the law of Mahomet. Apart the science and the industry of the Moors—those saviours of the intellect of the world during the rush of the barbarian torrent,—apart that, the crescent instituted and sustained a quickening civilizational rivalry with the cross; and tended powerfully to neutralize superstition, and to expand the views of collective humanity. What is held in view in the present chapter is to illustrate the real parent source of progressive civilization, and of that political science which aided its developement. This was no other than the double hierarchy of the catholic feudal system. We may now see facily to distinguish how this supplied a first sample of that modern governmental machinery by which the inert mass of ignorant populational elements was set in motion. They elicited, and threw into action—awkward and noisy action it is true, and far removed from that harmonious play they are ultimately to exhibit—but still they quickened those life-giving principles in the human breast which were to make free men out of slaves, independent nations out of barbarous tribes, and a civilized world out of a savage continent.

When Charlemagne entered into compact with the Roman pontiff for reducing to order the chaotic elements of barbarian Europe, he distinguished the necessity of submitting the political power—as at that critical epoch embodied in his single person—to the civilizational, and the temporal to the spiritual.

We have already had occasion to employ these terms political and civilizational, but it may now be necessary to precise the meaning we attach to them. A new science demands a new nomenclature. In fact we cannot create the one without the other. History considered as a science is altogether new. Consequently, in developing it, we have either to construct new words, or to attach new and definite meanings to such old ones as we may employ.

By CIVILIZATIONAL SYSTEM, I understand all those states and empires—the whole considered as an entity—which acknowledge the same general principles of political association; more especially one common religious bond of union.

By CIVILIZATIONAL POWER, I understand the authority which holds the common bond of union. Let that authority be incarnated in a man, or in several men, embodied in an institution and a thing, or enshrined and brought to bear in a principle.

The first order of civilization presented by modern Europe was the Christian catholic feudal. The holder of its religious bond of union was the Roman pontiff.

By the POLITICAL BODIES of a civilizational system, I understand the sovereign states and empires which constitute the system, and which are held in relation by the common religious principle.

The political bodies which constituted the Christian catholic civilizational system were all those states and kingdoms that acknowledged for their religious head the pope of Rome; and the political authority which held those bodies in relation with the civilizational, was in the hands of their kings, or other supreme temporal heads of their feudal organization.

The unity of the political power, as held by Charlemagne, of course facilitated the mounting, and first annealing of the continental feudal system, by means of an amicable intelligence, as established between that great man and the equally great pontiffs of Rome.

It was of course evident to either party that a system mounted equally by spiritual influences and physical force, could alone be sustained by both the feudal hierarchies acting in unison. And in like manner evident, that the duty must be acknowledged by one to accept, in all cases of difficulty, the decision of the other. Consequently, the lead, as the check-rein of the whole system, had to lie either in the hand of the pope or in that of the emperor.

The submission of the political to the civilizational power was—in principle—the installation of the general good of the collective species over that of individualized portions of it. The exaltation of the spiritual over the temporal hierarchy, was—in principle—the inauguration of mind over matter. Viewing in this light—and it can be viewed, intelligibly, in no other—the early supremacy of the catholic church, in whose bosom centered all the learning of the dark as of the renascent ages, we distinguish readily the immense service rendered by the act of Charlemagne to the great work of human civilization.

But it was easy to apprehend that the monarchical political head would soon be again, as it had been before, fractioned into many. Did Charlemagne, indeed, distinguish the necessity of multiple political heads, as the representatives of multiple nations? It is probable that he did; as who could distinguish it so well as he who, having forced them into unnatural union must have felt their resisting efforts pulsate beneath his hand? Such would seem to have been the case, since he divided his empire between his sons.

We might again enquire if the sagacity of that monarch could desire, that the example set by himself, in submitting his crown to the holy see, should be followed by his descendants, or by other sovereign princes, as likely to arise within the extending circle of catholic feudal Europe. This is possible, since the difficulties and dangers present to his eye, were such as might well absorb his attention, and lead him to conceive of them as destined, for an indefinite period, to reign paramount over all others. The wild elements just subdued might yet be recruited from Moscovy and Asia; and already, before his eyes, the adventurous tribes of Scandinavia were making descents and ravages upon his shores. Here were living terrors which left no room for theorizing touching others yet unborn. He saw and felt sacerdotal Rome to be the great civilizing power; equal, and

alone equal, to the first taming of the savage, and to the commanding him when so tamed. He saw and felt how the same power had brought to order barbarian monks and fatuous missionaries, and rendered that superstition subservient to great general purposes, which otherwise went only to make helpless fools and fatuous knaves. Preparing both to be borne down by the first ferocious invader who might pour in from yet unsubdued regions. For Charlemagne, political science was not the order of the day. Political subjection, and order, with civilizational union and unity, were everything. He made himself the soldier of the church to effect subjection and to establish order, and aided the church in drawing together the stringent bond of civilizational union. Thus we see how, at the epoch of first renascent civilization, the counter principles of civil liberty and national independence were not in the field. Political science, then, was yet unborn. And why? The creator of the counter principles yet slumbered in the womb of things. There were as yet no peoples. Intelligence was all in government. Population yet slept in ignorance, or roamed and raged at large in wild ferocity.

One exception to this there was, and it was presented in Italy. There the state of things was the converse of all northward of the Alps. There multiple states and cities had arisen out of the ruins of the dead colossal empire; recalling the youth of classic Etruria before her conquest and absorption by Rome.*

The consequent sudden and premature development of the sentiments of liberty and independence in the Italian states, complicated the position of the sovereign pontiffs in a manner both curious and instructive to consider.

The Popes stood on the summit of the great Belvedere of human intelligence. Selected in the green old age of wisdom, from and by the sapient heads of the

* In Italy, indeed, during the darkest ages, liberty, no less than order, could find glorious individual representatives. What counter heroes were Theodoric and Boethius!

civilizing church of catholic Christianity, they knew the leanings of all the tribes within their communion, and could take the measure of the differing standard of their intelligence, barbarian violence, or civilizational progress.

Their constitutional functions being both civilizing and civilizational; embracing the relations of states and kingdoms one with another, of populations with their governments, and of human beings with each other, it would of necessity be their leading object to approach the whole of Christendom to one common law, and equilibrium of advancement. In the furtherance of such an object, they would, of equal necessity, incline to hold back those populations which took an advanced lead, and to spur forward those which lagged behind. An operation so evidently disadvantageous to the former, that we distinguish readily how the classic peninsula—at that period centuries a-head of the rest of Europe—found, in the immediate presence of the pontificate, anything but a blessing. As a consequent, she impeded its policy and spurned its law, while these were generally facilitated and accepted in transalpine Europe.

For Italy, a first necessity was a stringent political bond that should have drawn together her rising industrial and commercial cities. The pontiffs, of course, distinguished this; as who could distinguish it so well? But which—for Italy—was to be the emblem of national union; the tiara or the iron crown? Or could either sobe? The one representative of transalpine feudal command, altogether unsuited to cisalpine civilization; and the other representative of a celestial and terrestrial theory altogether in opposition to Italy's political economy,—to the ambition of her states, and wants of her population?

We have here to recal that the feudal system was conceived for the reclaiming of population from errant barbaration. For the organization, and command by organization, of its physical force. And again, for the ef-

fective direction of that physical force to the purposes of defence against, and conquest of, more savage tribes; to the reclaiming of the wilderness, and to the first development and protection of agricultural labour. Unsited, then, to Italy, where barbarism had made irruptions, but never permanently reigned. Where industry and art already made rivalry with labour, and where commerce quickened the activity, and multiplied the wants, of society. All this population could feel, and the pontiff distinguish. But, necessarily, equally evident to the discernment of the latter, that—under then existing circumstances—before any suitable arrangement could be made for the political emancipation of Italy from the feudal suzerainship of the German emperors, the spiritual and civilizational power had to be secured in ascendancy over the temporal and the political. Let us elucidate this.

If the political framework of feodality was unsited to the point of progress occupied by the classic peninsula, a stringent bond of catholic Christian union was no where more essential. This, to stave off three civilizational dangers—all tending, under differing forms and names, to one result—which absolutely environed it. First; Mahomedanism was conquering the length and breadth of the Mediterranean; effecting the seizure of the Spanish peninsula, and meditating the proselytism of Europe by the sword. Second; the influences of the lower empire equally threatened to submit all things to the hopeless Chinese principle of oriental despotism. Third; the energetic and valiant house of Suabia, wearer of the iron crown, might at any moment seize that crown by right of the sword, and then, at his leisure and pleasure, impose alike on Germany and Italy the arbitrary dictation of autocracy. Easy to see that, in such an eventuality,—the precedent established by Charlemagne being overthrown by one in a counter sense,—the whole civilizational system—aye, and let us add,—the only really civilizing system in the field, would have been

killed at a blow ; the developement of political science—as dependant on the existence in rivalry of the two hierarchal heads—effectually prevented ; and Europe given over to the single Asiatic principle equally as by the sword of the Saracen, or the influence of the lower empire. Such were the dangers which threatened, in near perspective, the whole of Christendom, and the pope, as representative and guardian of that whole. We now readily distinguish how the entire unsuitability we have noticed between the feudal theory and practice and the point of progress occupied by Italy, presented a problem unsusceptible of any satisfactory solution, under the circumstances, while it was certain to force, in that peninsula, and perhaps throughout Europe, a premature collision between the four cardinal principles of political science.

Aware that the conflict was inevitable ; and that, the longer deferred the greater would be the odds against him, the pontiff urged things to a crisis there, where his strength lay, and where, also, was the rival he mainly feared. To subdue in the absolute ; to lay his foot upon the very neck of the wearer of the iron crown ; and thus to command the civilizational system before the political storm should break around him in Italy, was his unhesitating resolve. We know the issue. How—supreme in the all but adoring veneration of the masses—he aimed the thunders of the church, peal upon peal, against the wretched Henry of Germany, until he was submitted to more degradation than ever befel a reigning prince, and, finally, died of want and misery, an outcast from among men. Each of the two Frederics, successors of Henry—emperors of commanding energy and talent—became the obsequious servitors and avenging captains of the great universal suzerain of feudal Christendom. Drawing the sword at his command—as wearing the double crown, emblematic of supreme temporal command southward and northward of the Alps—by his permission. The Christian hierophant

was now, in very deed, the head of the feudal system. So acknowledged by all the ascending grades of command throughout its two hierarchies, from the lowest to the highest. The tiara overtopped the crowns of the earth ; and the arm of the church lay athwart the sceptres of kings.

Here, then, was effected the counter scheme to that which so recently threatened.

The political Cæsar was defeated in any project he might have cherished—and undoubtedly would have realized, sooner or later, if not thus coerced—of transforming the feudal into an oriental system. Mohammedanism also found a victorious rival in the chivalry of the military orders and other crusading knights of Christianity, and in the fanaticism of its millions. While the lower empire—sinking noiselessly in the festering stagnation of eastern unity and eastern luxury—waited for its death-stroke from the turbaned Turk.

Such was the state of things on the European continent, when and after, William and his Normans took possession of England.

CHAPTER IV.

GENERAL HEAD

BIRTH OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, IN ITS PRINCIPLES, ILLUSTRATED.

CONTENTS.

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first invoked popular liberty in Europe.—First champion of the people.—His martyrdom.—Purpose of the political heresy—Its leading doctrine.—Character and deeds of its author.—Singular complications of the epoch.—Necessitated failure, in time and place, of the biune programme of the heretic.—How snatched from the flames of its martyred teacher, and formulated in two programmes by England.—Its good results appear at the counter-pole.—The reactionary evil at the positive.—Immolation of Italy for the good of the general system.—Dispassionate judgment of posterity.—Odious nature of the governing principle.

WE shall now enter on the developement of our more immediate subject, the exhibit of the acts and influences of England viewed as a civilizer. And convinced we are that in tracing the formation and the influences of the Anglo-Norman political mind, and the Anglo-Norman political system, we are handling a subject of intense interest, and supreme importance, to the whole civilized world.

Government may be called the rude schoolmaster of rude man. The schoolmaster is indispensable until the first conquest of civilization is achieved, and a synthetic perception of the great whole of truth is attained. We may then see to replace both violence and deception by science. All schemes of rivalry may be laid aside, like old machinery out of date. And in lieu of the cumbersome, intricate, noisy, and destructive mechanism of government, we shall have the simple, intelligent, electric wires of omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, and beneficent administration.

I am careful to present, in opening, this glance at the future, in order to prevent misconceptions touching my own views, leanings, and intentions, while exercising all freedom of speech with regard to the course followed by England during the past and at the present.

The mission of England, in common with that of all powerful empires—not absolutely absorbing, as imperial Rome did, and as imperial China professes to do, the whole order of civilization,—The mission of England is

twofold. Nay! better to precise the case; we may say that it is fourfold. It has regard to herself. It has regard to the realms she has absorbed in her person, embraced under her state seal, in her central parliament and her crown. It has regard to her dependencies throughout the world; and, finally, it has regard to the whole of Europe, with which she stands in most singular, most powerful, and most responsible relation.

Many and solemn are the pledges here taken and given, by and to honour and the world. To understand a mission arising out of responsibilities so complicated, and to compress its exposition within reasonable compass, let us endeavour to formulate it as a whole; and then embrace a general view of the more leading epochs of English history.

Considering the mission of England in its entity, it may perhaps be thus rendered:

To prepare man for civil liberty by a course of apprenticeship.

Apprenticeships, up to this date, have presented long and hard training; and England—with the iron will of an iron master—has ever little considered the means apart attainment of the end.

Through wrong and through right; by conquest and by fraud; unpitying, unsparing, designing, arrogant, rapacious, yet ever with a far-seeing purpose in her policy, she has cleared every obstacle from her path; spread herself and her influences over the globe; and hewn a pathway for civilization through the body and the soul of empires and of men. If the tyrant of earth, she has been so with an object beyond the moment; leaving ever a door open by which, in the future, knowledge and liberty may enter in the train of order and of industry.

Such has been the outline of her mission. From this she may sometimes have turned, or been turned, aside, but still, as a sort of necessity, she has ever resumed it, or found some kind rival to shame her back to her duty.

To this purpose beyond the moment, to this object beyond self, is owed the greatness of England. But yet more. To the same will be owed—tracing things back to their first causes—the ultimate universal enfranchisement of the globe.

The comprehensiveness in the policy of England, and the system in her ambition, made her ever—in and from the outset—keep steady watch on the weak side of all government, that which tends to centralize its power in a single hand. This is the rock upon which all empires have split, or the quicksand in which their energies have been swamped.

Our opening investigations showed England to have been the inspiring or sustaining soul of those various schemes of rivalry by which centralized despotism has been always averted from Europe, or confronted and overthrown when attempted.

The same opening investigations also tended to elucidate that this rivalry of government rested upon two human instincts, liberty and order; the same acting in contentious opposition. Without liberty, no energy; and, without order, liberty is destructive and drives man back to savage life. In the skilful balancing of these two elements, lies what has been called political science. And, among all the modes of that evil thing called government, the most able and patriotic has been pronounced to be that which leaves the largest quantum of the one possible without forfeiture of the other. This sounds well as a theory; but when brought to bear, by means of any governmental see-saw contrivable, it is always found that one will bear down the other; or leave society suspended as in mid air, like Mahomet's coffin, in all the blessed beatitude of inactivity.

The governing power in England has always thoroughly understood the two horns of the dilemma. In consequence, and favoured by insular position, which it saw to turn to account, it has ever worked the ticklish machinery of checks and balances with such admirable

skill as finally to secure a master influence over the political mind of Europe.

Ensnared in her seas and her iron-bound coast, and strong in her powerful feudal organization, England prepared, in and out of her feudal system itself, those first schemes of rivalry which constitute the life of government. In the earlier stages, or under the more imperfect phases, of civilization, if no scheme of the kind at once agitate and regulate the soul of population, stagnation and inertia, or barbarism, ensue; society perishes in the germ, and civilization is a failure.

Two rivalities arose immediately within the framework of England's political system, as organized at the Conquest. Both indeed respecting the established organization of society, but aiming at the vice at its root, by neutralizing its principles. Thus ambitioning to prepare a scheme of progressive civilization, that should ward off violent catastrophes, and at the same time preserve the body politic from sloth and stagnation. The populational mass, indeed, was still plunged in ignorance and barbarism, yet the great work was already entered upon with energy, by the populational leaders, not in England only, but throughout Europe. A work of toil and of strife. Of building up and of pulling down; of assertion and of disputation; of attack and of defence. Man, still headstrong and ferocious, begins to reason; and nations contend no longer for the mere plunder of a camp, nor even the possession of a soil; but also for intellectual propositions, and, more or less, formulated principles.

But this universal contest, as established in the soul, no less than the body of European society, was followed up on the soil of England—from the main circumstance of insular position—with a method and consistency which makes her history the history of modern civilization.

Of the two rivalities which took the field in feudal England, the first agitated the principle of the spiritual,

and the other of the temporal, division of its framework. Both thus assaulting it in the whole of its theory, and preparing the ultimate modification of the whole of its practice.

The genuine principles of all government—whatever its forms or its pretensions—are infallibility and *statu quo*. Infallibility in spiritual and temporal affairs; in theory as in practice; and human submission to the order of things as established. The same principles being destructive of that which government pretends to guard—civilization. Since civilization signifies the education of humanity, and since education is a process, long, continuous, and ever progressive, embracing the whole existence of the species as of the individual. But, admitting such to be the natural tendency of all government, and its decided principles of action, when not counteracted by power out of itself,—admitting this, still it is evident that the political framework of feudalism was powerfully contrived to secure that unvarying governmental object—the peaceful subsistence of itself, and of things as by itself established.

The *statu quo* of the body of feudal society—in its martial strength, its wants, and its labour—was entrusted to its hierarchal organization, throughout its two divisions, nobiliary and ecclesiastical. The *statu quo* of its soul to the spiritual, or theoretic organization of the same, with the infallible head of the church, the pope of Rome, and the anointed head of the state, the monarch. He too—the monarch—owing reference and deference to the pontiff of all christendom, and expounder, in last appeal, of the will of God to man.

This last catholic article of the feudal programme, however—namely, the interference of the holy see in all matters with which it chose to meddle; such being about the meaning of the arrogant prerogative of its triple crown—this catholic article of the feudal programme was never admitted in England.

We have noted that the effective understanding be-

tween the spiritual and temporal power which took place on the continent at the epoch of Charlemagne—say of our modern era 800—did not occur in England until the Conquest. The mission of William, as sanctioned by Rome—anxious to place the island in the lead-rein of catholic feudal civilization—was similar to that we have already precised of the great continental conqueror. But Norman sagacity saw to profit by the experience gathered, during better than a century and a half, since the liege homage done to the church by Charlemagne. And William—while establishing in its plenitude the twofold hierarchy of the feudal system—decided to hold, as he seized, his crown of conquest, by right of the sword and assent of his barons, and not by gift of the pope. Out of this decision—as afterwards upheld by the instrument of Clarendon, and held in check by the Anglican church—was to arise, and did arise, not the enslavement—as the unlearned in political science argue—but the liberties of the English people. Full well does all history shew that the first stepping stone to civil freedom is national independence. That first necessity Saxon England never knew, because, she never rightly conceived of it. William and his iron barons in planting *that*, gave more than restitution for whatever they might take away.

And now let us note—as important for attaining a conception not only of the real nature of political science, but of all science—Let us note that the first effective characteristic of a civilizational system was governmentally impressed on Europe, by this act of schism as committed by Norman William.

The pope had brought to bear those first principles of order and union without which there *is nothing*; and, by aid of which, the primary chaotic atoms of human existence are made to conglomerate, and to form, as it were, the substance of a world. It was another creation, like to those of yore, made by the priest of Asia and of Egypt, and of which the Jewish legislator received,

and thus preserved, the allegorized transcript. Yet was the new work imperfect. The elementary principles called into being were all of one nature ; of one sex we may say ; and movement, life, society, in a word, is not, until the counter principles are breathed into the inform and unfermenting mass. Then only, when liberty and independence are thrown into conflict with their opposites, are nations submitted to effective government. And then only, when every principle shall be placed in harmonious relation with its respondent, may universal humanity exhibit the peaceful felicity incident to the reign of benign, omnipresent, and omnipotent administration.

The reflexion on first principles and creating causes, which has gone to the preparation of this treatise, has led its author to the conviction, that the Normans were the originators of the institution of chivalry, and effective mounters of its organization. The objects held in view would be various. As a bond of union among themselves, scattered as that singular race was over the whole field of nascent civilization. As a means of forming themselves both to the art of war and that of politics, and equally of lending aid and defence to the numerous trading establishments founded by them, at an early period, on various points of maritime northern Europe. Of effecting also an introduction to the favour and confidence of all leading individuals in either hierarchy of the feudal system ; and, again, beyond the sphere of that system's extension. Yet further, of facilitating their general relations with population, and of acquiring an intimate familiarity with, and practical influence in, the affairs of nations. But more than all this. There might be, in the original design of that extraordinary school of valour and of statesmanship—for such, in the origin, it undoubtedly was—there might be the idea of presenting a rampart against the excessive and ever growing influences of the spiritual power. Influences which, be it observed, had already, in the hands of the earlier

monkish missionaries, put in hazard the very civilization of which they had scattered the first seeds. The Normans might and, it is evident, *did* distinguish the danger to be not less from the assumptions of that papal, and generally organized ecclesiastical, supremacy established as a necessity by Charlemagne, but of which his descendants had soon cause to deplore the evils. As we shall better distinguish, the Norman policy was to employ the influences of the church without submitting things unduly to its control. The chivalry of the knight errant wore this independent character, and, it is conceived, spoke distinctly in the Conqueror's act of schism.

We shall distinguish here that the religious principle, or bond of union, of knight errant chivalry was *honour*. General honour to every engagement. The* object of the church was ever to command that principle to its own purposes. Let the pope be once established as the universal head of the feudal system, and the object was attained. We might further surmise—in connexion with this—that the establishment of the military orders by the church of Rome, was a counter move made in guard against the demurrer of the Conqueror.

The act of William pledged the honor of his chivalry to a principle directly opposed to civilizational union. Even to that of political independence. It was a territorial unit, declaring its existence apart that of the collective sum. But there was a second principle involved in this first which, as yet, was without an organ. Of which the formulation was indispensable to give efficacy to the other. So could the pontiff distinguish. And until the populational unit should propound its political existence apart that of the general system, he might trust to the tide of events, and to the statesmanship of the church, to work round the object for the time defeated. As national independence has no anchorage in the absence of popular liberty, and as kingly prerogative was evidently more immediately opposed to that than

the papal, the reliance of the pontiff on the incidents to arise in the future, was reasonable.

Of course, it could not be given to government, and to government embodied in a conquering king, to have aught to do with popular liberty unless to crush it. But national independence involving his own kingly liberty, William was the man to assert it. And at a moment, when every royal forehead kissed the dust before the pontiff's tread, the protest of William was one of valor and of statesmanship. It was the protest also of a prince conscious of the intelligent allegiance of his followers, and who knew them proof, equally with himself, against all the grosser superstitions of the age.

His refusal of liege homage to the pontiff inaugurated a rivalry out of which might grow what would, and out of which did grow what we shall have occasion to illustrate. His quiet, but firm, refusal was let pass in silence. The hierophant scored it in secret on the tablets of the church; and either potentate left to his successors to recover lost ground, or to defend that assumed.

Something, then, we see was done by the founder of the Anglo-Norman—that is, the English—nation towards making room for those counter elementary principles indispensable for constituting a civilizational system. Rome and England were thus to be the two magnetic poles of the just forming world; and, as one had infused into the still inform creation the centripetal power, so was the other to vivify it, throughout all its parts, with the centrifugal.

But where did that second counter principle—which was to give life and meaning to the other, and to both—first find a voice in our renascent world? Where did civil liberty first speak to modern Europe? Where had the Normans heard her accents? Where had they studied—not in books, but in the living, stirring haunts of men—what goes to quicken industry, excite ambition, awaken genius in the torpid soul, originate free states, make, in one word, *a people*? Where? In Italy.

Conversant, moreover, with the general state of Europe they had watched both the struggle of the popes with the free states of their own peninsula, and their triumph over the crowns of the transalpine continent. They knew how, triumphant northward of the Alps by the single thunders of the church, they barely maintained standing room, by aid of the arm of flesh, within the classic peninsula. They knew that while princes held the pontiff's stirrup rein, and emperors sought his presence barefoot, or waited his pleasure, in the outer courts, with head uncovered to the storm, he had to do battle, and stand siege, within his castle of St. Angelo like any feudal chieftain. They knew how those same hierophants, who carried aloft, in the broad field of Europe, the mystic crown of earth, and heaven, and hell, could barely hold upon their heads a temporal coronet in Italy. They understood, in fine, all the bearings of that policy upon which hinged the whole of futurity. They understood both the dangers the church was then mastering, and those which equally threatened under its victory. Here was the political capital of general political knowledge possessed by the Normans when they laid the ferule upon Saxon England. Nothing ever was, or ever can be, done without knowledge of the matter in hand. This knowledge the Normans possessed. Before they seized the throne of Harold, they had been everywhere; seen everything; and held relations with the whole of Europe. But touching Norman apprenticeship we shall speak hereafter; and proceed, at the present, to distinguish the two great rivalities of feudal England in their continental origin.

Scarcely had the pontiff coerced the regal power throughout the civilizational system, than—as he had foreseen—the political elements, quick gathering to head, broke over him in his own domestic field of Italy.

There, in the midst of ardent cities and young states, the two expansive principles, corrective of the two condensive, found suddenly, in one voice, an organ. No

prince was he, no crowned king, no iron knight of chivalry, who first astonished Europe with the cry of freedom. Such is not given to them to feel nor speak of.

A son of Brescia's city; Arnold by name; in early youth a student of the cloister; where, then, learning alone found food or refuge. Passing from thence, he fixed his searching gaze on men, and states, and kingdoms. Knew Switzerland, and the rich countries since embraced under the crown of France. But, first and best of all, familiar with his own country's ancient lore, and with her actual wants and interests. In his soul Italian, he yearned to see his Italy bound in religious league of union, for strength and independence. Yet, true to Europe and humanity, he sought to break that chain of universal ignorance which weighed upon the whole of northern Europe; rendering its masses the obsequious tools of the ascendant sacerdotal power and policy. Versed, of necessity, in the question—by moments stifled, yet ever at issue—between the pontiff and the German Cæsar. Cognizant also—as having studied under Abelard, in Paris—of the demurrer of England's Norman William. Launched by his excommunicated master in controversial schism; but soon pushing his heresy beyond the prate of schools up to the point of practice. An orator, a scholar, a patriot, and a philosopher—such was the first noble champion on the field of Europe, of its yet incipient peoples.

And now, seek for his statue in this world of lying vanities, where every titled fool or cunning knave passes for great; and, in his very lifetime, treats us to the pageant of his apotheosis! Nay, go speak his name in forum or in senate! It is not known perchance, and ye will be greeted with a stare of wondering enquiry. But, where is his grave? That so repenting generations may turn there to muse, or to collect his ashes. He had no grave. He died a malefactor, a rebel and a heretic. He did high deeds, and held high office from high gift—a people's choice. Yet did he live to find the guerdon of all

those who have, in soul's sincerity, served the down-trodden principles of general good, intellectual emancipation, popular liberty, and territorial independence. He died in flames; and government will say he merited that death of those who gave it. And who were they? The principles of union, order, and civilizational unity; as then embodied and personified in the Roman pontiff and his anointed German Cæsar.

We know the position of things—in our last chapter it was expounded—presented by the differing state of advancement in northern Europe and in the classic peninsula. It was such—we may now distinguish—as to render impracticable the effective organization of Italy, consistently with the conservation of the general system. And yet to supply what was deficient—a national political bond; and to remove what was oppressive—a general civilizational bond, unsuited to her case, and which tore her to pieces,—To do this might well fire the patriotism of a son of Italy, and excite the ambition of a man of genius. It might well also seem feasible at the time, and under the circumstances. The hatred burning in the soul of Frederick for all the wrong and ignominy heaped upon his ancestry, was no secret. The feeling also with which he would regard that merciless sword of St. Peter, ever held impending over his head by the magic power of the church, was easily translatable. Then, too, the protest of England's king. There was enough—we may distinguish—to encourage the hope of rekindling to advantage, the rivalry between the pope and the imperial wearer of the double crown; of provoking a general challenge of the papal supremacy, and of turning the whole to account at once for the emancipation of Italy, and of the human mind. Such was the purpose of *the political heresy*—so called—of Arnold; and of which the leading doctrine was the absence of all temporal authority in the church and the strictly spiritual and ecclesiastical character of the papal functions. A doctrine—be it understood—which chal-

lenged the whole Christian catholic feudal theory, and threatened the whole Christian catholic feudal practice.

Arnold addressed himself at once to the popular intelligence of the age, wherever that intelligence was awakening to life. In Paris, he more than filled the place of Abelard, and like his distinguished master, prepared that city for assuming the place she was to occupy in the civilizational system, as head seat of general science and learning. Met by the fulminations of the holy see—to which the crown of France was of necessity abetting, from its filial admission of the feudal catholic programme—he fled to Constance, and sowed the first seeds of heresy, political and religious, in Switzerland. There he encountered the ban of the empire, and—recrossing the Alps, before the storm of persecution, as raised by the German Emperor Frederick Barbarossa—lighted a blaze throughout the free states of his own Italy. Arnold would probably translate the wrath of the Emperor into a political feint, or conceive at least, that, could states and populational masses be brought to bear up against the thunders of the church, he would readily be appeased. At any rate, the die was now cast. He had waked the tempest, and had to stem its fury. He had thrown suddenly into the torpid civilizational elements the vivifying principles. They were yet unseated, as counteracting and counterpoising agents, in the general system. But the electric shock of their first contact was felt by its political bodies, and a first current of the ethereal element ran tingling through the veins of the aristoi of populations.

Kindling each city as he passed, and preparing all ranks, and either sex, for sustaining to the death the challenge launched against the crowning article of catholic faith and feudal practise, Arnold hastened to Rome to make his doctrine a fact. Harangued the people; gave forth from the ruins of the old capitoline the name of liberty; met the thunders of the church with

the thunders of patriotism ; drove the pope from his throne, and established a temporal magistracy over the sacerdotal city.

It may here be asked, what, in the project of Arnold, was to become of the pontificale ? However, in that age, politically burdensome to Italy, it neither was, nor could be, his aim to annihilate functions then so important to society and to Christendom. It might be his object to make the pontiff take refuge in Germany, where he would be under the check of the emperor, and the emperor under the check of the pontiff. He certainly must have desired him at a distance, and did his best to send him there. Frederic, however, might rather have apprehended, from his near neighbourhood, absolute check-mate for himself ; while the pope might feel the majesty of the supreme sacerdoce to be more sacredly awful for the northern masses, and more effective over their leaders, while veiled by distance, than if exposed to their gaze and their contact. But whatever the reasonings or feelings of the potentates, each kept true to his especial duties and his official obligations. The popes, indeed, were men not to shrink from any danger ; nor to yield an iota of pretension, whether to peoples or to kings. And, however galling their yoke of feudal vassalage, the haughty princes of the house of Suabia bore it meekly as they could, in the sight of men ; and drew, or sheathed, the sword of Charlemagne, at beck of their ungracious liege, impelled, as by a dire necessity, to give example of that organized and agonized submission they enforced from others.

The reflecting student will distinguish, in the biune character of the programme of Arnold, a necessitating cause of failure. To understand this, we must bear in mind the twofold official character of the popes, as temporal princes in their own Italy, and as civilizational potentates over the whole catholic feudal system. In challenging the pope's temporal authority, Arnold attained the political suzerainship of princes. A matter

immediately evident to the German Cæsar, who, on that ground, took the initiative in persecution of the heretic, exacting his banishment from Switzerland, and laying him under general ban of the empire. Evidently the heresy which opened with challenge of the temporal authority of the pope, would induce challenge of the political authority of the emperor; and, of course, by induction, of the authority of sovereign princes in general. For Italy, it constituted a political republican programme. In keeping with the genius of her people, and sufficiently suited to all her domestic concerns, but no less unsuited, as we have seen, to all surrounding circumstances, and to the general wants of the age.

As our business is not with the details of history, but with its science, we are not called to mark the vicissitudes in the career of the great political heretic; but to expound the results of the heresy. These were other than could be anticipated by Arnold. At first, far removed in place; and—with a view to great effects—yet more removed in time. It has been thus ever, through all the past, with the conceptions of those real leaders of civilization—few, and often far between—who have influenced the general direction of events, by throwing the germ of new principles into the human mind. It has been theirs to labour for other generations, and often—in time—for other countries, than their own. Uncomprehended in life; martyred in death; neglected in their memory; yet leaving the impress of their souls upon a world which knows them not. Thus was it, and has it been, with Arnold. Although twice raised to the temporal command of the sacred city; although his eloquence, his valour, and his energy twice put that hierophant to flight whose majesty awed the world; although he breathed the soul of ancient Greece into the more advanced states of modern Italy—preparing them for another amphictionic league—yet not then and there were the seeds he dropt to germinate. The soil might be propitious, but the political atmosphere was hostile;

while, for their full developement, the epoch was unripe by ages. They were not lost, however, for humanity nor for Europe. The whole heresy was snatched from the flames of its author's martyrdom by England, and reproduced—as we shall elucidate—under the practical and practicable form of two governmental rivalities, and of a programme of progress of which the developement was entrusted to events, and the growth of the populational mind.

While these better results appeared at the other pole of the system—that pole of which the place had been marked by Norman William—the cruel counter results, ever consequent on defeat, fell to the lot of Italy. Her advanced and polished cities were held, by the popes and the emperors, in ruinous rivalry. And—like to those lovely virgins, in ancient times or in antique fables, devoted, in expiatory sacrifice, for the public weal—the classic peninsula was, and has been to this hour, victimised for the sake of the general system. As, of course, the political heresy, failing to subvert the sacerdotal throne, could only strengthen the feudal power, and envenom the nature of sacerdotal government. The vigour of the counter blow, as dealt by the pope and his Cæsar, were proportionate to the vigour of that which had been dealt by the great heretic. The vengeance which fell upon Arnold, and the cities which abetted his doctrine, was followed up by a course of policy of which we shall have occasion to note the character. And yet, while execrating that policy, in its nature and in its effects, we are less called to sit in judgment upon its authors, than to marvel at the arduous course of human progress; at the complications induced in the scheme of civilization, by the ignorance of the masses, and the differing points of advancement occupied by nations; and, more than all, at the odious nature of the governing principle, which admits of no resource, in any emergency, but that of increasing the evils which it finds

inopportune to redress. And this, until, beneath the accumulation of wrong, human energy expires, and, with it, the life of empires; or, until bursting into convulsive explosion, it throws society into chaos, and jeopardises the very existence of civilization

CHAPTER V.

GENERAL HEAD.

FIRST RIVALITY, AS INAUGURATED AND BROUGHT TO BEAR IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF ENGLAND, BY THE CIVIL CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENDON.

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It was the evident object of Norman William and his barons, when they took possession of England, to create a body politic, independent in its volitions of external influences. The very character of territory seemed to present facilities for establishing a political unity; the radii of whose forces should all centre in the country. The possessions of the church indeed—as found in Saxon England, and confirmed to it, with alterations and additions, by William—were hugely ample, and held, as before, apart from the secular power. But as its whole command was carefully confided to priests of the master race, versed in the affairs of the continent, familiar with the great question there at issue between the heads of the ecclesiastical and political hierarchies, and,

of course, secretly party to the scismatic decision of William ;—and as, moreover, the celibacy of the clergy—that master stroke of Roman pontifical policy—had not then passed into usage, the territorial power and wealth accorded to the ecclesiastical body might seem calculated to incorporate its interests with those of the temporal power of the kingdom ; and, consequently, to place it in the lead-rein of the king. But this, of course, squared ill with the views of Rome, and might be expected, in time, to square as ill with the more sacerdotal ambition of the clergy ; fostered as this was, no less by the more popular leanings of the age than by the arts and preferences of the holy see.

Seeing, therefore, the natural tendencies of clerical ambition, and seeing, moreover, the unbridled course followed by it on the continent, no time was to be lost—with a view to preserving the Norman programme of political independence—in anchoring the church fast to the real interests of the state.

Happily the Norman kings—with two exceptions—were men both of commanding ability and energetic patriotism. Equally able to distinguish threatening dangers, as to master them by intrepidity, or avert them by statesmanship. Thus headed by the king, the political mind of England in unison with the philosophical mind of Paris and Italy, and in resistance of the violent assumption of supreme command on the part of the pontificate, and the absolute prostration of the political power throughout Europe—prepared a blow far a-head of the popular mind both of England and of general Christendom.

Only one century from the epoch of the conquest, and in the full tide of religious frenzy—as betrayed in crusades, monastic devotion, pilgrimages to holy shrines, adoration of dead men's bones, and belief in past and present miracles—the energetic monarch Henry the Second, backed by the other two powers of the government, inflicted a mortal wound on sacerdotal infallibi-

lity, clerical independence of the civil power, and papal supremacy in last appeal, by the *civil constitutions of Clarendon*.

Then and there—distinctly and overtly to the political intelligence of Europe—opened the mission of England. Then and there were laid the foundations of open scism between her government and the see of Rome. Then and there, she impeached the first, parent, Asiatic principle of *sacerdotal infallibility*, that generator—under the circumstances—of the second Asiatic principle—the *statu quo*; and thus struck the feudal system in the tap-root of its theory.

The sixteen articles then formulated by the king, and sustained by the barons, were accepted by every prelate in the kingdom. Even by him of Canterbury; who, with whatever reservations—and, both as a prelate and a statesman, he might conscientiously see many to make—ended by affixing to it his signature.

Met by the fulminations of the holy see, the resistance of the recalcitrating Thomas of Canterbury, and the popular horror excited by the murder of that prelate, before the altar, this instrument appears to the unreflecting reader of history as if but indifferently sustained at the time. Not so, however. That state paper, like many others, was intended in a different sense by its signers. In one by the king, and in another by his feudatories. The object of the former was to put himself, as regarded his kingdom, in place of the pope. The object of the latter was to apply a check to the pope, without adding to the already excessive power of the king.

We have to see, in Thomas à Becket, the accredited head of new church Anglican. That church, now first inaugurated as in counterpoise to the catholic absolutism of church Roman. The latter having established itself—as we have seen—in temporal and spiritual suzerainship, over the two hierarchies of continental feodality. And, moreover—by the junction of its own spiritual and temporal command in Italy, with the political

command and physical force of Germany—having crushed the rising intellect, with the heresy, of the age. But if—under the circumstances—it was desirable and indispensable to check the pontifical assumption of universal Rome, it was by no means desirable to strengthen the prerogative, or enlarge the political sphere of action, of England's king.

The instrument of Clarendon—as being governmentally executed by the three powers of England's feudal system—sufficed to identify the clergy with the temporal power of the realm, and to constitute a national protest against the temporal authority of Rome. But, it was to be feared, that the monarch—already too great a power in the political body, would push to the realization of a programme only intended, by its nobiliary signers of either hierarchy, as a threat. Or—more properly—as the formulation of a principle over which the intelligence of the country had ever to stand on guard. The course taken in the outset, by the king promised—instead of sustaining a useful political rivalry within the kingdom—to throw England at once into overt and active civilizational scism. And either to rend her at once from the feudal catholic system, or to convulse it prematurely to its centre. The whole confusion to be exploited by the English monarch, for the pushing of his own prerogative, and hurrying the infant nation into an oriental despotism. Thomas à Becket resuming, in his single person, the statesmanship of the two hierarchies, and wisely interpreting the interests of the whole body politic—took on himself—as he with best safety and effect could—to traverse the king, after the body corporate of the government had traversed the pope. Let that early page of England's history be studied. It reveals the profound sagacity of her Norman leaders.

The general civilizational virtue of this instrument may be first seen in the league of the Hanse Towns, which dates some time within the same thirteenth cen-

ture,—that age of continental darkness, as created by the reactionary and conservative policy of Rome.

The domestic political virtue of the act of Clarendon was to be supplied at the formulation of England's second rivalry, as soon to be presented in her great charter of the Barons. And, as the programme of Clarendon distinctly opened the civilizational mission of England, so was that of Runnymede to give to it its political form and pressure. The two programmes, as a whole, supplying a text and authority which, in the course of events, were destined to convulse empires, shake society in its foundations, pitch one half of Europe against the other, force open the path for human progress, and make room for a new order of civilization upon earth.

The elucidation of both these programmes, in their nature and their history, constitute a necessitated part of our subject. Having taken them, not only in their historical order, but also in the order prescribed by their nature, we shall follow out our developments touching that with which we have opened; leaving the consideration of the second, and greater, programme until we have brought the first to the epoch of its practical illustration.

Let us now distinctly precise the purport of the Clarendon instrument. It was no less than rendering the king absolute master in the kingdom, without leaving in the organization of the political framework a single check upon his volitions.

Here the student is reminded that, of the two hierarchies presented in the feudal system, one was hereditary, and the other nominative. It is foolish to call it democratic, as is done in the party political parlance of the continent. For that mode of government human affairs were entirely unripe. From whatever rank chosen—usually the higher, and only with better chance of courage in the exercise of their functions on that account,—From whatever rank chosen, the prelates were nominated by the pope, and held therefore distinctly of

him. A matter all important for the interests of nascent society, the protection of the labouring masses from their temporal superiors, and the feudal system generally from tyrannous domination by its political heads.

When the quarrel between the pope and the sovereign crowns of Europe became rife, here then was an important point for the mind of Norman England to consider. She had pronounced by the voice of her conquering founder, that her own political head was the owner in capite of her soil, and the bestower of all right of command over it and its human occupants. In the outset, the Conqueror had laid out the ecclesiastical and the baronial domains; and, in placing both under guardianship of his Norman followers, or in accepting, by new appointment, any of the old Saxon clergy or nobility, he would equally take, as of course, from prelate as from baron, the pledge of supreme fealty to himself. In the hour of conquest and of primary organization, there was such evident necessity for this, that—after the refusal of William to hold his crown of the holy see, which would have quietly settled the whole matter,—After this, and in utter inability of compassing the object at the time, the pope would look, as of course, another way. Not the less thinking about it we may be certain, nor laying up projects *in petto* for having things set square in the future. A thing only to be done in the mode attempted under John. For, unless the principle of catholic unity could be established by catholic—that is *universal*—acquiescence, it was clear that scism was flagrant, and that violent disrapture must hang suspended over the still barely seated civilizational system. For the pope—whose object and whose function it was, to hold all together, and to secure the peace and stability of the newly mounted order of things by means of the steady occupation and quietude of the masses,—For the pope, the great and standing source of alarm was the ambition of kings, and the disturbance ever threatening from the restlessness and rapacity of the fighting temporal hierarchy. But

there was a point not then understood by the head of the feudal continent. It was this: That the mind of Norman England conceived well enough of the necessity of holding all together, no less than of protecting the temporal ease of the millions. While it had learned, from observation throughout Europe, the equal necessity of preserving, or of imparting, life to the political system; and for this purpose, if for no other, the equal necessity of securing the spiritual ease of the millions. The sagacious and valiant race which founded the English nation had distinctly made the discovery that man is made up of a soul and a body, and that for either to be good for anything, both must be in sound condition. That sound condition they conceived to be arrived at, mainly, by the absence of fear and vexation. Consequently, the tyrant of the hour being, in the first place, the pope, they accepted the danger, which they well understood, of a right divine soil-owning monarch. But as the corner stone is held for the stay of the whole edifice, did not the prelatory occupants of the ecclesiastical fiefs thus hold of the king? In case of any serious difficulty between the English monarch and the see of Rome, here was the question that lay clearly open. It had been wisely covered up in the origin by either party. But when the violence of the see of Rome rendered some counter move important for the salvation of the whole system, the English king uncovered the mischief by broadly reading the answer to the question in his own favour. The constitutions of Clarendon gave effectively the whole ecclesiastical preferment of England to the monarch. But, as explained, after the execution of the instrument by the three powers of the state, it was skilfully thrown into suspense by the resistance of the see of Canterbury. In which suspense it continued until the epoch, called, of the Reformation.

We may now see to distinguish that however opportune the emission by England of her programme of Clarendon, as a declaration of principle, perseverance in its

practical exhibit would have been dangerously premature, and politically mischievous. Both as being ahead of populational intelligence at home and abroad, and of all the exigencies of the age.

Although a sagacious monarch together with the responsible heads of the great interests of his kingdom might, in the twelfth century, distinguish the dangers to their authority inherent in the pretensions of Rome, the mass of population could necessarily see in these nothing dangerous to them. So far as they might hear of, or comprehend, the tenor of the governmental instrument, it could only speak against their feelings as against their dearest interests.

For them the supremacy of Rome was such a mystery as the real presence, the incarnation, or the trinity in unity; while the tyranny of kings, the rapacity of feudal lords, the ravages of war, and the horrors of civil strife, were fearful realities. Under the pressure of all the terrific evils of a barbarous age, the sacredness of the sanctuary, the charities and hospitalities of the monastery, the rites of the church, and the ministrations of the clergy, presented shelter and solace to the body, and consolation to the soul. Necessarily, therefore, whatever was denounced by the church was offensive to the people; and again—as an equal necessity—whatever was denounced by Rome was offensive to the church. Before the indignation of the pope, and the canonized martyrdom of Thomas à Becket, the heretical programme of Clarendon had to seek the darkest shelf of the national archives. The king had to make penitent submission for the greatest act of his reign—disguising these, however, under the form of grief for the death, and tributary honours to the memory, of his sainted enemy the cardinal;—and nothing remained, in evidence before the popular eye, of the political drama which had been enacted, but the magnificent shrine of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, charged with consecrated relics and

jewelled presents, and thronged with kneeling votaries from every part of Christendom.

But let us illustrate yet more distinctly the results of this first outbreak of open rivalry between the two heads of England's feudal system.

In the eyes of the multitude it was what every popular interest and every political exigency of the epoch demanded that it should be;—the triumph of the holy see. For the parties in immediate personal rivalry—pope Alexander and king Henry—it was a drawn game. The one evading annulment of the obnoxious instrument, and the other preventing its execution. For England it was an open and absolute declaration of independence. That first necessity—that first constitutive principle, of a body politic. We saw Norman William take the initiative in this matter among the kings of feudal Christendom; thus first assailing its catholic theory. Now, again, of the three powers component of England's body politic, it is the king who takes the lead; demanding and winning the assent of the other two. As emblematic of independence for the world without, and of union for the world within, the king is the appropriate voice and leading agent. The other two powers, confirmative of the act of schism, speak—by the barons—for the English people; and—by the prelates—for the English church. The church, in the occasion, being the constitutional representative of England as an independent but constitutive body in the feudal catholic civilizational system.

But farther, the instrument of Clarendon was a recorded challenge, and, consequently, a pledge of honour, against the whole scheme of feudal catholic civilization.

Viewing in this light the heretical programme of Clarendon—and it can be philosophically and politically, viewed in no other,—the necessity of its ultimate, and the impossibility of its immediate, execution become equally evident. Never may, never can, an empire of puissance prove false to its own programme of progress.

It may enlarge ; it may amend ; but never deny or let it go, but with life. However practically defeated at the time—either by popular prejudice or barbarian violence ; however long deferred by political exigency, so that it be distinctly formulated, and thus left on the national records, popular intelligence will seize upon it in the future, the tide of events remove impediments and prepare facilities, and humanity ultimately make it good.

The general position of human affairs, and the yet undeveloped intelligence of population, at home as abroad, did—properly and necessarily as we have said—neutralize for ages that important instrument. But this only to give to it a character favourable to the best interests of the nation. We have seen how the church of Rome was forced into violence, with a view to the protection of those populational masses in central Europe, which she had redeemed from barbarism. Protected by insular position from all the complications which impeded the natural course of things on the continent, the task of church Anglican was easy. Equally the mother of the city and the country, she neither feared commerce nor sought after heresy. Her influences and her wealth ever growing with the ease of the people, she seldom vexed anything or anybody, and had for her especial business to soften the rude manners of the age and temper its evils. If her leanings were towards laziness and luxury, these were compensated by indulgence and charity, and presented an advantageous contrast to the general strife and trouble it was ever her object to moderate and alleviate. War was the business of the age and the destiny of England. The king and the nobles lived with harness on the back, for the conquest of their neighbours or the harcelling of each other. On the other hand, the bishops and abbots—as sworn to peace and lovers of ease and good living—were usually quiet and indulgent masters, and far otherwise agreeable to serve than fighting barons and warrior kings. The condition of their vassals therefore would present a favourable contrast to that of the

other two powers of the state. Thus rose and grew in England the popularity of the church, and with that popularity its political importance in the kingdom. While, on the other part, the monarch—kept for ages in a standing ague fit by the turbulent spirit of the nobility—necessarily found it his interest to favour that importance. Be it observed, however, that feudal church Anglican was never forgetful of her twofold solemn pledge to country and to population. As to growing old and paralytic, she did this in common with feodality itself, and with all fixed institutions whatsoever. She had to fall, or to die, as every church on the globe must, and will, that lends not itself betimes to the altering wants and spirit of the age. Letting go antique formalities, symbols, traditions, mouldy lumber of useless learning, childish ceremonies, and unmeaning doctrines, to lay hold of the best and ever progressive science of the age. Let us admit, however, that the church of Becket and of Langton was ever a benignant influence in the realm of England. During the infancy and youth of industrial and commercial activity, and, consequently, of popular intelligence—which youth may be said to have extended to the reign of her eighth Henry—the church will be found to have been a guardian of the interests of society, and a sustainer and soother of humanity under the violence of party strife and the atrocity of foreign and domestic war.

This, indeed, has been more or less true under the reign of feodality generally. With church Roman as with church Anglican. But, like feodality itself, a blessing in ages of barbarism, ecclesiastical power becomes the fiercest curse in proportion as civilization expands.

Yet we should ill appreciate the uses, in time, of the sacerdotal majesty, and infallible supremacy of universal Rome, if we considered these only under their more social influences. They wore another, and a higher character.

To make this palpable I shall note—without entering into developments which would lead us too far from our

more especial object—I shall note; that every order of civilization has its own appropriate *religion, or bond of union*. Its own appropriate *theory, or determined object and precised means of attaining that object*. And its own appropriate *political framework, or constituted mode of practice*.

The religion of the first European order of civilization, as prepared by the priest of Rome, was, as previously explained, the *Christian catholic*. The theory of the same order of civilization was *sacerdotal infallibility*; the same involving—in the course of time, and under the action of conflicting circumstances, for this made no part of the catholic theory in the beginning—The same involving *statu quo*. The framework of the same was the *feudal system*.

Now until a new bond of union was prepared for the European family of nations; until a new theory in keeping with the same was formulated; and until a new political framework, in accordance with the new religion and the new theory, was devised, to sever the Christian catholic bond of union would have been to annihilate civilization itself.

The councils of the catholic feudal church were regulative of international affairs. However gradually vitiated, and then enfeebled, in their action by papal intrigues, clerical pretensions, and theological disputations, they constituted courts of supreme arbitrement between states, and tended to hold together the civilizational system.

We thus distinguish how the pontificate supplied the only federative bond to Europe's rising states and empires. How it was for them the expression of general civilizational union, as their kings were the expression of national political independence. Those two component elements of political science as regulative of the external relations of nations; in like manner as we distinguished *order* and *liberty* to be the component ele-

ments of the same political science as regulative of all their internal relations.

But we also distinguished—in those preliminary investigations to which I am ever constrained to refer (page 11)—We also distinguished that, under the rule of government, the principles of political, as of all other truth are placed in contentious opposition ; and—as we shall hereafter better explain—that, if in the struggle, one bear down the other, civilization stops, nations decay, and society disperses in barbarism, or corrodes and expires in gangrene. Wars and rivalities present the sole preventatives of this fatal catastrophe. And here we distinguish, at once, the vice inherent in every mode and form of government, and the source of that necessitated violence presented by the whole past history of nations.

We have noted how, at the epoch of the Norman conquest, the two principles of union and independence closed in deadly rivalry throughout Europe.

The papal throne—supreme representative of union—gathered round it the masses. And this, not merely by acting on their superstition, but, as we have elucidated, by guarding their primary interests. The kingly thrones—representatives of independence—gathered round them the political intelligence of populations, then found only in their summities. But, on the continent, the monarchs—seeing their temporal thrones endangered before the difficulties experienced by the pope in establishing his own temporal throne in Italy ; there indispensable for the support of his universal spiritual throne—soon made common cause with the holy see. Sustaining it with the legions of barbarian Suabia, then of barbarian Austria ; with secret tribunals of the inquisition ; with the university of Paris, and other learned extinguishers ; and, finally, but at a later date, with the flattered, fostered, ay ! and although once suppressed, again established, favoured, puissant, and, at this hour, ever rising, spreading, and every where intriguing, order of the Jesuits.

This alliance of the temporal with the spiritual power of Europe if left to gather head, without any rivalry, governmentally formulated and placed on record from the beginning, by a puissant nation, must have annihilated all governmental equipoise, and prepared for Europe—in lieu of the fires and lights of progressive civilization—the death-damp church-yard meteors of old Egypt's and India's sacerdotal empires.

We have seen that England supplied the saving programme. The greater strength of her feudal organization, the better unity and consequent comprehensiveness of her political mind, and the rampart of insular position, enabled her governmentally to formulate, to suspend, and to renew, the saving rivalry at pleasure.

But we have distinguished that if England—in her bold and early challenge of the spiritual and temporal supremacy of universal Rome—was before her own popular mind no less than the exigencies of the age, she had in her political mind only followed the lead of the philosophical mind of the continent. And here we see that already—in the twelfth century—Europe was conscient of civilizational unity. And here also we see how science ever heads the thought, as thought the practice of nations.

We have noted how, previous to the English programme of Clarendon, the great Italian disciple of Abelard, Arnold, of Brescia—be his name ever held in veneration by all the peoples of the earth!—had sown the seeds of his *political heresy*, so called, in Paris and Constance; and, recrossing the Alps before the storm of persecution as headed by the German emperor, Frederic Barbarossa, had lighted a blaze throughout the free states of his own classic peninsula. Ah! what generous thought has not found a voice in thee, Italy? Twice the cradle of political liberty! Mother of modern science, industry, commerce, and the arts! What would'st thou not have done for Europe but for that equally monstrous league and monstrous strife between the Guelph and Ghibel-

line, which—stifling liberty in anarchy, and killing independence without giving union—hath now for ages submitted thy ethereal mind to the brute force of the northern barbarian ?

The sacred fire quenched in Italia's cities with the blood of her children, and England's heretical programme neutralized by popular apathy, no less than by political wisdom, and silenced by a long course of foreign war and domestic strife, better than four centuries elapsed before Germany herself—not in Austria, the Ghibelline, cavern of European darkness ! but in Saxony, the industrial and the intelligent—Better than four centuries elapsed before Germany herself revived the heresy of the martyred Arnold. Forms being then given to the *political heresy*, of opiniative subtleties, and argumentative disputation, suited alike to the scholastic habits of the learned, and the excited passions and slender knowledge of the just awakened multitude, it spread from state to state, kingdom to kingdom, sapping the feudal system in its catholic theory ; and preparing—though by a dreadful course of war and bloodshed, extortion, and delusion—for the spiritual and the corporal emancipation of the millions.

Not till that epoch commonly called of *the Reformation*, more justly, I conceive, of *the dispute*, did the English programme of the constitutions of Clarendon attempt its governmental illustration.

As before, the king took the initiative ; but now—under the odious impulsion of combined rapacity, passion, and dogmatical opiniativeness—he prepared the fuel for those fires of persecution, and for that sectarian argumentative disputation, which were, by turns, to torture the body and vitiate the mind of society.

In England, as elsewhere, the (so called) Reformation—however graced by the virtue, learning, and heroism of individual votaries, and however constituting in itself an immense step in human progress—was *governmentally* made little else than a scramble for the lands and the

chattels of the Roman church. While, on the other part, it was *popularly* made little else than a disputatious quarrel about absurd dogmas and childish formalities.

The long and dreadful strife which closed with the accession of Henry the Seventh and his marriage with Elizabeth of York, had absolutely ploughed up the bosom of society. The face of the country was covered with beggars and thieves, and the monasteries were filled with destitute widows, orphans, and aged men. While the county courts hanged up thieves by scores—according to the expression of Sir Thomas More—the church cherished the sick and the afflicted; and might—as was laid to its charge—over much encourage the beggars. Evidently a state of things had been now induced which good mother church was wholly inadequate to regulate. But that, under all the circumstances of the case, the son of the very man who had taken part in that horrid strife, which had been the great inducing cause of the reigning evils, and who had, moreover, reaped the fruits of victory—That he should lay violent hands on the monasterial domains, and turn out their helpless inmates upon the charity of society, is one of the most atrocious traits of cruelty upon record. The general pity and indignation excited by the sufferers might not merely have kindled the armed commotions which it did, but have raised the whole country against its author, had not the king brought policy to his aid. Disposing of the lands at cheap rates, and also in gifts to court favourites. Thus interesting influential characters, and the rising middle class of society, in averting the storm, and in neutralizing the popular discontent.

We thus see that there were all the motives ever paramount in the soul of the male sex, for disguising under false pretexts the whole matter in hand. True that the objects embraced by, as the interests involved in, the protestant scism, were entirely removed from comprehension by the mass of population; but we may also add, by none were they less conceived of than by the

English king. He simply ambitioned to relieve his own passions and volitions from all control, and saw, in the movements of Germany, what might facilitate for him the realization of the instrument of Clarendon. And here we may surmise that he distinguished, in his early favourite, Wolsey, not the single ambition of the churchman, to fill the highest office in catholic Christendom, but that also of the statesman, eager to hold its power and exert its influence, for the purpose of reading some answer to the complicated civilizational and political difficulties of the age. And, as of course, in the prosecution of such design, to contrive the application of some check-rein for the headlong career of his own monarch, Henry of England. Wolsey—whatever his failings as a man—was a profound politician and comprehensive statesman. None could distinguish better the altering character of the age. The ineptcy into which church Anglican was falling. The dangers which on all hands besieged, and the vices which undermined, both it and church Roman. The consequently strengthening prerogative and growing ambition of princes. The necessity of some new power, to cope with all the conflicting difficulties, and to pacify, if not to satisfy, the new wants, of the epoch. Wolsey was a man to aspire after filling, on the broad scene of Europe, a part similar to that erst filled by the pontiffs of Canterbury in the young realm of England. Curious things might have chanced could he have reached the papal chair! An ambition very difficult to realize, but which his master took care should be impossible.

Apart all the motives of governing kings, and all the whimsies or vanities of theological disputants, the supreme question at issue, in the sixteenth, as it had been in the twelfth, century, was one distinctly of political science; but had become of necessity considerably modified, and even practically answered, by the course of events and the progress of the human mind.

In the twelfth century, the question had stood thus :

Whether the religious bonds of social and of national union, no less than that of general civilizational union, should be held by the pope of Rome, or by the governmental heads of Europe's divers states and kingdoms.

Although the question, thus formulated, might have seemed logically to answer itself, yet circumstances, in that age—as we have explained—assimilated in little, if in anything, the true in principle with the true in time. In the twelfth century, the pope, sustained by the interests and the feelings of population, made active rivalry against the temporal power of the appropriate heads of nations. His triple crown claimed suzerainship over all earthly crowns ; and the greatest monarchs held their thrones but by his permission. Before the sixteenth century, his office had practically assumed the single form of sovereign pontiff, and guardian of that Christian, catholic, feudal civilization which his priesthood had grafted upon the barbarian hordes who pulverized the corrupted empire and decayed civilization of Rome. Common sense had distinguished, usage established, and the political code of nations confirmed, that the domestic political head of every nation—whether hereditary or elective, single or multiple—could alone, effectively and appropriately, hold the political bond of national union. But that, yet higher, of civilizational association ! What hands were to hold it ? This was a question which now began seriously to occupy the master intellects of the age. Kings, of course, were prepared to answer it shortly in their own favour. Nobiliary statesmen in the temporal ranks—baronial power and grandeur departed—would now be very apt to side with them. Those in the spiritual were more likely to comprehend the danger. And Wolsey was perhaps a man—aided by the antecedents of his own church Anglican—to conceive of some radical changes, as well in the spiritual as in the temporal division of the still outstanding, but fast decaying, feudal system.

The epoch under review was one, evidently, of deep thought for all deep minds. More especially in England, where the regal prerogative had ever been unfelt by the people, and where the civilizational prerogative of the Roman pontiff had never possessed a real existence. But, this being now under general challenge, every remaining prerogative of the catholic pontificate was brought into litigation. Spiritual rivals attached the head of Christendom with malversation, as the director of the thought, and holder of the conscience, of society. Political rivals assailed him in his two-fold sacerdotal office, as holder of the bond of union between nations, and between men. Populations rebelled against the licentiousness of the clergy. Kings against their political influences. Both against their rapacity. The whole scheme of civilization was challenged, in its theory, no less than in the practical exhibit of its theory in either division of its political framework.

But where was the formulated substitute for the order of things that was challenged? Or, if the bond of civilizational union was to be torn from the hand of Rome, were the governmental heads of Europe's states and empires to seize upon its shreds, and draw into their hands all the relations of society, and those of nation with nation? Ah! think of the despotism on the one part, and the strife on the other!

But not alone the holders of that bond, the very bond itself, protesting Europe had to find. By all her protests, she had dissolved the outstanding scheme of catholic association. Scism had rent in twain the universal faith. Doubt had assailed the infallible theory. Change subverted the immutable practice. States and kingdoms, society herself, tore and scattered to the winds the outstanding contract of human association; and, until another should be formulated, humanity had to dwell in all the complicated horrors of religious and political revolution.

Two catholic martyrs—the virtuous Fisher and the illustrious More—opened the long line of England's religious victims. Whatever their conscientious attachment to the tenets and the ritual of the Roman church, they died for a principle of elevated political science. Both went to the scaffold, not for the supremacy of the pope, but against the supremacy of the king. The one as a conscientious prelate, the other as a philosophic statesman, might well distinguish all that was socially and politically hazarded, when England's eighth Henry—with the headstrong fury of a brutal tyrant—killed at one blow the great rivalry of the hour. Made the whole prelacy—then, still, all but a third power, and more than a third influence, in the realm—directly dependent upon himself. Seized thus, in his single hand, the direction of church and state; and—substituting his own infallibility for that of the pope—outraged the conscience of society, and made England a mark for catholic Europe, before protestant Europe was civilizationally associated.

With a view to the right comprehension both of old England and of modern England—old England, for us, being the England of feodality, and modern England the England of the reign of moneyed corruption—With a view to the right comprehension of the whole of her history, up to this hour, we must take distinct note of this :

The English people lost both sponsor and guardian in the day that the eighth Harry dethroned their old independent church. That church which warded off the political power as lodged in the king, and the civilizational power as lodged in the pope. A church it was that might be called, in very deed, a mother. Finding the strength of her authority in populational liberty, and the protection of her wealth in populational ease. Such were the results of the programme of Clarendon, while sustained in the suspense into which it had been thrown by old Thomas of Canterbury. When, from a pro-

gramme, it became a fact, and a fact incorporated with government, it gave strength to the power it before disarmed. So is it with every reform, as proposed under the governing rule, and with every reformer once taken into the governing machinery; no matter to what part of it belonging,—whether to the positive or to the negative power; whether seated upon one end of the lever or upon the other.

And now it will be seen and felt how to preserve the neutral and neutralizing position occupied by feudal church Anglican, a Fisher and a More went to the scaffold. How they died for no mass book, for creeds nor for trumpery, but for the immunities and the happiness of the English people. How they strove not with a mad monarch for opiniative subtleties, but expired as martyrs for the religion of a land.

Unfortunately, the ignorance of the masses has to this hour confounded the religion of a country with its theology. Their duties to each other, and to society at large in this world, with their notions touching their own future existence among the inhabitants of another. Silly conceits touching events beyond the reach of tradition, and causes removed from observation, with the vital interests and the universal confraternity of the species. The trickery of government has ever encouraged the error. Often, indeed, the trickery has been excusable. Sometimes, even laudable. Never could the feudal system have been either established, or broken up, by single-handed good sense and philosophy. These, indeed, have ever guided the age, but zealots and fanatics have moved the generations. Few would hear of, and fewer comprehend, a Galileo or a Copernicus; while Saxony could employ a Luther to advantage, and Geneva a Calvin. So Cromwell busied his followers with seeking the second birth, to save himself the necessity of taking their heads off. But what may be sometimes resorted to in the outset, or in moments of crisis, with a view to public utility, is always—under the rule of go-

vernment—prolonged for the purposes of professional, party, class, or individual advantage. Thus has the spirit of doctrinal disputation and metaphysical speculation which ruled the epoch, called, of the Reformation, been ever fostered to this hour. Fed by government favour, or tickled by government persecution, it has become indigenous in the soil of every protestant country. Not an opinion, notion, whim, conceivable by human ingenuity, but we have seen, and now see, made the nucleus of a sect, and a means of raising the wind, for a living, or a dinner, at expense of the useful labour, the common sense, and even the physical health of society. We are now familiar with the evil, and, it may be hoped, see for it but one remedy. A complete re-organization of society, and the sound instruction of the human mind. Not so at the first breaking out of, what is called, the Reformation.

In England, the church was still sacred in the eyes of the patriot. An anchor of hope for the statesman. We see that Sir Thomas More felt as though the earth were taken from beneath his feet, when rude tongues assailed her; and the jargon of mystic fanaticism and hair-splitting polemics first landed from Germany. His idea was evidently that of Cranmer and others. To make the church an agent of reform. Not seeing that her own reform was past hope, because the days of her utility were flown.

Precisely in proportion with the advance of populational intelligence throughout Europe, declined the civilizing and social uses of the Roman church. Precisely in proportion with the advance of the same in England, declined the corresponding uses of church Anglican. Remained the civilizational uses of both. Since church Anglican had ever held to these; and these were invaluable in the eyes of every comprehensive statesman. This, until the entire unsuitability of the feudal principles and framework, for the altering wants and expanding views of the age, became evident. But all this was

far from being as yet distinguished or distinguishable in England. While the at once ridiculous and irritating form more generally assumed by the protestant heresies, tended to disguise both the moral uses and political necessities involved in the scism. These would have been evident to More a few years later. As it was, he probably saw nothing in the whole protestant affair, but insane aberrations of the human understanding. A drawing of distinctions without differences. A removal of the only outstanding restraint upon the passions of men. More serious yet: a removal of the only check-rein upon the furious temper and arbitrary dispositions of his own sovereign. And—worse than all—a severing of that sacred two-fold bond of national union woven by the hands of England's fathers at Clarendon and Runnymede. Such were, necessarily, the considerations present to the mind of Sir Thomas More. And in this way, we may distinguish how he was brought to lend himself—as the head of the law of the land—to the odious task of persecution. Let us not slur over the fact. But, on the contrary, hold it up in the light of day, as a tide-mark by which to estimate human progress. Sir Thomas More stood undoubtedly at the head of his generation. Enlightened, virtuous, and benignant. A philanthropist in the best sense of the word. Ready, in his own person, for any exertion, and any sacrifice, for the good of the country and the human race. And yet he tried a poor enthusiast for heresy; and, after some patient exertions, finding him obstinate, ordered the torture to be applied in his presence! More did not devise the punishment, but administered the law as he found it. He was, at the time, Lord Chancellor of England, and keeper of the nation's—in the person of the king's—conscience. A terrible conscience to keep, that of bluff Harry! Doubtless he reasoned, as government ever does reason, that he would stifle the evil in the beginning. That one victim would thus save a thousand, and avert all

the dangers which threatened. As if persecution ever failed to kindle zeal, or even to give importance to nonsense! Protestant England soon learned, more cunningly, to employ it for these very purposes.

In the writings of Sir Thomas More, we distinguish the ardent aspirations of a generous mind, alive to all the evils of society and threatening convulsions of his country. Naturally enough he might conceive the possibility, and nourish the hope, of seeing the church property and influences employed as a means of alleviating the one, and averting the other. Yet may his age be distinguished for unripe in experience, with a view to any successful attempt at real reform. We distinguish this by the fact, that More's Utopia—like all others imagined since on the same model—presents no substitute for the governing principle. Consequently, could he have reared his edifice of political economy after his best conceptions, and propped up the same with the best contrivances of ingenuity, all must quickly have degenerated into what we are familiar with in monasteries, communities, lazar houses, and seminaries under jesuitical rule. Happily, it was not the destiny of England to attempt the experiment. Had she attempted it—under the auspices of good old mother church, and some better man and more conscientious sovereign than her eighth Henry—certain it is that she must have put in hazard her own national existence, sent herself backward to old Saxon times, and retarded the general deliverance of Europe. No! England had to make a people—a full grown people—in mind as in body. And, in the outset, the existence called a people, can only be made by dint of changes, convulsions, experiments of all kinds, and—first and foremost, perhaps—the experiment of some general dabbling in the governing business. Should this last even serve no other purpose than to lead men to see and to feel that it is good for nothing.

And now let us observe how, in extreme danger, society ever rallies for her salvation, and how every governmental violence ends by generating its corrective. Although this last, it is true, in the awkward form of its own opposite. The opiniative dictation of Henry to the consciences of the people, first disposed them to thought. But this, mainly in the sense of making creeds dissentient from his for themselves, and often for each other. Spreading demoralization also produced a reaction on the side of ascetic morals, and suggested the substitution of strong parental government in lieu of the influences of the clergy. Thus were sown the first seeds of puritanism. Fostered by the persecutions of Mary these germinated slowly, and in unheeded silence, during the reign of Elizabeth, gathered head during that of James, and broke into active existence under Charles.

Would we follow it out? We may further observe, how the dogmatic obstinacy of puritanism forced into being the equally dogmatic obstinacy of atheism. So, under government, has it ever been from the beginning of time, and will it ever be, either till the end of time or of government. The paltry thing never being able to generate any corrective for any folly, or any evil, save that of a point blank negative for an absolute.

But the epoch of England's convulsive revolutionary movement—as thus first prepared by the headlong violence, dogmatic opinionativeness, and iniquitous robbery of her eighth Henry—was worth centuries of ordinary experience, both for her and for humanity. It formed the race which founded the empire of the new world; and it schooled, at home, that political sagacity which was to enable the island queen to cope with, and to vanquish, if not greater, yet more protracted, dangers than ever besieged an empire.

The epoch in history we have now reached was marked by an event of which we must take note. Since the chain of its influences has been unbroken from that

hour to this ; and universal in its bearings on protestant, no less than on catholic, Europe. I point to the establishment of the Jesuits, by Loyola, under the name of *the Society of Jesus*.

The founding of this singular brotherhood must be regarded as the counter blow to the protests of northern Europe, and the realisation by England of her programme of Clarendon.

Sweden—the political body farthest removed in the general European system and, therefore, less embarrassed in her volitions—was the first, at once, and definitively, to break from the centripetal power, and to arborate the standard of civilizational revolt. The protest and disjunction of Sweden had place in 1521.

England struck her blow, by the hand of her furious Henry, in 1533. And, in the year following, 1534, the Society of Jesus received the sanction of Rome.

We have observed that Rome, from a church militant that she was in the 12th century, had gradually assumed the character of a church peaceable. Willing to live, and let live, so that her dues were paid ; and to ask no questions so that no scandal was given. Ambition had subsided in ease ; and she was quietly sinking down in the corruption ever begotten by stagnation. She was fast asleep when she awoke in an earthquake.

The power of Rome over the thrones of the world was gone. That over the consciences of men was going. The spiritual allegiance of the clergy to the see of Rome was now dependant on that of the political authorities. How long, any where, might either be counted upon ? To institute an order of men who should serve as soldiers of the church ; for guarding its interests, pushing its influences, and who, like the priesthood of Egypt, should command all the learning of the age, and rule at once the mind and the body of society, seemed a mode of defence and offence at once suited to the circumstances of the case, and to the sacerdotal character. It promised also to put under cover the pope and the cler-

gy, and to shield the see of Rome from dangerous and unseemly contacts and collisions.

But Rome had soon to learn that, in putting herself under cover, she resigned her power, her influences, and her uses; and must soon become, like the royalty of the Merovingian race of kings, a pageant to hide the command of the mayors of the palace.

To resume; and to bring to a close the topic under review.

The religious revolution of England extends, from the reign of her 8th Henry inclusive, until her transaction of 1688.

During that period the seeds of a new religion—as destined, after a long course of struggle and of preparation, not yet brought to a close—to supply the bond of a definitive order of civilization—The seeds of a new religion germinated in the bosom of humanity. With it the last great rivalry between the four cardinal principles of political science—liberty and independence on the one part, order and union on the other—was to rise to head, and convulse society to its centre. In the last act of that struggle we now are. Nor—whatever may be the resolve of three powers, more especially coalesced for despotism—so that England, at this hour, sagaciously distinguish, and righteously fulfil, all her responsibilities, can the issue be doubtful?

But, during the revolutionary epoch of which we have marked the opening, England and Europe were disputatious battle fields, where principles could ill be formulated. And the choice virtue and energy of a chosen age had to find, and to conquer, a savage world wherein to nurse the programme of the future.

On the soil of England, and at the close of her revolutionary epoch religious and political, was to be concocted a scheme of transitory civilization, fitted to meet the exigencies of the present.

At the epoch of her transaction, England devised for herself and the world her still outstanding, but long

since overstretched, and now universally worthless and demoralizing, bond of political and civilizational association; and appointed the holders and sustainers of that bond. In other words, she established a new religion, contrived a new theory, and organised a new political framework. All which will appear in future chapters.

Having traced to its denouement the rivalry which agitated the principles of the spiritual division of England's feudal system until it finally convulsed both its theory and its practice; we have now to consider that which agitated the temporal division of the same, until the whole was brought to revolutionary crisis under England's first Charles.

CHAPTER VI.

GENERAL HEAD.

SECOND, OR TEMPORAL RIVALITY, AS BROUGHT TO BEAR IN THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF FEUDAL ENGLAND BY THE GREAT CHARTER OF RUNNYMEDE.

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the charter.—How characteristic of the whole reign of the temporal rivalry.—How necessarily introduced, and abrogated, with the same.—How abolished by Henry the Eighth.—Quickening influences of England on the outer world as consequent on her national compact.—Birth and growth of Hanseatic League.—Seed of new religion and counter civilization.—How parried by Rome.—Heresy and scism.—Both defined.—Inquisition.—England, how shielded from.—Domestic effects of England's foreign and baronial wars.—Rise of powerful middle class.—How favoured.—Political rivalry in original form disappears.—Succeeded by ascendancy of the crown.—Danger of the same.—Encountered by new and gigantic rivalry between king and people.—Fall of Constantinople.—Floods Europe, with the thoughts of old Greece.—Pontifical Rome conquered by classic letters, philosophy, and art.—Two-fold heresy of Arnold pervades the whole system.

WE have now to consider the second rivalry which arose out of England's feudal system, as organized at the Conquest; and which, agitating its temporal division, while the first agitated the spiritual, was to prepare a political revolution, in like manner as the other did a religious.

As mounted in England at the period of the Conquest, the feudal organization of society was tremendous. The vassalage of the agricultural mass attached to the glebe, was now trebly secured by the difference of race and of language; and by the superior valour, intelligence, and political experience of the conquerors. But this latter circumstance brought with it salvation.

The Normans were a singularly travelled race. They had commenced as pirates; followed up their apprenticeship as robbers; and, finally, established themselves, more or less everywhere, as masters.

They knew the whole of Europe. Its seas as its land. Were familiar with its coasts, and its harbours, its states, and its populations; its manners, history, and institutions. They had ridden through it as knights errant, haunted its cities as traders, and swept over its states as conquerors. They knew the lower empire, and Palestine, and Egypt, Jews, Saracens, and Moors. They understood that there were more ways of living in the

world, and more ways of thinking, than one. They were at home in the cottage, and the castle, and the cloister, and the court; in the battle field, and at the tournament; at the council board, and at the feet of beauty. They had seen what went to make the greatness, and what the weakness, of empires. Understood how their wealth was developed by commerce, their industry quickened by intelligence, and their intelligence by liberty. They knew the wonderful Italian cities, just bursting into life, with letters, art, and civil freedom. They entertained relations with every leading state of Christendom; and held, in Normandy, its most renowned and splendid court. They were no longer the wild and wandering *North-men*, whose piratical pirogues—as hovering round the coast of his just formed empire—drew tears from the eyes of Charlemagne. Terrified at the thought that new barbarians of the sea, fierce as those just subjugated of the land, were to spread a fresh flood of desolation over Europe's just resuscitating fields and reorganizing labour. Now—formed by two centuries of adventure, observation, practice of arms, diplomacy, commerce, and state affairs—the fierce sea-kings had thawed their sinews and their minds beneath the sun of southern Europe. Crossing too their race with many a noble, and every royal house. Not then, as now, diseased with all the sloth, and early vice, and ignorance begotten by long hereditary ease and station; but created by desert, such at least as a rude age could generate and appreciate. Every state courted their residence. Kings endowed them with lands and honours, and sought their alliance throughout the whole breadth of Christendom. From Scotland and Moscovy to Sicily and Palestine, they were received into the native nobility. Having given a duke to Normandy, and a monarch to England, they mounted the throne of Sicily in the person of Robert Guichard; filled, for a while, that of the lower empire, and gave a king to Jerusalem. Thus pre-

senting, throughout the civilizing world, a practical exhibit of the truth that *knowledge is power*.

It might be curious to consider how the character of *sea barbarians*—so justly alarming to Charlemagne, since it enabled them to assail his empire on all sides, while it rendered them, on their part, unseizable and unassailable by his power,—It might be curious to consider how this very character secured for the North-men their early superiority over other races, and prepared them for their future task as universal civilizers. Their habits of pirates, and then of traders—two pursuits so analogous as to blend insensibly—decided their whole career. Locomotion is the most effective teacher. To this the Romans owed their political sagacity and command. To this also, the Franks, who, before they took possession of Gaul, had journeyed across Europe, and came prepared to profit, more than any other barbaric race, by the remains of Latin civilization and the guidance of catholic Rome. But the pathway of waters leads everywhere. The ocean supplies to all countries a physical bond, as it were, of universal association. In traversing its bosom, man becomes a cosmopolite, and learns to regard all the countries of earth as one great republic, destined to be ultimately interlinked in one vast chain of righteous association.

Yes, the sea! the sea! has been the liberator of earth. Its wide expanse, its restless waves and tides, its storms, its dangers, have stimulated human curiosity, and quickened human energy. Not useless, not barren, then, its watery desert through the past. It has quickened in the soul of man emotions and ideas. It has facilitated and necessitated his advance in science, has led him round the globe, and aided, at once the progress, and the spread, of civilization.

At the epoch of the Conquest, the Norman French were formed to all the best hardihood, practical knowledge and courtesy of the age. Their own rude appren-

ticeship was made, and they ambitioned to make that of others.

They understood—as is evident—the danger, no less than the utility, of those ecclesiastical influences, which, everywhere spread, they wished to employ rather than obey. They knew these to be systematised by the pope; established in omnipotence over Germany; and had seen, and felt, them to be aiming throughout Europe, not only at entire independence of, but absolute command over, all political authority.

Thus versed in the affairs of all Christendom, the Norman French were the very men to turn the insular position of England to account. To employ there the feudal system for the primary organization of a body politic; and then to wage war with its theory, and modify its practice, as time and events might permit. How sagaciously and effectively they set about loosening the screws of the iron system they had so recently mounted, appears in magna charta.

We have seen the first programme of Clarendon formulated by the domestic temporal head of feudal England—the king, against the external spiritual head—the pope of Rome, and endorsed by the heads of the two other powers of the political system—the prelates and the barons. And we have explained how, in this, England had governmentally pledged herself to the leading doctrine of the political heresy of the continent. That heresy which the first great apostle of modern liberty, Arnold of Brescia, had propounded in France and Switzerland; had proclaimed amid the ruins of Rome's capitol; and for which he died in flames upon Rome's corso. Oh horrid portent of all the ages yet to be, in and through which the ethereal southern mind was to be weighed down by the brute matter of the north! Anglo-Norman England—versed in continental state affairs—threw down at Clarendon her gage of honour, that the contest was not closed, and struck a first governmental

blow for the ultimate emancipation, not of England only, but of Europe and the globe.

The second programme of Runnymede was invoked by the head of England's prelacy; formulated by her barons; and—as being thus sustained by the nobiliary heads of the two divisions of her political system—was imposed irresistably upon the king.

We should here observe that the power of the first Norman kings was tremendous. While conquest and absolute command were alone in question, this was a political necessity; and, as such, accepted by the haughtiest barons. Yet, in arming their leader with all but dictatorial command, they felt themselves his equals; and meant to hold a check-rein on his volitions. But even as a brute body once launched moves with ever accelerating impetus in the absence of counteracting power of equal magnitude, so does it ever happen that wherever, in a political system, the greater governing power is lodged, there is the point to which all the secondary forces tend, until the whole are finally absorbed in one.

The single fact that the king was the owner in capite of all the lands of the kingdom—of the whole national territory, either as then existing, or as to be hereafter—was alone sufficient to generate arbitrary government. The pontiffs of Rome had been alive to this difficulty from the beginning. Hence the arrogance of their spiritual tyranny over the crowns of the continent; and the fierceness of their resolve to establish—under cover of the ignorance of the northern populations—the precedent of Charlemagne as the universal law of the feudal system. The design had in it sublimity, no less than beneficence. It was, in fact, fixing and consecrating the conception of old Asiatic-Egypto science, which placed the supreme tenure of the soil in heaven. Thus removing the sacred bosom of the common mother earth from the selfish appropriation and violent rapacity of the male principle, as ever rampant in the ascendancy

of the brute force, or subtle fraud, of man, over the providential care and generous inspirations of woman. In presence of populational ignorance, nothing but the papal supremacy could have checked the rising preponderance of the House of Suabia, and averted the early concentration of despotic authority in the political head of the German empire. As it was, the nobiliary heads of population preserved their strength under the shelter of the tiara. And thus again, in the decline of the papal influences, the Emperor Charles the Fourth felt himself constrained to issue the famous golden bull securing effectively, to the futurity of Germany, the character of a federative republic. But we have traced the circumstances—as originating in the more advanced point of progress occupied by Italy—which threw the pontificate into governmental violence. Thus forcing, for England, the scism of Norman William.

By his act of scism—as wisely and necessarily, under the circumstances, upheld by his followers—he, the conquering king, became the owner in capite of the soil of England. Under government, sovereign authority without appeal and territorial supremacy have to be somewhere, place them far off or as near, as you please. In the ignorance, which is effectively the weakness, of population, the farther off the better. Hence the advantage for Germany of the catholic feudal supremacy of Rome. And, in the absence of that controlling supremacy, we distinguish the source of the helpless disorganization of Saxon England. Broken up under the miserable government of the monkish controllers of her communities.

We distinguish here how much refinement of political science is in demand, for warding off the dangers incident to the youth of nations. And again; how indispensable it is to hold in view the *principles*, and not the *forms* of civilization. Establish the first, and, if correct, they necessarily generate the latter. Carve out the latter, after the best contrivances of ingenuity; and if there

be any defect in the former, your work will fall to pieces, or change its nature before your eyes.

In the outset, the tyranny of the monarch, in his character of Conquerer, weighed mainly on the conquered population. A mode of its exercise which all the Norman leaders seconded. But soon, of necessity and from the very organization of society, it pressed immediately on the great feudatories of the crown, spiritual and temporal; and, through them, upon the whole political system and populational mass.

Thus, as the blending of the two races advanced, and as the crown vassals began to feel the responsibilities of their position, arose the second rivalry. That between the king and the nobiliary heads, spiritual and temporal, of the kingdom.

While this second rivalry was yet in embryo, the first—of which we have sketched the history—rose to head, and formulated its programme at Clarendon.

But the miserable John of England—complicating his iniquities by an absolute prostration of the dignity of the realm—sought, with the hand of a traitor and a parricide, to rend the programme of his illustrious father, and to give the lie to the governmental pledge of the nation.

When the base monarch laid on the footstool of St. Peter that crown which he held from the valor of the proudest chivalry of Europe; and which the first William—doubtless in full understanding with his barons—had refused to render tributary to the haughtiest pontiff who ever wore the tiara—When the base monarch—false to his ancestry, false to his country, false to the hope of nations—thus outraged the protest of Clarendon, he forced into being the greater programme of Runnymede for its defence.

The overt exhibition of the second rivalry was a delicate matter. The first, between the pope and the king, was—for England, ensconced in her seas, and with the feudal heads of her church in faithful alliance with her

domestic system—distinctly a civilizational rivalry. But one between the king and the nobles was, yet more distinctly, a political rivalry; and, as such, threatened necessarily to rack, if not to convulse, the whole domestic system. The power of the king had been established with free consent of the barons. On it rested, of necessity, that unity and strength of command indispensable—in the absence as yet of an intelligent popular mind—for the safety of the realm, and first consolidation of the political system. That this power, however, had been ever watched with jealousy—albeit, in the general, silent and deferential—is evident from the fact that a charter of privileges, guarding the great feudatories of the crown from arbitrary vexations, had been octroyed, as the French would say, (and we may adopt the word, it being wanted, and a good one)—had been octroyed by three successive monarchs of ability and spirit. An act of good pleasure, benevolence which they were little likely to have committed if they had not felt themselves to have been treading upon hot ashes. But—however reluctant the great feudatories of the crown might be to challenge a power upon which still, as yet, depended that of the state—before the ignominious and treasonous concessions of the unworthy John, every consideration had to give way to *one*; of necessity ever supreme in the soul of patriotism—the honour of country.

The first mover in this long and great political drama, was the holder of the see of Canterbury. Honour to Archbishop Langton! Honour to the patriot-statesman-prelate! who rang out the tocsin to the guardians of a nation's honour and a people's interests, and who gave his pastoral blessing to the first great move for the effective emancipation of the masses! In that day the English church—already in formulated rivalry with that of Rome—was the guardian of humanity and the inaugurator of a new order of civilization.

Nor let the opposition of England's spiritual leaders, in this case, be confounded with that of her temporal

leaders. It was in much of a different, and of a more elevated, because more disinterested, character. A rivalry with the king on the part of the barons, was certain to result in what it did result. A struggle for ascendancy in the government. In traitorous rebellions against, and attempted usurpations of, the throne on the part of baronial houses. A thing, indeed, necessary to work out the physical training of population. But the opposition of the church was a stroke of elevated statesmanship, if not of patriotism, calculated to come in aid of its political training. The twofold object, as the twofold merit, might be, at the time, with the barons also. But—as after events showed—were likely to be neutralized by individual or family ambitions, feuds, and all the more vulgar passions incident to mere governmental rivalities.

Upon the occasion before us, the church of England—in the person of her leading prelate, or domestic pontiff; for, as such in earlier English history, the holder of the see of Canterbury should be regarded—placed himself in the same attitude assumed, in the origin of Christian feudal civilization, by the catholic pontiff of all Christendom. That is, she placed herself at the head of the mass, with a view to its protection and progress. Yes; *progress*. For, in the origin, the Roman church had been the great servitor of progress also. And—if held in rivalry, instead of placed in league, with the whole temporal power of feodality—might and would, after its first violence was subdued, have returned to its original character. This, however, was evidently impossible on the continent. The church there had to rule or to be ruled. In England the position of things was different. And her church, throwing itself at once into scism, exerted an influence favourable to human progress. Independent of the king by its spiritual allegiance to the pope; and independent of the pope by its temporal dependence on the king; it constituted better than a balance power, it was a *universal influence* in the state. Nourishing ever

an under current in favour of larger liberty and popular ease.

Chiefly, in this manner, may we distinguish England to have been made, in the civilizational system, chief protector of the principles of liberty and independence. While a combination of counter circumstances made of central Europe the head seat of union and order. Characters which, more or less, have been held by both to this day.

We have previously had occasion to shadow out the high political and social uses of the primitive catholic church and catholic clergy. First; in taming the savage. Then in alleviating, and organizing the servitude which arose out of the flow of the barbarian torrent. In central Europe—country of passage both from north and east—this was more or less continuous during, at least, 400 years. A period more than sufficient to annihilate every vestige of that old German freedom which Tacitus admired. Together with the original German tribes themselves; and equally every trace of old Roman civilization. The circumstance here noted, of the prolonged flow of the barbarian torrent into central Europe; together with the non-subjugation of Germany's southern provinces by any more advanced power since the days of Charlemagne; and the removal of the same by geographical position from the quickening influences of commerce,—The leading circumstance thus protected by others, has influenced the character of southern Germany to this hour, and fixed it as the point of civilizational statu quo. But thus, be it observed—was effectuated that servitude without which the taming of the wild man has been as yet—in the absence of more advanced civilizational science—an impossibility. And—what is curious—thus also would seem to have been impressed upon Europe that centripetal principle indispensable for the first creation of a civilizational system. This, however, is instructive no less than curious. Presenting a singular illustration of the old Roman political fable of

the belly and the other members. Tending to show how every member of the European family has exerted an influence as a civilizational power. Either by aiding the principles of *liberty and independence*, or by strengthening those of *union and order*. We shall seek, therefore, a suitable occasion for developing the nature of the singular phenomenon to which we have reference. Together with the law, which will be found to have been instrumentally regulative of the whole past course of nations and of the human race.

But we further suggested, in our earlier developments, the federative uses of that supreme pontificate which—also in the absence of more enlarged and elevated science—served to impress, on the yet chaotic civilizational body, a first instinct of its unity. We distinguished also however that—as the destiny of man is liberty ever enlarging with the horizon of his knowledge, and not slavery as ever fastened upon him in his generations by erroneous and vicious civilizational organization—We distinguished, I say, that to have allowed the feudal system to settle down fixedly in its principles, would have dug the grave for human liberty; and, with that, for all that is worth having in human existence.

At and from the epoch of England's Norman Conquest, the Roman pontificate was ever rising to its apogee of power. In its origin, the tamer of barbarian Europe, and foster-mother of nascent civilization, it was now changing its character, to become the cherisher of ignorance and extinguisher of light. Nor could this be otherwise. Charged with holding in union the discordant elements of a still chaotic world; and charged, moreover, with the protection of the first rude labour of the subjugated mass, it necessarily eschewed, above all things, those master intellects of which the mission is ever to upheave the dull level of stagnant generations, and to breathe the promethean fire of mind into the gross matter of animality. Leaning upon the ignorance of the masses, and yet more especially on that of Ger-

many, it employed, by turns, the sword of St. Peter and the artifice of St. Paul. In league with the northern barbarian, it drenched Italy with blood, and laid her free cities in ruin. It established on the Rhine the inquisition; and then—subjugating the political mind of France—it made even a Philip Augustus the crusading exterminator of the Albigenses. Monarchs were but the tools of the pontiff's pleasure; and their miserable subjects the blind executors of his will. Thus the first clarion tones of free enquiry ceased to vibrate on the air; and the apparently retrograde darkness of the thirteenth century—the most lifeless of the renascent ages—closed upon the world.

But in the opening of that very century—15th June, 1215; and as in protest against the league of the tiara with the iron crown, and the subjugation of the whole political mind of Christendom—was invoked, formulated, and blessed, by the hierarch of England's church, in league with England's barons, the first great programme of the future. Emblematic of the truth that the master movement of the species is never retrograde, and that each momentary recoil is but as that of the receding wave in the advancing tide.

It is necessary to recal the general state of Europe, and equally to recal the gross superstition which benumbed the populational mass of England—still sunk in all the mental apathy and degradation fastened upon it in the old communities of Anglo-Saxon monkery—It is necessary to recal this, in order to appreciate the enlarged and long-sighted wisdom which dictated the immortal charter of the barons. Together with the subtlety of statesmanship necessary to effect just what was indispensable, without attempting what was hazardous, unadvised, or impossible.

It was indispensable to sustain the ground taken at Clarendon. To protect the national independence, as threatened by the pope; and all national rights and liberties, as threatened by the king. To do this success-

fully, it was indispensable to interest the multitude in the matter. This could only be done by quickening the populational mass—in other words, by creating that noble existence called *a people*.

We see, then, that the stand made at Runnymede was that of sagacious leaders of a yet unformed people. Strong arms and strong heads alone can lay the foundations of liberty, as of empire. The prelates and barons of England laid the foundations of both, in formulating a programme of gradual populational emancipation. Pledging to its realization the then existing leaders of population, and responsible heads of the two divisions of the English body politic. Thus creating an associate body of equal free men, capable of guarding the soil of the country which they held in estate; and capable, also, of protecting its honour and its interests alike against the strength or the weakness of the monarch, and the accidents of a still barbarous age.

In the solemn association of the nobiliary land power for these purposes, and in the pledge then placed by it on record for appeal thereto in the hour of need, lay the virtue of magna charta, and not in a mere state paper, which circumstances might neutralize, or the sword cut through. During a course of ages, its effects were silent, and unsuspected by the mass; for whom they were like those of the atmosphere, enjoyed without thought of their existence. For the upper ranks of society, they became a law and a habit. Restraining the exercise of power, and uniting the energies of population under their leaders, and all under the banners of the sovereign. In this union of the body politic, as first secured by magna charta, no less than in the talents and chivalrous valour of her kings, we find the leading cause of England's success in arms. Success—in that age, and, unhappily, but too universally since—indispensable for national security if not for national existence. Subsequently, the strength of attachment induced by the feudal bond between the nobiliary leaders and the mass,

became—under the effects of warlike habits—the inevitable source of trouble to the state. But also—as we shall hereafter distinguish—the great security for the general unity of its political mind, at all epochs of political crisis. Often, under the effects and consequences of domestic strife, the great bond of national union would seem forgotten or neutralized. Yet, during all the rivalities of baronial and royal houses, was its spirit ever cherished by the church. Its text, too, lay in the archives of the land, ready for appeal thereto, when time and circumstance should have developed its effects in the soul of population, and in the growing and multiplying resources, energies, and industries of civilization. But let us investigate the nature of the programme to which England set her seal at Runnymede.

Magna charta presents neither a scheme of government nor a declaration of principles. But it involves every principle most effective to counteract the worst tendencies of government, and to prepare for its ultimate abolition by developing the best energies of advancing civilization.

Successful civilization being an impossibility, without organization, the political mind of England—as speaking in magna charta—left untouched the organization, or framework, of the feudal system; but, yet more forcibly than by the constitutions of Clarendon it assailed its principles with their opposites. Considering these two state instruments as a whole;—concentrative unity and sacerdotal infallibility—as enshrined in the head of the civilizational system, the pope of Rome—were encountered by national independence and human intelligence, as speaking through the heads of England's political system, the king, the prelates, and the barons. And again; arbitrary government, as embodied in England's king, gave way before liberty, speaking by the responsible leaders of England's people. And thus the principle of human progress—sure result of liberty and independence—was effectively enshrined at the counter pole

of the European system, in resistance of the statu quo established at the other.

Let us here distinguish, that by these two instruments was effectually realised the purpose of the Norman founders. England established her independence of volition. While retaining her position as an influential body in the catholic feudal civilizational system, she presented, in herself, a distinct political system. Her national bond of union—her own peculiar religion—was held by her own church Anglican. While, by the same, she was held—without restraint, or undue contact—in safe relation with that of Rome. There was, in this, more near approach to the true character of the federative link than has ever yet been exhibited, unless in colonial America. It is common with all continental writers to attribute the same federal character to the Roman church generally. This is an error; arising out of the yet unconceived nature of federation, as distinct altogether from consolidating unity. The Roman church clasped together no federative links. Nor could do so, from the character of every surrounding circumstance. All on the continent—as we have attempted to expound—breathed danger to her whole civilizational system. As a consequent, she never aimed at, or conceived of, anything but catholic unity. A state of being altogether opposite and contrastive to federation. Let us then here distinguish—as explanatory of England's whole history, and of her necessitated absorption of influence as the head of protestant Europe during the after struggle with the land power of the feudal continent, and, then again, with the military power of the French empire—Let us distinguish that it was through the agency, and by means of the peculiar position, of her own old church Anglican, that England assumed, in her national infancy, the peculiar and powerful character of a *political system*. An existence apart from, or rather co-existent with, that of a *political body*. While this last was the single character

presented by, as forced by circumstances upon, every continental member of old feudal Europe. The student is requested to reflect well the matter here expounded. It is a leading item, with a view to the accurate comprehension of the history of "England, the Civilizer."

The national compact, of England's great charter—invoked, as we have seen, by the domestic hierarch of England's church; formulated by her great barons; imposed on her king; and accepted by her whole political mind—set bounds to all the authorities in the different grades of her feudal system. It placed also each class of society under the protection of its leaders; and pledged the honour of those leaders to interpret fairly the interests of their dependents. Thus far the charter was but a specification of the original design of the feudal system, as instituted by the Roman church. A design very necessary to recal, and solemnly to record, before the violent usurpations and tyrannous depravity of John, no less than under the lawless abuse of power, general neglect of duty, and license of morals and manners, ever growing and spreading, before the example of the monarch, through all the ranks of society. But this specification of original feudal law was accompanied by many restrictions on the royal prerogative. The liberties of a country in fact, consisting, simply and singly, in the application of the Mosaic *thou shalt not* to government, as in resistance of the *you shall not* so copiously applied by government to all submitted to it. The charter, after specifying large immunities as to be secured by the king to his vassals, distinctly premised that the immunities so accorded to the first feudatories of the crown, were by these to be extended proportionably to the vassals holding of them. And so again downwards, until those attached to the glebe were to hold indefeasible property in all their implements of husbandry, and other requisites for the successful prosecution of that labour upon which depended their means of sub-

sistence. All privileges, as previously, at different epochs bestowed on cities, or conceded to trade and traders, were confirmed ; and free egress from the country permitted. The very emission of this latter clause—although destined, with many others, to experience qualifications and suspensions—struck at the very root of feodality. Of which the direct tendency, if not the especial object, is to retain the great mass of society in the first animal state ; and, even, to sink them, as far as possible, from the animal to the vegetable. And this ; by rooting them down in the soil, and confining them within the narrow limits of mere organised life.

If we take into consideration the state of semi-barbarism, commingled with decay and exhaustion, in which the Saxon government and population were plunged at the epoch of the Conquest ; and which were and had ever been such—excepting during the reigns of some energetic kings, and more especially during that of the wise and valiant Alfred—as to lay the whole country open to the cruel ravages and disgraceful exactions of every freebooter who chose to land upon its shores—And again ; If we take into consideration the course of violence, rapine, and tyranny which accompanied and followed up the Conquest, we cannot too much admire the comprehensive wisdom which went to the composition of that immortal charter. One century and a half had sufficed to reconcile the most opposite and discordant elements. A cruel and rapacious invader was transformed into a protecting master. The subjugator of a country into its civilizer. And preparation was made for launching an enslaved population in a course of effective, because of progressive, emancipation. The good, found in the old usages of the country by its conquerors, was examined, appreciated, and, where fallen into desuetude—as must have been, in much, if not altogether, the case under the Danish government—restored. All danger from new foreign invasion, or barbarian inroads, was at an end.

The country was more than equal for its own defence. It was ready for aggression. And fit to stand all the wear and tear arising out of civil commotions, foreign war, and all the other accidents, as yet ever incident to the youth of nations.

But now it may be useful, to formulate, in one sentence, the truth to which England set her seal at Runnymede. I conceive we may do it thus :

To the leaders of a nation belong the interpretation of that nation's interests ; as upon them—in their lives, their fortunes, their honour, and their intelligence—devolves their defence.

Let us take note of the programme then and there admitted, signed, sealed, in the great charter of the land. We shall return to it. And, nobles of England ! we shall hold ye to it.

Out of thy own mouth shalt thou be judged, England ! To thy own pledges shalt thou be held. The righteous fulfilment of thy own programme—*giving to it the extension which, by all thy responsibilities, it assumes*—To this art thou bound. In expounding thy mission, I will ask no more. But—so help me truth !—as I will ask, and as thy own people, the people of the British empire, of Europe, and of all the nations of the civilized world, must *take* no less.

It is not incurious to observe, that the national compact of England had place during the fullest development of chivalry, and under the many singular consequences prepared by the crusades. Among these, were some certainly not envisaged by their designers and sustainers, the pontiffs of Rome. The policy in which the oriental crusades originated, was the same as that explained (chap. iii. and iv.) with regard to Italy. To conquer the catholic ascendancy of the feudal civilization during the infancy of populational intelligence, by turning to account the fanaticism of the millions. We have to bear in mind the ever paramount necessity of the renascent ages. The fast seating and spreading of

the young system upon which then seemed to depend all the futurity of the human race. For the popes, this was the one ruling idea. Surrounded, as we have explained, by every civilizational danger, the boldest might appear also the wisest policy. Namely, to seek the rival, and then all conquering, mahomedan civilization, in its stronghold and birthplace—the countries of the Levant. Once established in Palestine, catholic feodality might have envisaged, not only the successful arresting of the energetic Saracen, but the general supplanting of the law of Mahomet itself. The popes, at that time, commanded both the martial strength and the political intelligence of Christendom. And they did this necessarily from the universally acknowledged dangers which environed it. But, as is often the case with the best calculated schemes, the results of the singular outpouring of Europe upon Asia were the opposite of what was anticipated. The two civilizations of the crescent and the cross, thus forced into sudden contact, instituted a rivalry anything but favourable to statu quo and catholic unity. The iron knights of Christian chivalry, learned courtesy and generosity, if not some leanings towards liberal philosophy, during their passage of arms with the great Saladin. Intercourse with the turbaned guardians of *two* sacred cities, and the tombs of *two* inspired prophets, was well calculated to impart some knowledge and more heresy. And the crusaders, on their return from Palestine, could not but scatter, through the leading countries of Europe, the seeds which they had gathered. It is remarkable, that the popular heresy of Wickliffe, with the persecution which it generated, marks the epoch in England. Let us note this well; and distinguish how the religious compact of Runnymede came timeously to steady the yet ill seated political framework. And further, how the silent, but effective scism of the Anglican church—as by that act brought to bear, after the demise of John—peacefully secured the place of England in the

general system. And this—Oh, learn the lesson, ye torturers and constrainers of the souls of men and of nations!—This, not by tightening, but by loosening, the governmental rein; and by placing the thoughts, with the interests of society, as in the guardian trust of an indulgent mother.

Again, we may observe, that the full developement of chivalry, as induced by the crusades, was little calculated to dispose the magnates of population to succumb to any despotic authority whatsoever. The military orders, indeed, were bound in the allegiance of their honour, to the holy see. But not so, or *only so with reservations*, in the case of the independent domestic chivalry of England. While its intelligence could not but glean precious and varied information and experience, and strengthen the bold hardihood of its political sagacity, during the years of adventure passed in that extraordinary enterprise. Their sojourn in the lower empire would also tend to impress them with yet other evils than those threatening from papal supremacy. The absolutism of their own regal head, in the person of John, might well recal to remembrance the regime of Constantinople, and warn them of all that threatened the young political system of the country, while no established check was presented to the arbitrary volitions of the monarch. Thus we may see how all things really conspired, in the reactionary epoch of the thirteenth century, to constrain the political sagacity of England to bring to bear within her territory that twofold programme of the great heretic of Italy, which had been there quenched in fire and drowned in blood. And how, aided by position, England was enabled to do this, without risking at home any premature populational agitation, or forcing abroad any civilizational perturbation hazardous for the safety of the general system.

Among the political acts consequent upon the great compact of Runnymede, the author of this treatise is

disposed to regard the formulation of the singular ceremonial observed at the coronation of England's feudal kings, and which the eighth Harry abolished in a mode characteristic at once of the epoch and the man.

It is on record, that the hereditary constable of feudal England, at the coronation of her kings, took from the hands of the just inaugurated sovereign, a drawn sword; and, thereupon, exclaimed with a loud voice, in apostrophizing the king, *With this sword I will defend thee against all thine enemies, if thou governest according to law; and with this sword, I and the people of England will dethrone thee, if thou breakest thy coronation oath.*

The office of constable was instituted by the Conqueror, and presented one of trust and high military command. In the origin, doubtless, similar to that so noted in feudal France. From such a quarter the threat was singularly significative, and the whole ceremonial, as results proved, anything but a *ceremony*. The author has not been able to get at any historical information with regard to the time and manner in which the usage was introduced and brought to bear. It is not difficult, however, by reference to the principles of history, to supply all that is important. The threat presented to the soil-owning head of feudal England self-evidently marks the defeat of the monarch by the nobiliary leaders of her two hierarchies. It inaugurates, distinctly and violently, that great political rivalry for which the scene acted at Runnymede opened the way. Would it not be first introduced at the coronation of John's infant son Henry the Third? Sustained as the helpless minority of that prince was by bishops and barons, such a ceremonial might seem to present a consistent corollary to the great instrument of Runnymede. And considering how the charter had been forced upon his treacherous father, and considering also the divine right pretensions so naturally appertaining to soil-owning monarchs, it might well seem necessary to devise power-

ful precautions against recantation on the part of the crown. The imbecilities of the third Henry could afford no securities and establish no precedent. But the acceptance of the charter by Edward the First, fixed its character of a national compact. As, however, valour and genius are above humiliation, and ever love in others the pride they feel within themselves, neither the first nor the third Edward were likely to feel galled by a conditional oath of allegiance which made honour the bond between the monarch and the supporters of his throne. Nor yet to feel themselves insulted by a threat which weakness might fear, and meanness resent, but which for wisdom and courage was nugatory. Yet is it easy to distinguish how the coronation ceremonial would tend to strengthen all the more dangerous leanings of the age, and to convulse the political system with never ending feuds, usurpations, and treasons. Thus was it, however, that, by the strife of the leaders of population with the crown, oppression was staved off from the mass, and the evils of government confined in their action to those who best could do battle with them.

We may regard, then, the singular ceremonial under review as characteristic of the whole reign of the great temporal rivalry, as brought to bear in the political system of feudal England by the great charter of the barons. Of course it had to cease with the rivalry in which it originated. That is to say, with the union of all powers in the crown, as brought to bear under the eighth Harry. But, as under government, all things have to subsist until forcibly done away with ; so—unfortunately for the officer charged with the propounding of the old threat—Henry, on his accession to the undisputed throne and undivided authority of his father, went through the accustomed form. The officer and the office paid the forfeit together. Among the violent acts of that violent reign, we find the decapitation of the Duke of Buckingham, the last hereditary constable of England.

The existing coronation ceremonial of England presents, in lieu of a threat to the sovereign, a challenge to all who may call his title in question. It would be curious to know whether the form, as gone through by "the champion," dates from the Conquest and the usages of chivalry, or from the reign of the rivalry of the two roses. Or again, whether it was contrived as a substitute for that above adverted to. And if so, whether devised by Henry the Eighth, fond of pageantry and universal dictation—in matters of form as in matters of faith; or introduced under the new scheme of government, and new line of sovereigns, as consequent on the transaction of 1688.

We return to the epoch of the charter's formulation, in connexion with which a few general observations seem yet called for.

After the passage of England's great national compact, her influences as the counter pole of the European system are soon discernible in the page of general history. Her great scism—as attacking the civilizational theory at Clarendon, and as precisising and amending the political practice at Runnymede—was soon followed by an important move along the shores of northern Germany.

Dating the Hanseatic league from the first treaty extant, 1253, we find sixty cities, headed by Lubeck and Bremen, firmly associated for the purposes of defence against the pirates of the North Sea and northern littoral of the Baltic. It was the old race of sea barbarians still following its old track for adventurous plunder. And, curious enough! it was the same race, as transformed into civilizers, whom they encountered in league against their predatory incursions. The Norman pirates having established themselves as traders in those parts before the grant of the Duchy of Normandy to Rollo by the king of France.

Legitimatized by its object, the new religious bond was allowed to grow to head; and as of course, we soon

find it in correspondence with Anglo-Norman England. Her governmental acts of scism had given encouragement to the association of the Hanse towns; and her influences and correspondences would impart to it force and extension. Thus in 1267, we find the league with a fixed commercial establishment in London. Then—in alliance with the Teutonic knights—it spreads its relations far and near. Prosecuting active traffic with the Italian sea ports, those of southern France, and the rising river ports of Germany. Until, in 1364, it represents in the great assembly, at Cologne, seventy-seven co-associated cities; and regularises the league under general laws. Rome felt the danger and faced it with the inquisition.

The menace thus presented to the feudal catholic bond was indeed serious. Another religion was actively in the field. A rival civilization was in embryo. The bond that held its associates was all hostility to that Europe first organized by Rome. It drew together the nascent powers of industry, as opposed to labour. It quickened the expansive influences of commerce; hostile to the sedative character of still unintelligent agriculture. It threatened to demoralize, while it insurged, the feudal bondsman; and prepared that rivalry which, in its full developement, was to convulse the globe. Thus the seeds of the political heresy, germinated rapidly in northern Europe, and threatened extension, by the Rhine and the Rhone, and round by the maritime states, until it should interlock in open scism with Italia's cities. The inquisition was the arm employed by Rome to avert the catastrophe. But let us here define these two things heresy and scism. Of which more is written and spoken than is always understood.

Both are to the theory of any order of civilization what rebellion and revolution are to the practice. A heresy assails and mines the religious bond of union. Scism gives signal of its rupture. Heresy breeds sedition, and scism gives warning of convulsive revolutionary move-

ment. The one works the soul until it insurges the body of population. The other exhibits itself in some governmental instrument; threatening the political practice, and even the reigning order of civilization itself. Thus the heresy of Arnold prepared the scism of England, as governmentally formulated at Clarendon and Runnymede.

Such were the continental movements which followed up England's charter; saved from utter paralysis the thirteenth century, and sustained the fourteenth under the pressure of the inquisition.

England was effectually shielded from the spiritual oppression which weighed down the soul of the continent by the silent scism of her church. Equally was she saved from political oppression by the active baronial feuds with the king; no less than by the general vigilance of the church over the interests of population. Thus the English people may be said to have grown up in general moral and mental ease. That prime source of liberty; if it be not liberty itself. Much—everything, therefore, do they owe to the political sagacity of their earlier Norman leaders.

Our object not being to consider history in its events any more than these may tend to the direct elucidation of our general subject, we pass over all those secondary, but fiercely active, rivalities; abroad—of nation with nation; at home, of one feudal baron with another feudal baron; one royal house with another royal house; together with the twofold category of wars which these generated. We shall pause only for a few, and these short, observations touching the general results. The tendency of the whole was:

To unroot the feudal population from the soil. To move it about and abroad. Force it to act, to feel, and to think; and to draw the upper ranks of society into closer relation with those below them. To give to the latter, opportunity for rising in the scale of being. To create, on the one hand, a middle class of valiant and

intelligent landholders or gentry. To throw, on the other, a similar class into the cities, and on the sea, who there better protected their possessions and families from the violence of the age; followed out their schemes and ambitions, and gave vent to the energy kindled by the developement of popular intelligence.

These results were more especially the ultimate fruit of that dreadful course of domestic strife known by the name of the wars of the two roses. It lasted thirty years. Killed, in the field, one million of men. A fraction to all that must have perished from disease, want, exposure, and all the accidents of war. Used up twenty-four old baronial houses, and swept from existence the whole flower of the feudal chivalry. Horrid period, filled with horrid catastrophes! But what decimated the ranks of England's nobiliary leaders, tended to form their followers, and achieved also, in various modes, a considerable subdivision of the larger estates. The policy of the crown also, after the junction of the rival races in the person of the first Tudor, Henry the 7th, necessarily favoured the latter result; namely, the depression of the nobility and the rise of those beneath them. A silent, but effectual and universal, change was wrought throughout the whole bosom of society; and carried forward the practical exhibit of the programme of Runnymede.

Thus, in England as throughout Europe, the crown for a long period, assisted the developement of that influential middle class which was so powerfully to modify the political institutions of the world. Thus arose the overwhelming preponderance of the crown because its popularity. More especially under the dynasty of the Tudors; and chiefly throughout the whole reign of Elizabeth. The light and the ornament, although the tyrant, of her court, Elizabeth was the mother of her people; and, in common with her great contemporary, Henry the 4th of France—she was the great intellectual preparer of the civilizational emancipation of Europe.

Under cover, and by aid of, the circumstances here sketched, the political rivalry—under that form which had appeared in arms upon the field of Runnymede—gradually disappeared, to give place: First; to the all but despotic authority of the sovereign, and absolute acquiescence of population. Second; to a new and stupendous rivalry between the monarch and the new and glorious existence called a people.

During the period of the undivided authority of the throne—extending from the close of the baronial wars at the accession of the seventh Henry, to the opening of the civil or political wars under the first Charles—the monarch became a sort of sacred being, concentrating the religious feeling of the community. Thus, even the headstrong wilfulness and murderous propensities of a Harry the Eighth could be respected. This sentiment prepared religious revolution in the sense of the programme of Clarendon. Here was dangerous ground, as had been well distinguished, in the outset, by Thomas of Canterbury, and, doubtless, by all the temporal and spiritual nobiliary signers of that instrument. Those sagacious statesmen—constituting, as they did, the balance power of the moment—had necessarily in view, as was explained, a protest against the political pretensions of the Pope; but not at all one in favour of the supreme pretensions of the king. These, indeed, when assumed at a later period by the eighth Henry, undermined all the bulwarks of English liberty. Threatening approach towards the oriental system; as well shadowed out in the fable, of a great sun of heaven looking down upon, and frying up, the race of adoring frogs. The programme of Runnymede was the only resource here. And thus again the one programme was destined to force forward the other.

But while England was making her apprenticeship as explained, the whole of Europe was submitted, more or less, to similar influences. However tormented by the spirit of conquest, or harassed by foreign and domestic

wars, humanity struggled to pass the old landmarks of thought and ambition, as ever guarded by the infallible, immutable, priest of Rome.

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries dawned, and society might no longer be held within the pale of his system. The fall of Constantinople threw abroad upon Europe the lettered men of the lower empire, with the treasures of the old classic philosophy, history, and art. The crescent replaced the cross on the dome of St. Sophia, but Minerva sent forth from the ruins of her Parthenon the lessons of antiquity. The lateran itself was conquered by the voice of Attica speaking from her tombs; and the pontiff of the church catholic, apostolic, militant, became, in the person of her tenth Leo, the patron of liberalizing letters, creative science, and all the arts of peace.

But the contest was not therefore to slacken, but only to become more fierce and universal. No longer between the pope and the king, or between both and a few chosen minds, or cultivated cities, it was now to divide nations, and to fill the whole breadth of human society. The twofold heresy of Arnold, which we saw snatched from the flames of his martyrdom, and formulated in two programmes by England, has now passed into the field of Europe. The protest of Clarendon finds an echo in the ambition of princes, and the programme of Runnymede in the soul of peoples.

We shall now consider the progress of the great heresy in the general civilizational system; and then follow out the same in England, until the opening of political convulsive movement in the reign of her first Charles.

CHAPTER VII.

GENERAL HEAD.

TWO-FOLD HERESY OF ARNOLD BREEDS SCISM IN THE FIELD OF EUROPE, AND PREPARES UNIVERSAL WAR.

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changes the popular for the scientific mode.—The act inaugurates a new era.—Excellence of the rule not considered, but the principle involved in its adoption.—Possibility of selection in the future of a better rule.—Great mass enter upon the conquest of intelligence.—Difficulty and necessity of its achievement.—Called to trace, in next chapter, the outline of England's convulsive epoch.

THE fifteenth and sixteenth centuries dawned, and society might no longer be compressed within the pale of the Christian catholic feudal system. Her wants and interests were now too multiplied, and her soul too big for the house that held her.

We may receive this rule as unfailing. When and where a system will no longer work—circumstances permitting—it will be changed. When society fairly outgrows her garments, leave her to herself, and she will make new ones.

A new and greater rivalry now took the field than that between nobles and kings. It was a rivalry of men, for and in the challenge of the past. Each rising nation, class, opinion, profession, occupation, brought to it of the best. Ambition, valour, honour, adventure, chivalry, heresy, learning, genius, and—the quickener of all these—science.

Awakened from sleep, and still half bewildered with scholastic subtleties, astrology, alchemy, magic, miracles, and mysteries. Yet—such as she was—science was the soul of all. She woke the age to life. She gave meaning to the printing press. She stole the keys of Saint Peter. She stormed the lateran. She laid her hand upon the triple crown. She taught Copernicus his theory. She lanced the ships upon the waters. She steered Gama round the stormy Cape. She led Columbus to a world! Poets and artists, soldiers and navigators, patriots and heroes, statesmen and philosophers! All, all inhaled her spirit in the air. Commerce unfurled her wings. And industry—unconscious from whence the power came—stepped forth to light, and toiled for future empire. Wondrous the epoch! Society was full

of sap; and men were giants in those days. Science had broken the statu quo of ages, and shivered the theory of the priest of Rome.

The rivalry that first quickened the soul of Europe formulated no scheme of government. It woke men to a knowledge of their powers, and taught them to walk alone. But established systems yield not in a day. Truth has ever to do battle with error, and often herself runs wild in the contest. Persecution breeds fiery zeal. Resistance, tyranny. Tyranny, war to the death.

In England, the strong hand and strong head of Elizabeth—a sovereign unmatched in ability unless by Cromwell—checked the gathering ferment; but only to prepare the explosion for her successors.

The policy of the Stewarts, like that of their predecessors the Tudors, tended to merge all the power of the feudal system in the throne. Such had been effected some thousand years before in China, by the destroyer of Chinese feodality and consolidator of the empire; Chi Hoangti, the first great son of Heaven. And—what I pray you to remark—the attempt failed in England, while it had succeeded in China. Why? The accompanying impetus given to science, with all its necessitated consequences—of stimulated thought, industry, commerce, navigation, and adventure—were wanting in Asia, while they were present in Europe. In consequence, neither the art of printing—for the Chinese had it. Nor the discovered property of the magnetic needle—they had this also. Nor the invention of gunpowder; facilitating for a civilized people the subjugation of savage tribes and worn out races—China possessed the secret. None of all these worked miracles, led to the discovery of a world. Nor broke the inherent statu quo of Asiatic civilization. The laborious, ingenious, and cultivated people of China felt the complicated yoke of feodality change on their necks for that more simple of centralized power; nor—beyond the class of their lettered men, guardians of the customs and religion of the coun-

try—knew they more of the change than that they carried thereafter the weight of one master instead of a score. Mind, and mind in progress! Here is the quickener of empires! Here is the saviour of men!

The event which more immediately prepared England's revolutionary epoch was the sublime struggle of the Dutch provinces. Uniting for liberty, religious and political, against Austrian Spain.

One and the same the dark and cruel power, which oppressed Switzerland; all but submerged Holland; crushed the great and generous soul of Spain; sits ever like an incubus upon the panting breast of Italy, and cramps the energies of every German state. Austria! wheresoever thy sceptre hath fallen, it hath crushed or palsied populations. The density of original position, and the benumbing weight of the old iron crown have followed thee from centre to circumference. Darkness and stagnation have been ever the law of thy being; and the nations feel it to this hour in their cramped energies or their clouded intelligence. But let us observe, by, through, and in what thy influences were cast like a spell over southern Europe; and yet this perhaps at the time for the salvation of the whole.

The rapidly developed intellectual, moral, and industrial excitement of the sixteenth century as occasioning, and then as centupled by, the discovery of a new hemisphere, and that the fairest of the globe—forcing too as all this did, the protests of the commercial states of northern Europe, rich in activity and enterprise, but poor in climate and soil; the whole fomenting political excitement never equalled, unless at the revolutionary epoch of America entraining that of France—Such a train of events, with all their accompanying effects on the human soul, would probably, nay! we may say, would certainly—at that period of deficient industrial and populational preparation—have carried civilizational perturbation to chaotic convulsion, and blown the governments and society of Europe into air. The whole

again to subside in barbarism. And then to induce centralized empire by conquest, with all the reiterated earlier phases of the civilizational system in revolution. All this must have happened, and thrown us backward in the tide of time for centuries, had not a sedative of fearful potency been supplied against the unusual excitement.

This was presented by the unnatural union of crowns, and accumulation of sceptres, in the House of Austria; and the inquisitorial authority exercised by Austrian Spain. Thus, on the instant, the very power which, by the discovery and conquest of the new world, had set all into a blaze, threw, on the volcano, an extinguisher, and preserved agricultural Europe under the *statu quo* guardianship of leaden feodality. While protestant Europe prepared a new era, by the developement of all bouleversing commerce and all quickening industry.

And now let us note how Europe—at the very moment that she is preparing to exhibit a tremendous civilizational rivalry, destined to predominate over political rivalities, and to make of her continent, and even of the globe itself, one vast battle field—Let us note how, even at such an epoch, she betrays the instinct of her unity, and is impelled by one and the same impulse, although directing it to opposing purposes. We saw her in the twelfth century, when emerging from the darkness of the middle ages, exhibit the phenomenon of electrical sympathy. Now in the sixteenth, when preparing to rend in twain the iron system so long riveted upon her, she exhibits, yet more powerfully, the same. Then the spiritual authority sought to command the temporal, the civilizational the political. Now, everywhere, the temporal seizes the command of the spiritual, and the political aims at that of the civilizational. For thus ever—under the governing principle—does human practice vibrate like the pendulum. Exerting equal force in the one direction that it had previously done in the other. In this awkward mode of see-saw, check and counter-

check, preserving, but always ill preserving, that balance without which the ark of civilization, like the political vessel of a state, ceases to ride the living waters, and is submerged in the stagnant slough of despotism or in the roaring sea of anarchy.

This rivalry between the agricultural and commercial states of Europe—long combating with, and therefore obscured by, many others—bears a distinct form, from the first coalition of the Hans Towns, in the thirteenth century. Although—like every move towards a more intellectual order of civilization than the feudal—it may be traced, in its origin, to the free cities of Italy, when rising, like the phoenix, from the ashes of old Rome.

Let us observe that it was Austria—by the hand of Charles the Fifth—who gave the death-blow to the Hanseatic League. A policy so fearfully followed up by his son Philip; whose cruel bigotry forced into being the greater league of the United Provinces.

Philip the Second, of Austrian Spain, shews on the page of history like some dark creation of a distempered brain. In him, spiritual usurpation sits crowned in the Escorial; armed with all the double, triple oppression, as of the old iron crown, the inquisition, and the newborn Jesuits. See him, uniting the ferocity of the Castilian crusader with the Austrian's instinctive horror of disturbing thought and convulsive change! Grasping at all dominion, only to crush all progress! Slaughtering and chasing industry with the Moors! Threatening the counter-pole, as under-guard of the great Elizabeth! And—when driven from Holland, and checked by England—seizing on Portugal only to arrest her commerce, despoil her wealth, kill her energy, and annihilate her greatness! Master of the new world, he turns its treasures to no account. Wielder of every supremacy, spiritual and political, he exerts one and all only as supreme inquisitor over the mind and body of society. Violates every law, social, political, and civilizational;

every interest, territorial and populational. Treats the sea-girt peninsula as though it were the mountain-girt Bohemia. Digs the grave of southern Europe, by wresting its bond of union from the hand of Rome's pontificate. And this only to place it in that of an incorporated company of priests, sworn to the single interests of their order, and to the subjugation of nations by working to their purposes the ignorance of the masses, the credulity of woman, the weakness of princes, the ambition of courtiers, the intrigues of courts, the secrets of diplomacy, the avidity of popular demagogues, and the unbounded influences of youthful education.

Thus—curious to observe!—while the protests of northern Europe throw her states out of the catholic league into civilizational scism; the most catholic power herself leads off with a political heresy. Arborating, by the hand of Loyola, a standard soon to be supreme alike over that of pope and king. True mayors of the palace, from the beginning, that society of Jesus! True janizaries, mining the authority they are sworn to guard! “A power behind the throne greater than the throne!” Oh! but the spiritual power, when employed as a means by the temporal, ever proves a reed wounding the hand that leans upon it! And oh! the spiritual power that is anything else but one of mind, of science, and of human love, is the accursed thing; the leprosy, the plague, the anti-Christ, the vials of wrath poured forth upon the nations, and the fiend from the great pit let loose upon the earth!

But let us note again! While the protests of northern Europe—serving, as they did, rather to neutralize the old bond of catholic union and chain of feudal oppression, than to supply any new religion really worthy of the name—While I say, the protests of northern Europe served to throw new life into her states and cities, by liberalizing their popular mind, and facilitating the developement of commerce and industry; the contrary was the case under the political heresy of southern Eu-

rope. A heresy it, of kings and priests, and not of peoples. Its single object to sustain, in every state, the temporal power by spiritual influences, and the spiritual influences by the temporal power. Oh, horrid scheme! Oh, most infernal league! First made in sacerdotal India, when priestcraft sealed its first transaction with kingcraft. Event now lost in the night of time. But which must have had place when the successfully mounted, and long triumphant, theocratic empire, having subdued the soul and body of population, was vanquished by the first of those barbaric conquerors who since, through untold ages, have pulverised that unhappy soil, and plundered its gentle, patient, and submissive people.

But let us farther note the curious course of things. While the Austrian heresy of Loyola, as formulated in Spain, palsies southern Europe, the old Italian heresy of Arnold, as formulated in England, quickens northern Europe. And thus may the work of civilization be likened to a stupendous game of billiards. For which our globe has been the table, her empires the balls, and differing races of men, with marking individuals, the players. Not, then, a game of chance, but of skill. Yet let us not assert, with the complacency of the optimist, or the phlegm of the predestinarian, that all things have been for the best, and could not have been otherwise. More reasonable to distinguish that all things might have been infinitely better, and, certainly, infinitely otherwise. As in the game of billiards, doubtless the first stroke influences the last. But each and every stroke does the same. And each and every player, by his skill or his awkwardness, simplifies or complicates the game, and forwards or retards the result. But in contemplating the work of civilization, one thing let us never lose sight of. That the ignorance or error of the millions has been, and yet is, the sole cause of every difficulty, pause, or set-back, in human progress. No Jesuits could have been in demand, and no Philip

could have employed them, had the masses been enlightened.

We have, then, to regard the violent restraint laid upon continental Europe by the house of Austria, during the epoch under consideration :

First, as the preventor of such excessive, and prematurely general, perturbation as must have endangered civilizational cataclysm.

Second, as the provocator of that great rivalry, between the industrial and commercial states of Europe and the agricultural and feudal, which was to develop new powers in the body and mind of population, and work out the necessary apprenticeship of humanity.

By the immense preponderance of its power, it held fast at the centre the universal system. And again; by the fearful coercion of its organized spiritual oppression, it pinned down, on the one part, the whole Spanish peninsula, more than provided with every requisite—by the discoveries and conquests of Spain in the western world, and of Portugal in the east—to take the lead, and hold the sceptre, as a maritime state. While, simultaneously, on the other, it lanced the Dutch Provinces, in that course of resistance during which they acquired the character of a distinct political body. Threw that body into revolutionary movement. This again setting in motion that of England, and so on, preparing the whole north of Europe for successful civilizational rivalry—as to be followed by civilizational transaction—with the southern feudal; and the whole world for that course of preparation which now promises to open with safety the doors of the future.

How singular, and how profoundly instructive, the lesson supplied by this leading page in the science of modern history! To advance that Austrian Spain, under the reign of the second Philip, filled a necessary part in the great drama of human civilization, might well pass for an impudent counter sense, lanced as an insult to the human understanding. And yet—view-

ing her career in connexion with the general course of events, and with reference to the final result—who shall say that such has not to be the judgment of the human mind? Or again; To advance that the Jesuits—founded as they were, and organized, by a man of consummate skill, comprehensive mind, and towering genius, for such was Loyola—To advance, I say, that the Jesuits will have rendered important service in the ultimate to the cause of human progress, by steadying the bark of general civilization, while tempest-tossed by war and convulsive change, is a truth difficult of appreciation by the unlettered or the unreflecting. The philosophic statesman, however, may so decide; and future generations see to strike the balance between the good and the evil. In the case of Jesuitic rule—as in every other expedient of coercive and contentious government—we find the countercheck to a subversive danger. It has presented the statu quo of dull routine and stupidity, as brought to bear against bewildering disorganizing error, and all the demoralizing convulsive tendencies of fraudulent protesting commerce. Ah! in all the earlier course of civilization, society—young and heedless—ever navigates blindfold between Scylla and Charybdis. Nor learns to comprehend her dangers, until—borne by the tide of events beyond them—she looks back with awe, and notes on her tablets the tardy judgments of experience! It is with nations, ah! and with collective humanity herself, as with individuals. Time, wisely improved, and actively employed in diverse study, occupation, observation, alone brings wisdom. With youth is energy, is strength, and ofttime genius. Hope in full flush, and confidence in self. That confidence, born of young health, and vigour of the muscle and the agile frame, in which originate bold thoughts and great emprise. But with experience, and reflective thought, alone comes knowledge, and with full knowledge, wisdom. How hard to find, then, in a world of

toil and strife, with all things systematically brought to act in counter sense with reason and each other! Ah! then, and then alone, when every danger—from ignorance, from error, from violence, from apathy—shall be left behind us in the tide of time. Ah! then alone, may our collective race sit down, and read the page of history without an error in their judgments!

And now that we are brought, in the rapid course of our synthetic view of the great subject before us, to the opening of England's political revolution, I shall present some general elucidations respecting the nature of the phenomena the word *revolution* is commonly employed to designate. And then respecting those of which it may be more properly expressive. Which elucidations will lead us to envisage that great law to which the course of civilization, considered as a great whole, has been ever submitted. I conceive that we are now prepared for the facile appreciation of these fundamental truths; and that the same will greatly facilitate the comprehension of the important period of history upon which we are about to enter.

In political science, the word *revolution* has been commonly restricted in application to those short epochs in the history of nations, when the principle of independence is insurgent against stringent union, and that of liberty against coercive order. The same producing convulsive change, accompanied with generous popular impulses, and ardent popular ambitions. The term is thus familiarly restricted to such epochs, because then only is the revolutionary movement—common at all times to every political body, while submitted to the impulse of the governing principle—evident to ordinary observation. The fact is, however, that the revolutionary phenomenon is continuous; only, at such epochs, marked by accelerated velocity, with accompanying perturbation. And now to illustrate the phenomenon in question:

Revolution, in physics, presents us with the complete turn of a body upon its axis ; or with its circular movement in space, until it meets the point of departure.

In like manner, revolution in the affairs of a nation, presents us with the point in time when, having run through all the modes of action incident to the principle which constitutes its *primum mobile*, an occasion is presented for starting forward in a new direction, under the impetus of a new principle, or for continuing the old circular movement under the renewed impetus of the old principle.

Thus, in England, the entire revolution of the political body since the conquest, was completed at the death of Cromwell. It had run through all the phases of government. And government is not susceptible of very many. There is the established rule of one. The rule of some. The rule of many. The attempted rule of each, under name of the rule of all ; the same soon ending in anarchy. When you come round, by passage through military despotism, to the established rule of one again. Unless—a thing not yet seen—Unless there should exist knowledge sufficient in the guiding mind of society, to distinguish, before the critical moment of revolution, how to dispense with government altogether ; and how to substitute there-for, a self-impelling, self-sustaining organization of human interests, omnipotent by the single force of justice. Be it admitted, however, that for this, a state of peace within, and security from without, is indispensable ; and that neither of these existed, at the epoch of England's convulsive movement. The same applies to the revolution of America, and to that of France ; and, indeed, to all the political revolutions of the past.

Before closing these observations, as universally applicable under the rule of government, it remains to distinguish one other phasis of which a body politic is susceptible. There is—in a primitive age of virtuous society, of which man, as yet, has seen but little—There

is the reign of *political liberty*, so called: presenting little restraint from government—of which, however, *the principle is admitted*, beyond that supplied by the domestic and social relations. For a body politic to exhibit this order of things, there must exist, throughout the population, an approach towards one general standard of morality, intelligence, and social condition. Where each is a law unto himself, and all acknowledge the law of each. Such was exhibited in colonial America. Where a population of equal free men lived in dreadful conflict with savage nature and savage man, and in unslumbering vigilance and resistance of metropolitan government. That colonial population being formed, not out of the more ignorant or restless, because oppressed and suffering, classes of European nations, but out of the more thinking, independent, and virtuous classes of the same. Such a state of things, to a certain degree, survived the revolution. Until it gradually, and has now finally, disappeared under the pollutions of the banking and commercial credit scheme; and before the growing intrigues and corruptions of party government. Such also existed—more or less, and at different epochs—in many countries of Europe; before the excessive growth of cities, and the full developement of that modern scheme of government, by aid of corruption, which now covers the globe. And, finally; such as we have described, was the character of the population which took the field in England, on either side, at the epoch of revolutionary convulsion.

The political civil war which marked that epoch was commenced by the real strength of the country, roused to assert a principle. And which, for the public good, or what it conceived to be such, made individual sacrifice of ease, and life, and fortune. And this applied equally to either party of king or parliament. Both, in the outset, were led by high minded men, who served not the cause of others for hire, but one which they made

their own, at their peril and their cost. Such, and such alone, *can* fight the battles of conscience or of freedom. And when the struggle becomes one of the soldier for the pay of the leader, or the spoils of the field; or of the partizan for the hire and the trappings of office; or of the individual for his daily bread, virtue and liberty are gone, and corruption and government commence. This may enable us to distinguish how incomplete and evanescent has been, as yet, in any country, the reign of liberty; and how soon, in each and all, force, or delusion and corruption, have usurped her throne.

And now I shall call attention to that most curious and important law which may be distinguished as regulative of the progress of humanity in the pathway of civilization.

During her youth, and while under the rule of government, as rudely protective of that youth, she is everywhere seen to perform, through all her family of nations, a continuous succession of perturbed and violent revolutions. But the reflecting few, who bring to the study of political phenomena, that scientific scrutiny which it is less rare to bestow upon our world's physical phenomena—Such have long distinguished a regular and necessitated order in those occurrences which, to the unreflecting, appear only as exceptional casualties. To the philosophic statesman, it has long been evident, that all political bodies which do not disperse, and disappear from their system—by process of conquest or other mode of disorganization or amalgamation—tend ever to make a complete turn on the governmental axis. And to make it—This of necessity, from the contentious character of the motive governing principle—To make it with frequent perturbations and occasional convulsion.

But this rotatory movement is not the only one. Besides the revolution of the political bodies on their axes, there is that of all round the sun of their common sys-

tem. Which sun is their religious principle, or common bond of union.

This revolutionary movement of the whole system—as performed with disorder by reason of the motive governing principle—presents epochs of excessive danger. These occur whenever the convulsive movement—to which we see every political body is liable under the impulsion of the governing principle—threatens electrical extension through all. Simultaneous convulsion with rupture of the religious bond then impends over the whole system, and civilizational cataclysm is imminent.

Such *occurred* at the fall of the Roman empire. Such threatened, as we noted, in the twelfth century; but was then arrested by the supreme command of the Roman pontificate. Then holding the catholic bond of feudal spiritual union, and wielding, in its defence, the sceptres of kings and the barbaric force of Germany. Such threatened again, as we also noted, in the sixteenth century; when it was averted by the preponderance of the house of Austria, and the spiritual bigotry of Austrian Spain. The same acting as make-weights to the protests of northern Europe, and the wonderful excitement induced by the discovery of a new world. Such, perhaps yet more violently, threatened at the epoch of the revolutionary movements of America and France. When it was averted by the league of European powers, uniting their whole governmental weight in support of the old feudal *statu quo* against the convulsive movement of France. Such now no longer threatens, but promises—as we shall distinguish hereafter—to be for ever averted, by means of civilizational transition. That phenomenon of peace and beauty, being now in preparation under circumstances more favourable, than were ever presented in the history of our globe.

But we have farther still to consider the movement of the civilizational system itself, like unto that of our solar

system, in the fields of space. And it is in this supreme movement of the whole, as a whole, that becomes evident the complex law of human progress.

The whole phenomenon may be conceived of after this fashion :—

Under the impulsion of the governmental principle, the political bodies revolve, though with unequal velocity, on their axes. Departing from one phasis like the new moon, to come round again to the same like the old moon. While thus engaged, however, they exert a mutual influence on each other. And by the united action of the centrifugal power as inherent in each, and as displayed in the national sentiment of independence and the populational sentiment of liberty ; combined with the common centripetal power acknowledged by all, and inherent in the political principle of order, and civilizational principle of union—By the united action of all these powers—however as, until now, always placed in conflict—But by their united action the whole system tends—to make use of our relative terms—to *rise*, slowly and laboriously, *upward* into more empyrean regions. Thus :

Although, individually considered, nations may, and often do, move in a vicious circle ; there has been ever an accompanying master movement of all humanity, considered as a whole, in advance. And this supreme movement, although—under control of the all-pervading governing principle, circular also—is *not on a plane*, and *never in depression*. Once, indeed—in the civilizational cataclysm presented in the fall of the Roman empire—the great pathway, as traversed by collective humanity, seemed to give way beneath her feet, and to plunge her back into the darkness of primeval ignorance. This, however, was not the case. The saving link was there ; and the great law regulative of the progress of man species distinctly, and never more distinctly, discernible. This, however, appertains not to the special subject under consideration, and can only find place in

a more general treatise on the nature and history of human civilization. The great law itself, however, we shall attempt to render familiar to the eye of the mind.

Tracing the course of humanity, from our first traditions touching the Asiatic empires to the present hour, we may conceive of it as presenting *a spiral*.

Of this spiral the first volutes—as darkly discernible in the far back nights of time—huge, massy, and compressed, show all their dimensions in the horizontal and barely any in the vertical. Yet may the reflecting student trace between the heavy rings a ray of light. Note how the civilizational orbit made by Assyria and her stupendous commercial cities, rose from the level of the ambitioned absolute statu quo as traced by India. Then, how Egypt marked on the great civilizational quadrant a full degree in advance of Assyria. And so on, with Phœnicia, and her daughters Carthage and Etruria. Until classic Greece and sagacious Rome threw into civilizational science new principles of intellectual and political power.*

Modern Europe, once raised out of barbarism and servitude; we note with ease the gradual and ever-accelerating ascension of the great spiral. Each volute measuring rapidly, less and less in the horizontal, and more and more in the vertical. Until now it promises—after the revolutionary movement, as now preparing for accomplishment in peace—to shoot forward in fast approach towards the direction of the straight line. Ever thereafter to bear, onward and upward, the destiny of man towards the ethereal regions of universal knowledge and ever enduring felicity. Such is thy law of progress, oh! Humanity! which every revolution—noted or unnoted

*Had history been studied in its principles, the precedence in time of the Egyptian over the Indian empire, could never have been imagined. And if civilization had been considered in its principles, none would have presumed to fix the date of its birth or the duration of its existence.

in history, but worked out with thy sweat, and blood, and tears—has aided to establish and develope.

Before closing this general view of the great epoch, we should remark that each political body in the system then assumed some decided part, or distinct character, on the field of Europe. Such as was best suited to actual position, the genius of population and political antecedents. We have noted that of Austria. From the day of Charlemagne, the most apostolic power. Pledged to receive and to fulfil the law as propounded by the infallible head of catholic Christendom. Also of Austrian Spain. By the extraordinary junction of crowns, wielding the sword of the church, and propounding all the counter necessities of the great epoch. And thus we see catholic Christendom already preparing instinctively for that reversion of the poles of the system, which, though not without a conflict of ages, was to transform her into the negative, and England into the positive power. We have farther noted the parts filled by Holland, England, and other maritime protesting powers. Also by Switzerland. Resisting within her mountains the tyranny of her old feudal liege. But it remains to distinguish that of France. Who, while Austrian Spain was preparing to fill the part, and assume the title of most catholic, chose that best fitted to neutralize the policy. In the person of her chivalrous Francis, she seized in fellowship the hand of the great Solyman of Turkey, and assumed the appropriate title of Most Christian. Thus giving, in word and deed, a practical lesson to all the pharisees of either creed, pro or anti, and all the frenzied combatants of either party. The title, then assumed by her Francis, had at an early date, been earned by her Saint Louis. France, indeed, has been the only power who has ever sought to exemplify, in general policy, the character of benignant philosophy. A character from which she has been sometimes driven by circumstances, or seduced by movements of ambition, but to which she has ever, as of necessity, returned. It

is not permitted, indeed, to nations lastingly to depart from their programmes.

But yet further, while under this head let us elucidate the act by which pontifical Rome distinctly changed her programme. Left to ignorant brothers, bigoted kings, and intriguing Jesuits to guard the statu quo of antiquated feodality, and arborated herself, not for catholic Christendom merely, but for the globe, the standard of intellectual progress. This was done by altering the computation of time from the old Egyptian vulgate as adopted by the early Christian church, to that employed by the Egyptian priesthood, and in use throughout the learned world of antiquity.

In explanation it should be observed, that old Egypt had two computations of time. The one for the learned, the other for the multitude. The scientific year commenced with the return of the sun from his lower declension at the southern solstice. The vulgar year with the quickening of vegetation at the Egyptian spring. A spring, be it observed, which—as influenced by peculiar local causes—is precisely the spring of no other country. The Christian priest, who was, in his origin, the priest of Egypt, selected the more popular usage. In this he was consistent with his great mission. Which was to speak to, as to think and to act for, the great multitude in all things. When pontifical Rome became the patron of letters and the arts, and when, simultaneously, the peoples of Europe woke to sudden life, it became incumbent on the constitutional head of modern civilization to change the old apparent year of Egypt for her scientific year. This was done by the act of Sixtus the 5th, 1582. It is the impression of the author that the old vulgate style will be found conserved in the official records of England, till 1750, or thereabouts. If so, the fact may be received as curiously emblematic of that blind and unreasoning spirit of dogged obstinacy bred by governmental rivalities, and opiniative protestant disputation!

From this adaptation to common use of the scientific rule of old Egypt we date clearly the opening of a new era. We speak not here with reference to any peculiar excellence distinguishable in the rule itself. On the contrary, like everything else tried to this hour under the action of the governing principle, it looks rather like the angry opposite to the usage it replaced, than in itself a golden rule of truth. And perhaps, in the day when all questions shall approach towards a just solution, the apparent and the scientific year may find a point more generally accordant for all the zones of our globe, and also for the senses and the intellect of humanity. But apart the absolute propriety of the rule itself, its adoption by the whole of Christendom presents the distinct abjuration—in the principle at least—of the government of man by means of his ignorance. The great mass are now about to enter upon the conquest of intelligence. A conquest long and hard to achieve, and complicated by ever varying and conflicting civilizational perplexities and political exigencies. But which is to be achieved. And which clearly must be achieved before liberty can be a reality, or true civilization be developed upon our globe.

We are now called to trace in rapid outline the course taken by events during the convulsive revolutionary movement of England. Convulsion out of which grew—in the chain of cause and effect—all the revolutions of modern times. Together with those last stupendous rivalities—between one half of Europe and the other; between the two hemispheres of the globe; between all classes of society; and, finally, between all governments and all peoples.—The last, I say, which, we may now confidently hope, are ever to convulse the world. The whole tending, more powerfully and rapidly, to propel and expand the great ascending spiral of civilizational progress, than was ever previously effected during all the ages of which history presents the record.

CHAPTER VIII.

GENERAL HEAD.

ENGLAND'S CONVULSIVE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT FROM HER FIRST CHARLES TO THE RESTORATION.

CONTENTS.

Exigencies which had strengthened the crown in England as throughout Europe.—Good pleasure government becomes impossible.—Regarded as the law of the land by the Stuarts.—Not so by the political mind of the country.—Difficulties in the way of settling the question.—Enigma.—Who best could read it necessarily ruled the epoch.—Character of Cromwell.—His mission.—One and the same with that of England.—Charles the victim of political exigency.—False position occupied by Cromwell.—Could feel it himself better than any one.—His probable views at his death.—Deceptions of history.—In appreciating Cromwell's character, facts that should be held in view.—Day approaches when the man and the epoch may be judged correctly.—History of both expounded in science of subject.—Course followed throughout the struggle by the landed interest.—Distinction drawn between the two royalist armies of the two civil wars.—Distinction also drawn between the latter royalists and the party of Cromwell.—Political war closes like all wars, with set-back.—Out of it rise two programmes.—Final result of both envisaged.—Difference between the two in time.—The future flies from the present.—The present appears at the transaction of 1688.—General character and uses of each.

IN 1640, England roused to vindicate anew, against the autocracy of her monarch, the truth set forth at Runnymede.

The exigencies incident to a rising empire during the general youth of European civilization—in the form of domestic wars and foreign conquests; and then of struggle, both at home and abroad, with the spiritual supremacy of Rome backed by the strongest catholic power of Europe—All had induced and even necessitated the enlargement of the royal prerogative at expense of the popular sovereignty. This, though pushed to the absolute by the energetic Elizabeth, was respected, under the peculiar exigencies of the reign, and its sagacious and patriotic exercise by the sovereign. In the hand of her immediate successor, it was at once dangerous, offensive, and ludicrous. At the accession of the first Charles, government, by royal good pleasure, had become an impossibility. And yet, established as it had been by a long course of precedent, seldom challenged, it was regarded, naturally enough, by the monarch, as the law of the land. The mind of the country, however, knew and felt this to be otherwise; and concentrated its thought upon the means of issue from the impass presented by the reigning practise.

To mould circumstances so as to meet the multiplying wants and complicating interests of growing civilization, and this without failing to any of the foreign demands upon the national resources and energy, had been in itself no easy matter. But to incline the young sovereign to envisage the true nature of the embarrassments which environed him, and to will their remedy by appeal to another sovereignty than his own, was a difficulty much greater. The crown was then a power, and not, as now, an emblem. That power had to give way to a greater. Or, rather, it had to become the organ of a collective will, instead of constituting a motive energy. Under the circumstances, the qualities of Charles were as much in the way of his own, and of the country's salvation, as his failings. Ancestral and family habits, views, and feelings, foreign descent and alliance, individual character, pride, honour, the very

sense of duty, conspired to make him cling to the rights of prerogative. The mind of the country, on the other hand, turned to the great charter of the land, which had gathered the dust of years upon its unconsulted text. The position was a political enigma, which the sovereign was the last man in the nation likely to read; and which he who could the best see to read was the man of the epoch. That man was Cromwell.

A son of the soil. Holding by birth, descent, and alliance to the interests of its landed estate. As a younger son, born to exertion, rather than to wealth. Neglectful of collegiate learning, and prone to the study of men, and of the laws which regulate the *res publicæ* of nations. Holding from nature strong passions, but also a will equal to their conquest. Familiar with the history, and past and living interests and politics, of his country; and, equally, with the past and living interests and politics of Europe. Wonderfully sagacious in distinguishing the suitable and the possible in time, and equally so what threatened as what might be attainable in the future. Bold in conception, daring in enterprise, rapid and energetic in execution. Brave as a soldier. Intrepid as a leader. Skilful and victorious as a commander. Profound and long-sighted as a statesman. Astute and impenetrable as a politician. Just, humane, and magnanimous as a man. Personally disinterested as an administrator; but stern, inexorable, and unscrupulous as a ruler, and self-constituted but accepted judge of the dangers of his country and demands of the age. Whatsoever his far-seeing sagacity distinguished, he entered upon with an iron will. Shrinking from no act, refusing no odium, fearing even no ridicule, while securing by any and every means the advancement of his country and the furtherance of human progress. A republican in principle, an absolutist in practise, a utilitarian in opinion, a sceptic in all formulated theology, and a puritanical state hypocrite in profession.

This interpretation of Cromwell's character will hardly be refused, if we study the words and the acts of the man, and the difficulties and dangers with which he grappled. And which he conquered; yet more by the cant of the conventicle, the humour of playful buffoonery, tricks of charlatanism, and talking against time, than by state diplomacy, quibbles and circumventions of law, or the threats and the sword of the despot. When, however—in the absence of other means—he did appeal to the last argument of power, it was with a bold front and unhesitating determination.

He affectioned the Dutch republic, while the rival and the tamer of its power. But this with a view to conquer its alliance, and protect its independence from the assaults of the feudal catholic kingdoms, which threatened its annihilation. He inaugurated the maritime supremacy of England. But this, to establish a counterpoise to the catholic feudal land power of the continent, and to cover the trade of nations, and the colonization, of the new world from interruption and interference. However monstrous in arrogance and oppression the assumption was destined to grow in the exercise, it was evidently soon interpreted by the Dutch provinces; and rather accepted as a political necessity, than submitted to as an imposition of power. Throughout his whole career, he affectioned the American colonies; which, in the outset of struggle with the crown, he had prepared to seek with his friend and kinsman Hampden. Foiled in the attempt by the sovereign himself, he remained to overturn his throne, and to prepare a foundation for the future liberties of Europe, by establishing the empire of England on the ruined supremacy of priests and the right-divine absolutism of kings. Here was his mission. And, in this, the mission of England's iron Protector was the mission of England herself. That which it hath ever been. That which it is.

Before such a man, who assumed all the responsibilities of the times, Charles paid the debt which past reigns, or rather the political complications of the country and the age, had accumulated on his head. A generous man and a generous race—for such, in all, were the Stuarts—suffered in his person. In this piteous immolation, the sympathies of the nation were with Charles, but its convictions were with Cromwell.

But now as Charles fell a victim to state exigency, so must Cromwell, had he longer lived, have fallen victim to a false position. Circumstances may inaugurate a man ; exigency may excuse a usurpation ; genius may give power and splendour to a reign ; but consistency alone can found a system or lastingly consolidate a government. There was a lie in the very name of the empire which Cromwell protected. He had seized his power in the name of a commonwealth ; and, in the administration of the public estate, *he* only had a voice and a will. He had conquered the king in the name of the parliament, and he dissolved the parliament in the name of himself, or in that of the puritan subterfuge—the Lord. He had drawn the sword on the side of liberty, and he laid the hand of centralized power on the three kingdoms of the British Isles. Cromwell had an intellect to comprehend the full vice of the circumstances, and the danger they involved, not to himself alone, but to country and the cause of human progress. All Europe respected his name, courted his alliance, and obeyed his will. Enemies submitted to his arms, or to his magnanimity, faction to his wisdom, even fanaticism to his management. And yet, as he could shew no title for his authority, and as his every act was at variance with some principle he had professed, he could give no security to his power, to his life, nor to the state which he had raised to greatness. Assassination haunted his footsteps. The canker of care seized upon his soul and fevered his body. To the last, he felt the importance of his life to England and to Europe, and strove to conceal from others, and

perhaps from himself, approaching dissolution. But the man of iron gave way; and, in dying, he felt that the Protectorate must end with the Protector; and that in the absence both of a man and a principle, nothing could avert counter revolution in the form of a restoration.

We might surmise indeed that Cromwell's acute perception distinguished a temporary set-back for the best means of securing future progress. We might suspicion also, that the astute Protector was no stranger to the subtle stroke of policy, by which the holders of the crown fiefs compassed the absolute dependence of the restored monarchy, and prepared fundamental change in the political system. Oh! under government, the erroneous judgments touching men and things! All is seeming, all sound, all pretext. History calls that a restoration which restored nothing but a man. Even as to this hour, it makes the first Charles, on the one hand, a tyrant, and, on the other, a martyr! Calls him deceitful too! He who deceived nobody; and who, had he known how to deceive, would have kept a head on his shoulders! Ah—any puritan leader in Cromwell's camp could have taught him a trick or two!

And he—not the son of fortune, but the man of destiny—who did more than slay a king, who undermined monarchy—Cromwell! was he the ambitious aspirant historians are wont to call him?

In appreciating the character and career of that wonderful man who resumed in his single person the history of a great epoch; who embraced, in the views of his far seeing intellect, the then civilized world, and a world yet to be in the western hemisphere; who took the initiative in every question that has since marked in the policy of his country; and who thus entailed on those who might follow him in the executive counsels of England, responsibilities from which they could not recede, and necessities from which there was no escape. In appreciating his character and career, these facts, among others, should be noted.

That, with whatever ardent aspirations after liberty the political contest opened, or whatever speculations might be carried on in its name, practical liberty could be little in question during an interregnum of war and disputation.

That the two parties who occupied the field shewed on their banners *prerogative* and *privilege*. The same principle under different forms and different names.

That having fought down royal prerogative by favour of parliamentary privilege, nothing remained wherewith to control this new despot but the army.

That for the control of this new master—the most dangerous of all—no resource seemed at hand but fanaticism.

That in the employment of this, Cromwell preferred the ludicrous to the dangerous. Busying his followers with prayers and visions of divine grace, frowning down all projects of persecution, and preferring the independent conventicle to an established hierarchy or an arrogant presbytery.

That, as in church, so in state. While holding all the powers of government in his single hand, and while exposed to every libellous assault from the irritation of party or the madness of individual zeal, he shut his ears to every counsel of violence; and in attaining such ends as he considered indispensable, always employed the mildest means consistent with success.

And again. That while commanding in absolute disposal the wealth of the state, his personal habits were simple; and that he laid not aside a groat for himself or his heirs.

That his family was virtuous in all its members. And that the son who inherited his modest patrimony, burdened it with debt to meet the expenses of his father's funeral.

Again—and this is most remarkable of all. That while Cromwell assumed every responsibility indispensable to secure his own absolute command over his own

times, and to impress such a direction on public affairs, both at home and abroad, as might influence the after policy of his country and of the world, he presumed in nothing to dictate future measures, nor to inaugurate the modes and forms of government which were to follow his own. He committed not the despicable folly, or heinous sin—whichever we may regard it—of trying to found that senseless thing called *a new dynasty*. Nor of laying out any scheme of government wherewith to embarrass the free volitions of the nation when he should have quitted the scene. If he inaugurated no new principle—which we may now confess, under the circumstances, to have been impossible—neither did he aught to reconsecrate the old one. He built up no new altar, nor new throne ; but left the door of the state as he found—or rather as he forced it—*open*. In his last moments only—when challenged to declare his thoughts and to appoint a successor—he dropt the reins, he had so strongly held, loosely into the hands of an unambitious son. Leaving the tide of events to ripen the experience of his country, and that experience to seize fortune by the fore-lock, and turn to best advantage the tide of events.

With respect to Cromwell's assumption of the dictatorship, it might be observed that, if it asked no permission, neither did it receive a challenge. And that with regard to the country's sufferance of that assumption, neither the times nor the temper of the generation were such as to render subject to suspicion either the popular courage or the popular intelligence.

That, if the dictatorship was thus accepted, by both parties and all opinions, as a political necessity, the indubitable patriotism and commanding abilities of the dictator afforded unusual securities for the non abuse of power. While the very nullity of the title of that power must, in the event of its abuse, have facilitated its overthrow.

If such considerations have found little place in history, it must be remembered that history has never as yet been impartial. Nor is it only power that prevents this. The very requisitions of liberty do the same.

Under the rule of government, it behoves every generous patriot, and sagacious leader of human progress to strengthen, by every word and sentiment and counsel, the spirit of resistance in the human breast; and to hold up to suspicion, if not to scorn, every concession made to order at expense of liberty. Cromwell—in common with every successful holder of the governmental balance in revolutionary times—has had to pass under the scourge of every sect and party whose programme he modified, deserted, or opposed. For the royalist, he has been an assassin, a usurper, a criminal of the blackest dye. For the republican, an apostate, and usurper of a greater than a kingly throne. For the reformer, and believer in the sublime destinies of man, he has been as one who betrayed a people's trust, and proved false to his mission.

And so—during his career. For the believer in church government, whether by presbytery or hierarchy, he was a spiritual anarchist. For the enthusiast in special inspiration, a faller-off from grace. For the sceptic a mendacious hypocrite; and for the philosopher, a visionary fanatic.

The day is now perhaps not distant, when England, out of all these diverse impressions, may see to formulate her own judgment with regard to her great Protector. And if—as I am fain to believe—we touch the epoch so long desired of *peaceful* revolution; when governmental exigencies shall give place to the exigencies of principle, and the reform of society, instead of an impossibility, shall be an imperious necessity—then, perhaps, it may be permitted to interpret England's common-wealth; and to regard the dictator who cut short its existence, and absorbed its history, less as a betrayer of liberty, than—under the circumstances—as a guar-

dian of civilization. In the meantime, shall we shortly resume, in the science of the subject, the story of the great epoch, and of the man who absorbed it?

Political liberty had to be secured. But how? In what form? In feudal England, liberty was a fact; but it existed not in the principle. The king was divine right monarch. All held of him; and he held of nobody; and no thing, unless the sword of the conqueror. When the power of the two hierarchies fell before that of the crown, there was nothing between it and the mass of population. The people had now to take the place of the barons; and to fight down that prerogative themselves which their leaders had fought off, from, and for, them before. The immediate question then was not one of freedom, but one of power; and the work, not one of reform, but one of fighting. Yet, we said, that political liberty had to be secured. Ay. But as a principle; and with a view to all time; and not as a fact, with a view to the moment. Liberty had to be conquered. Clearly then a commander-in-chief was in question. Which is—in other words—a dictator. Which again is—in other words—a strong government. As a matter of course, and under the circumstances, the commander-in-chief was the government. Cromwell then was the government. Being the government, and all the government, he seized in his single hand the four cardinal principles of political science, and prevented their strangling each the other. Which—under the blessed governing principle—is always what threatens in moments of crisis. Will any enquire what was the difference between Cromwell, dictator, and Charles, king by divine right? There was every difference, as those knew well enough who, to embarrass Cromwell, urged him to assume the crown. The puritan was a match for them. He held on to his four cardinal principles, like old Eolus compressing the elements of tempest in his fist; and raised a hurricane abroad, throughout Europe and the globe, which he knew would never

be laid until old things should pass away, and all things become new.

In closing our rapid sketch of England's convulsive epoch—sufficient for those tolerably versed in the history of their country and of Europe—a degree of information which I am obliged to suppose in the student of these pages; and, without which, no general views, nor exposition of principles, can be rendered comprehensible—In closing this, we seem called to appreciate the course followed by that ruling interest of which the ancestral leaders had pledged their faith at Runnymede.

Apart individual exceptions—together with all associated with the interests, dependent on the patronage, or immersed in the atmosphere of the court; to which should be added those attached to the faith of Rome, or fanatized for the refurbishing of England's old feudal system by recurrence to the original prerogative of the crown,—With such exceptions; and they were numerous, and constituted the chivalrous army who fought through, on the side of Charles, the first civil war, and left the thrice fought field of Marston strewn with their dead,—But, with such exceptions, the whole political intelligence of the landed estate was foremost—both in the lords, the commons, and the nation—in vindicating the principle set forth in the compact of the barons. And, be it farther observed, that the same intelligence of the land power held fast to the principle throughout the contest. Aiding and heading popular resistance to the king until his power was in defeat; and only veering towards him, and drawing the sword upon his side, when the Parliament became, in turn, the irresponsible despot of the hour. And, in this, may not the distinction be drawn between the two royalist armies who took the field in the first and second outbreak of civil war? The first fighting from loyalty to the king. The second from hostility to the Parliament. The first were cavaliers, pure blood, who saw in the royal prerogative the stay of established order in church and state. The

latter were intelligent citizens of every party, who distinguished the fundamental political truth, that *irresponsible power is a tyranny, wherever placed*. Without the perception of which truth by the mind of a nation, civil liberty is an impossibility; and, consequently, civilization can attain but an imperfect development. The intelligence of the second royalist army distinguished this truth, but did not distinguish the fact seen by Hampden, Pym, Cromwell, Fairfax, and other leaders of the party soon to be called of the commonwealth. Namely: That no safe and certain terms could be made with the king; and that his power could not be employed to control that of the Parliament. Out of which view of the case—as necessarily soon taken by the whole political intelligence of the country—arose the accepted dictatorship of Cromwell.

I have thus indulged in reflection in treating of England's revolutionary epoch, not only because it is the greatest to be found in her history, but also because the observations it suggests are more or less applicable to all similar epochs in the history of nations. Important it is finally to distinguish, that, though the sword may conquer national independence, and, by establishing the foundations of empire, may make room for the future liberties of a people, it can never do other than curtail these at the time. Strife and violence are the antipodes of liberty as of civilization; and, though the sword may be drawn in their name, it deals them mortal blows before it is sheathed.

The political civil war of England closed, like all war, with a set-back. Out of it, however, rose two programmes; destined, in the course of their development, to change the whole face of the globe. To quicken the sympathies of nations, to develop the energies of men, and to generate a universal solidarity of interests. That indispensable preparation for the reign of universal peace and intelligent civilization.

Of these two programmes, as arising out of England's civil strife, religious and political—the religious, as we have seen, brought to head under the Tudors, and the political under the Stuarts, and both ending in the convulsive revolutionary movement completed at the demise of Cromwell—Of these two programmes, the one embraced those more general principles and ardent aspirations which went beyond the views and exigences of the times. The other, those more immediate objects which were in keeping with both.

The first—that of America's colonization, invoked a new principle; equal justice. That of England's transaction inaugurated a new government. By which the prerogative of the monarch was submitted to the privilege of parliaments, and the order of the two universally governing principles, force and fraud, was reversed. Fraud being now made the primary power, and force held as the power in reserve.

The programme of principle was formulated in savage solitudes by the determined puritan and chivalrous cavalier of England's civil wars. Each flying—in turn, or both together—the tyrant of the hour. Whether the irresponsible prerogative of kings, or the omnipotent privilege of parliaments. Whether the Roman, or the native hierarch, the arrogant presbyter, or the anarchal sectary.

There—in the howling wilderness of a yet unsubdued world, rife with every privation, suffering, and danger—did each found his more especial empire. The puritan, north; the cavalier, south. Each, too, gathering recruits from all the more conscientious sects and parties of all the more advanced nations of Europe.

And there—on thy savage shore, New England!—while the winter's storm raged furious o'er the solitude; and thought of the fierce beast and fiercer man, awed but shook not the stern resolve—There did the pilgrim sign his compact, renewed from that of Runnymede.

Not clothed in steel—their steel was of the soul—yet iron men were they who knelt on Plymouth's rock, and pledged their faith, as though in presence of their God, to justice.

Ay! such, and no other—in its only mode of lasting truth and life—is that which men call liberty. And for such New England's pilgrim knew thee, liberty! Even for that principle sublime, which weighs with even hand the rights, and claims, and interests of each; only security for those of all. The steady point between two dire extremes. From which to deviate, is ever to incline towards tyranny on the one part, or towards license on the other.

The compact of Plymouth founded a body politic by invoking and inaugurating the principle which was to rule its destinies. It laid the foundations of a new order of civilization, by cherishing the principles of a theory inverse to that so often challenged, but still unconquered, of the priest of Rome. It gave a voice to the thoughts and aspirations of England's and Europe's great epoch; stifled, as that voice by turns had been and was, in every land. In Italy, in Spain, in Holland, England, France. It opened a country of refuge to hunted humanity in her hour of need. The Dutch republican. The British patriot, of every faith—religious and political. The English royalist and English regicide. The Irish rebel—if rebel he can be, who, true to country, spurns invading power. The Scotch scismatic, recusant alike of faiths imposed by popes, or kings, or synods chosen and sustained by government's corrupting patronage, or wealth's intrigue. The hardy mountaineer of Wales, still faithful to the thought of ancient days. The Gallic Huguenot. The protesting Swede. The peaceful Friend, of iron fortitude and gentle speech. The great, the good, the meek, the strong, the wise, of every faith and every tongue, sought the wild world, and dropt anchor on its shore.

Behold the elements which were to wage the last great battle with the present as with the past; and to throw wide open those doors of the future of which the prelates and barons of England had drawn the bolts, and all the martyrs and patriots of Europe, through successive generations, had shaken the hinges.

But now, while the programme of America's colonization had to preserve, in a new hemisphere, the principles of a new order of civilization, that of England's transaction, had to upturn in the soil of Europe, and in the soul of her populations, the foundations of the old.

For the first of these operations, liberty presented the means. For the latter, government. While, therefore, colonial America expanded under generous impulses, metropolitan England ever vitiated her energies as she extended her body. The farther she advanced in her career, necessities and exigencies ever pressed upon each other, until her struggle became one for existence no less than for empire. Once in that position, nations, like individuals, become desperate. Forgetful of all pledges to principle, the programme of her transaction ever deviated more and more from that of her magna charta; until it finally clashed and met, in dire encounter, with the programme of her colonies.

We shall have occasion to elucidate this in the course of our general developements; and in our next chapter, shall enter upon a review of England's transaction, considered in its purposes, its nature, and its generating causes.

CHAPTER IX.

GENERAL HEAD.

*ENGLAND'S TRANSACTION CONSIDERED IN ITS PURPOSES, NATURE,
AND GENERATING CAUSES.*

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how met in feudal England.—Difficulties, then and there, in way of taxation.—Inefficacy of parliaments for that purpose.—Government grows too huge and costly for human hands.—Cromwell saw this.—Real question at issue between Charles the First, and the nation.—Also between the parliament and Cromwell.—The public how deceived by names.—Real character of government forcibly brought to comprehension of the upper classes during and after the civil commotions.—Impossible under circumstances to do away with the moloch.—Who was to feed it.—Nobody willing.—Landholders absolve themselves by compact with Charles the Second.—Projects of James.—How defeated.—Understanding between holders of land and holders of capital.—All immunities lost by the people.—Miserable substitute therefor.

FROM England's transaction date her financial responsibilities. Then first incurred they have since ever multiplied and expanded; until now, covering the globe, they render her, for evil or for good, the chief arbiter of its destinies. Let her select the good, the lasting peace and ever progressive improvement and happiness of humanity are secured. Let her select the evil, and either silent corrosion must consume the soul and body of humanity, or universal war, armed with powers of destruction unknown to all the past, must convulse all earth's empires, and lacerate the bosom of society throughout the whole civilized world. We may hope that her choice is not doubtful.

In a preceding chapter we had occasion to define in the word, and expound in the phenomenon, *revolution*. Let us now do the same by *transaction*.

In common parlance, the word implies any business affair concocted between two or more parties. In the history of a nation, or of nations, the word implies *a compact by which contending parties compound between two orders of things; and modify, without renouncing, the governing principle.*

England's transaction was not made for herself alone, but for all the states of Europe which stood in protest against the catholic feudal order of civilization. What were the objects to be secured?

First at home.

England had to get out of the impass in which she was again involved, by and with, the Stuarts. Who having been set back in their old places without any effective answer having been supplied to old difficulties, very naturally sought recourse to old prerogative.

She had to cover the debts, relieve the embarrassments, and sustain the responsibilities, variously arising out of her civil war, the bold policy of Cromwell, the bigotry of her second James, the overthrow of her old fiscal system, the difficulty of establishing an efficient substitute, and, in general, the want of power and elasticity in her outstanding institutions to meet the new demands of ever growing civilization, and to employ the ever centupling energies of her people.

She had to control the influences of the church of Rome as necessarily associated with the policy of her enemies ; and, for this she had to re-establish, as she could, those of her own church Anglican as in the hands of her friends.

She had to check the prerogative of the king, and to render manageable that of the parliament. Yet she had to create a strong government, for there was need of one.

She had to foster the spirit of resistance in her people ; without which strong government would become a fixture, and defeat all the objects it was desirable to serve.

She had to contrive—the most difficult thing in the world—a strait jacket for the strong government she was necessitated to employ. And also to mount—an equally difficult matter—a political mechanism, by which the jacket could be applied, and removed, at pleasure.

Second ; abroad :

She had to place herself at the head of protestant Europe ; for which Holland had achieved miracles, and Sweden wonders ; while she had been fighting her own battles ; and then counting the costs, and looking after the result, at home.

To do all this with effect she had to encourage and sustain an immense civilizational rivalry. No less than one between thinking, active, industrial and commercial Europe which had protested, or which might hereafter protest, against the statu quo of catholic feodality, and the Europe which adhered, and might adhere to it.

Also she had to foment a social rivalry of the same character in the bosom of all nations, by which means the adverse party might be weakened, and her own strengthened.

She had farther to create an effective bond of union, or counter catholic religion, wherewith to neutralize that of Rome, and hold together the new order of civilization, she ambitioned to establish.

Having much work before her, and no money in her coffers, she had to raise the wind.

In definitive, then, she had to prepare a masterly scheme of political jugglery, together with the practical exhibit of paradoxes beyond the imagination of old Athena's sophists to have conceived, or the skill of Jesuits to have brought to bear.

Thus; she had to make her debt figure as wealth, her deficit as capital, her promises to pay stand in lieu of payment, and to rise in value in a ratio inverse with the possibility of their fulfilment. Starting with less than nothing, she had, out of this power of zero, to raise all the powers of magnitude and progressions of value. And—resting herself and her fortune upon this scaffolding of cards—she had to interest the universal *selfishness of men*; that principle which we distinguished in our opening developements for the male principle in all animal nature.—She had to interest the universal selfishness of men in its defence; and to contrive that all the productive powers and energies of developing civilization should tend directly to its growth and its support.

Starting—as she had to do—from the received positions that *gold is the measure of all value, and money the representative of all wealth*, she had to evade the evalua-

tion of the representative by the thing represented, and force its estimation by the touchstone of the thing represented—*credit*.

Credit then, credit unlimited, was what she had to create. And—by conquest, and ingenuity, and fraud, and arrogance, a loud tone and a good countenance—credit was what she had to win, to spread, and to establish.

Fleets and armies might do the conquering, but commerce alone could turn conquest to account. They might open the door, but diplomacy, counting-houses, boards of discount and exchange, corruption and corruption's best agents—legislators, bankers, and traders,—had to mine and countermine old civilization wherever established; and—alas! alas!—disturb, confuse, and confound all things, for no better *immediate* result than to substitute error for ignorance, the dominion of fraud for that of force, and the worship of an idol in Thread-needle street for that of the old king Log of the church of Rome.

It is necessary here to observe, that some powerful scheme of credit was indispensable, under the circumstances, for the protection of protestant, against catholic, Europe. France, forsaking her position as the balance power, had associated herself with Spain and the Jesuits. The gold of the new world was in the hands of Spain. Commerce drew it out of them; and, in losing, as she had done, through the ferocious bigotry of her second Philip, the ports of Holland and the Netherlands, she lost the after control of that established measure of all value which she held in first possession. It was the object of France to secure what Spain had lost. And it was the necessitated object of England to prevent this. And farther, to protect and better establish, for herself and her allies, that maritime supremacy which the United Provinces had admitted as a necessity; and by which alone the power and the principle of catholic feodality, and equally of catholic centralizing despotism

—always the ultimate tendency of feodality, as of every governing scheme whatsoever—could be coerced or undermined.

The far-seeing policy, and vigorous administration, of Cromwell, had so prepared the future course of England, that even the second Charles—dead as he was to the responsibilities of his station and the honour of country, and with all his personal leanings the other way—had to sign the triple league with the United Provinces and Sweden, and to favour the alliance of his house with the great hereditary captain of the protestant cause, William the Third of Nassau.

In calling William to the throne, England prepared to develop with power the course of policy into which the United Provinces had been forced when rising from their death-struggle with the house of Austria, sustained by the gold of Spanish America. And again, more recently, when overwhelmed by catholic France; straining—under the impulsion of her fourteenth Louis—at centralization and continental dominion. These were the great purposes, home and foreign, for which England had to provide in 1688.

But now, such being the purposes held in view, what did the acts of the governing power, as made at that epoch, constitute ?

They constituted a transaction. Much miscalled a revolution. Since one more immediate effect of the whole proceedings was to prevent acceleration of that revolutionary movement always more or less exhibited—as we have explained—by every political body, while submitted to the governing principle Acceleration, also, which, at the moment, again threatened to become convulsive. Of this whirling upon the governmental axis, without a specified object, England had sufficiently experienced the beatitude. But, while resisting the anarchal tendency, she was pledged in all her antecedents, stimulated, as we see, by all her necessities, and by every surrounding danger, to resist the *statu quo*.

Steadying herself, therefore, with a makeweight,—throwing out behind a drag anchor, as supplied in the fixity and security of her land power,—she contrived new and powerful sails for her vessel of state, and held all ready to give them freely to the wind. The political phenomenon, then, now to be exhibited by England was that of a transaction, or a compromise between the interests of the heads of her old feudal system, and those of the heads of that which we shall distinguish, as we proceed, for the new transitory.

Let us now inquire how the compromise was effected. What that transaction precisely was, in fine, of which we hear and read so much under the name of the glorious revolution.

It was a bargain and sale of the crown of England to a foreign prince, by politicians, for political expediency. It was, moreover, a bargain and sale of all the rights of her people, to old and new privileged classes, for the same by the same. But it was, yet farther—and here was the excuse and apology, and, as we shall distinguish in the course of our developements—here was the necessitating cause of the whole scheme, so full of suffering for the mass of the English people—It was, yet farther, a bargain and purchase, by the governing power of England, of the right to mount, for protestant Europe, a counter order of civilization to the feudal; and the right to weave, to spread, to strengthen, and to hold, its religious bond of union. In this manner, there were two compacts made at the transaction. Or we may say, the compact made was twofold. It regarded the rising interests of the monied and commercial classes of England, and the same interests throughout protesting Europe. Of these last, William of Nassau—as the acknowledged and active representative of Holland—was the appropriate organ. Of and for the first, the city of London was the more puissant and effective agent and surety. The party contracting with both was the land power of England, recently relieved by concession of

Charles the Second from its old feudal responsibilities to the crown.

Singular succession of civilizational phenomena! The negative pole of the system now aspires to assume the character of the positive! Threatening even to annihilate its opponent, and to command and absorb all the energies of the globe! England ambitions to establish, in her turn, a universal pontificate; and to negotiate or to conquer for it an authority over thrones and populations equally absolute with that exercised during the renascent ages, by the church catholic, apostolic, militant, of Rome.

As of necessity, the more supreme and general functions would have to govern the secondary and the special. The political duties to be rendered subordinate to the civilizational. England, then, has to calculate all things with a view to other objects than the happiness of her people. She has to arrange her affairs, to mount her domestic system, and to dispose of her wealth and her strength so as best to facilitate her command of Europe and the globe.

It is of primary importance to our general object to distinguish, that no one political body of a civilizational system has ever held, or may ever hold, that bond which it is the appropriate collective function of all equally to originate and sustain without the most dire visitations of calamity—in some form or another—to the mass of the usurping body's population. Have we not traced how Italy was crushed—in her liberties, her own political unity and her genius—because her eternal city designed and sustained catholic feudal Europe's civilizational pontificate? Did we not render homage to the efforts of Italy's and Europe's patriot martyr of the twelfth century? Striving in vain to relieve his own advanced peninsula from the paralyzing weight of the feudal civilizational power? And all the political bodies of the system from the cruel or benumbing junction of the civilizational with the political? Again, did we not

mark how the inquisition arose on the Rhine ; and how the night of ignorance and weight of gross apathy fastened upon Germany, because of her imperial obligations to hold Europe's expanding states crushed within the narrow framework and stagnant religious principle of the dark ages ? Did we not farther expound that page in modern history when the house of Austria—dragging from centre to circumference the condensing centripetal principle—pinned down the civilizational periphery in its south-western limb ? Did we not see the cruel Philip—following up the policy of his father—kill the maritime greatness of Portugal, and the commanding energies of Spain ? And this by transporting to the united peninsula the chain of general feudal union, and there placing it in keeping of the inquisition, and under guard of the Jesuits ? But let us here follow out a tale so rich in moral instruction.

When the throne of Spain passed to the house of Bourbon ; and the most Christian power sought to seize the old civilizational reins which were falling from the hands of the most catholic ; did not a blight fall instantly upon the fortunes of Louis, the great and the magnificent ? Did not misery grind his people ? And did not the star of France grow pale, until the lightning-bolt of convulsive revolution snapt the chain as with a shock of earthquake and blaze of universal conflagration ? And when, meanwhile, thou, England ! began to weave thy bond of universal union, by grasping, in one fasces, all the tridents of the seas, and concentrating, in one focus, all the credit of nations, did not the declining virtue and happiness of thy people keep even pace with thy efforts, and give the lie to thy greatness ? And say, England ! has not the final junction of thy own extended political, with thy universal civilizational, functions prepared thee, and all governments, and all nations with thee, for that worst end of empires and of peoples—death by corruption ? Ah ! see here the fruits of unrighteous usurpation ! See the curse of selfish

ambition ! The blight of corrosion it entails upon empires, and upon the soul of humanity, is ineffaceable, unless by annihilation of the governing principle in each and both of its forms—force and fraud ; and by recurrence to those yet untried, unconceived of, powers inherent in eternal truth and omnipotent justice.

But see ! If England—urged by supreme civilizational necessity—took in hand at the epoch of her transaction, the most powerful concentration and consolidation ever brought to bear on the globe, she gave to them no form of unalterable duration. Consistently with all her antecedents, she eschewed that vulgar, debasing, and all but hopeless, form of despotic rule presented by the hereditary autocracy of a human being. She did more. She essayed to render such ultimatum impossible, by arranging—as we shall see—to vest her power, as fast as created, in *a thing*. Endowing that *thing* with faculties of self-expansion ever commensurate with the demands for its agency, and the powers of human production to respond to the same.

Such being the purposes and such the nature of the transaction of 1688, of course the more generous principles of political science were not called into play. Here was no compact such as that signed in magna charta ; freely, by the sponsors of the people on the one part, and, constrainedly, by the hand of government on the other. Here all the parties represented the first institutive and constitutive principles—whether of a civilizational system or of a political body—order, union, unity. These were the principles represented by either and both of the contracting parties : By the king elect, on the one part, and by the acting leaders of the English nation on the other. So, at the birth of the feudal civilization, we saw the catholic pontiff—in unison with the supreme political head of the western empire—drop into the bosom of barbarism the same mother principles, as afterwards to be quickened by the counter agency of their opposites. On the day that England signed,

for herself and protesting Europe, the compact of her transaction, liberty and independence were under cover. They were not destroyed, but they were set aside. Put out of debate. And, look at it! The transaction had not place beneath the blue cope of heaven as at Runnymede. Nor were the people in the field either in person or by proxy.

How! was there no parliament? Were lords, spiritual and temporal, not parties to the act? Was there no house of commons? Yes; all this was found when summoned. Summoned *by government, and making part of government!* We shall pass all this in review presently.

We may conclude it to be generally conceived of that, under the rule of government, a nation is necessarily divided into two parties; the governing and the governed. These two categories are necessitated and universal; and opposing and hostile, beyond possibility of conciliation. Quite another thing from those of whig and tory, or of the mere ins and outs. Between these, the difference is relative; but between the others it is absolute. A party *in* power has some respect for the party *out* of power. Tables may turn; the scales shift; the seesaw work; the full bucket yield the place to the empty. Besides, if duly analysed, the business of both of these is one and the same. As a party, each has to subserve the views and help the fortunes of its individual members. As individuals, all have to push the interests and help the fortunes of the particular class or sect, or individual patrons and paymasters, who employ them. The personal interests of the two parties may clash; but—parts of one machine—both, as a whole, obey the same motive power; co-operate to the same end; and, *for that end*, are always in good understanding. But, in the other case—Ah! here there is all the difference between the wolf and the sheep. Between the robber armed to the teeth, and the unarmed way-faring man. The one is the wasp, and the other the

bee. The one is the eater, and the other the eatee. The one rides in the state coach, and the other is the horse who draws it. The one is the government in fine, and the other is the people. And now—do we understand? It was the government who made the transaction. And the people knew nothing about the matter; and do not know much more to this day. One thing is certain. They do not yet understand the nature of government, nor the relative position, in the body politic, it bears to them and they to it. If they did, we may opine, they would not trouble it with so many petitions to reform itself, and to benefit the people.

It has been usual to heap unqualified abuse upon the feudal system. And it is easy to see why. Those who have painted its portrait were in the pay of the counter transitory. We are not going—in political party fashion—to reverse the operation; and pronounce its unqualified eulogy. Thus much we shall say, however. It was not only admirably suited for what it was more immediately intended—the developement and protection of infant civilization—but there was, in its intentions, benevolence, and in its organization, science. A universal reciprocity of service and of duty ran through the whole of its society, and constituted the links of its chain of association, or the bond of its catholic religion. On the continent, the general disparity of nations, with an endless multiplicity of conflicting circumstances, tended at an early period, to loosen the religious bond. Preparing feuds, not merely between kings and nobles, and nobles among each other, but war to the knife between the great agricultural mass and their feudal superiors. Not so in England. After the epoch of magna charta—when the two races were fast blending into one, and a feeling of nationality awoke in population; and when also the parental influences of the Anglican church began to be generally felt,—feudal society appears to have exhibited much of that kindly protection and respectful attachment appertaining to the family relationship. Ba-

ronial quarrels, indeed, would throw all into uproar, and divide the English nation as into clans, answering to the sects of our day ; and, finally, into the two great tribes of the two roses. But each family seems to have been true to its leader, and the leader to the family ; until, finally, the old nobility, and their more devoted retainers having absolutely eaten each other up—in the York and Lancaster wars—a new race, with new habits and new ideas, arose in England. Then came the strife with the crown. But, it is remarkable, how little strife of class seems to have mingled with the differing views of population. Nothing like *Jaquerie* disfigures the English annals. A proof that the charter of Runnymede had ever exerted a silent influence on the upper ranks of society, and that the lower had never lost confidence in their leaders. This confidence on the one part, and the previous good faith which had inspired it on the other, explain the quiet facility with which the new civilizational framework, with its chain of monied bondage, was fastened upon population.

We are not, however, to suppose that in that governmental compact the interests of population were altogether lost sight of, or designedly and knowingly, laid at the mercy of all the contingencies which, successively and rapidly, arose.

The political intelligence of a nation, in whatever individuals, or in whatever class, placed—for it never as yet has been generally spread throughout any, excepting, down to a certain epoch, in the American,—The political intelligence of a nation distinguishes readily the general results which any course of policy must generate ; but no intelligence can foresee these in their details. We must exonerate therefore the passers of the compact of 1688, from intentional complicity with the dreadful course of suffering and degradation prepared by it for the mass of population ; or with that of the equally dreadful course of universal demoralization prepared by the same for nations and for human society

at large. Besides—we must observe,—that innumerable were the evils, and not small the demoralization, already prevalent, as induced by civil strife and political confusion. Principles had been forgotten along with prejudices; and the reactionary effects of puritan austerity and hypocrisy had appeared, under the second Charles, in the form of licentious morals and manners, and that infidelity to honour and all pecuniary engagements between man and man, which constitutes the sum and essence of all social vice. A moral infidelity, be it observed, which ever comes in the train of opiniative disputation; and of that argumentative scepticism in trivial doctrines, before considered sacred, and suddenly exposed to view in their naked unmeaningness, without the corrective of sound science and well reasoned principles of action. Farther, it must be borne in mind; that the feudal system was broken up. Population had been thrown loose by successive wars and commotions. By the heartless destruction of the monasteries also, and other violations of church property. New occupations were a necessity. Manufactures were in demand. Towns and cities were on the increase; and labour aspired to the higher character of industry. The feudal organization had been grounded upon agriculture. Instituted for its protection. The object now was to develop commerce and give full expansion to credit. It became necessary, then, to cast society in a new mould. To construct a framework more capacious and expansive than the old, of which the leaders, or nobiliary heads, should be supplied out of the ranks of capitalists, trade, and industry. In all this there was every thing, in the first outset, to improve the general condition, and simultaneously to advance the great political objects of which we sketched the outline. Thus, again, we see how things, which become the most odious, have had their utility in the outset; and how the great evil—in all place and through all time—has arisen, less out of defect in original design, than in the tendency of the violent and

unreasoning governing principle to sustain what is, *because it is*.

But admitting the design to be suited to the necessities of the epoch, how was it to be brought to bear?

We have now to recall that, under the feudal reign, agriculture sustained the body politic; and that the mass whose labour furnished the public supplies was under the protection of that bond of reciprocal duty and service which we have distinguished as constituting the feudal catholic religion. But in drawing, and in centupling while drawing, the energies of population into the new industrial framework of the towns and cities, under the command of monied capitalists,—In doing this, the mechanic trades, manufactures, domestic service, and service in commerce and on the sea, had to furnish its occupations. How were these new and transitory feudatories to be bound to their leaders, or to that general body politic denominated the state? How be brought to supply the necessities of either? The strength of the feudal system was in its organization, and the habits and feelings of population. But the feudal system was gone, and the religious bond, and the framework of organization, with it. In the absence of all this—and considering the object to be effected was the robbery of population; the subtraction of the honey from the hive as fast as the working bees should create it—it is clear that this governing, or subtracting, power had to be at once both very potent and very adroit. It could not be a naked affair of robbery, for that would defeat its own purposes. It had to force production, while it drew away the wealth produced. Old fashioned, primitive governing weapons—the stick, or the sword, or the blunderbuss—could never effect this twofold process. Besides the English people of that age understood the use of these as well, or better, than any leaders who might employ them. The English people were then armed, and well exercised in their weapons. These then were not available for government, unless in dire ex-

tremity; as the power in reserve, and argument in last resort. But government being a coercive thing; a brute power at the best; it must use some brute material. In the absence of stick, sword, and pistol, what then? Ah! it knows the use of a tool as well as of weapons. And that tool—Oh! it can dig down into the entrails of society, through its wants, and its ambitions, and its vices. Turning to profit the selfishness of every male heart, and laying waste even the generosity of the female. That tool, that governing tool—more potent far than every governing weapon—That governing tool is money. This was now to be brought to bear upon population, and to work against population, by a government armed with omnipotence for its creation, its use, and its control. But this tool was to serve also the purposes both of a bond of union and a chain of bondage. A bond of union for the leaders, or—now, more properly—coercers, of population, and a chain of bondage for the beguiled and coerced multitude.

We see, then, that what was in demand at the crisis of 1688 was a government; and a government sufficiently potent, and sufficiently adroit, to raise its own subsidies.

Will it now seem very strange to say—and yet certainly so it was—that the mass of the English people, since the days of their old Norman kings, had absolutely lived without a government. Without a government, that is to say, that was one for them. There was, as we said, the organization of feudal society, which, while embracing its entity, presented, in England, small pressure on the mass. There were, also, the influences of the church, always benign for population. And again; the local government of the parish magistracy, and of the county courts. Of which the action was confined to active offenders against the peace of society. But government—properly so called, for the general coercion and vexation, by taxation, of population—there was none.

To render this palpable let us recal—That the original powers in feudal government were the pope and the king. The one holding the lead-rein political; and the other the lead-rein civilizational. But the programmes of Clarendon and Runnymede placed these in check and countercheck. Leaving small pressure excepting that applied by the nobles on the crown, or by the crown on the nobiliary heads. This varying in one sense or the other, according to the ability and the energy of the parties, as in rivalry. A talented sovereign carrying the day, and a weak one losing it; until the final triumph of the crown, with the victorious ascension of the house of Tudor. The mass in all this had to be managed, and dealt with gingerly. They had plenty of hot fighting, to be sure. But this was the male business and sport of the age, as cheating and speculation are now. Under the ascendancy of the crown, its tyranny was again felt by the nobility, as the records of the Tower and the Star-chamber testify. It was felt, too, under the eighth Harry, by all who came within his reach. Who crossed his whims, or excited any of his passions. Who contravened his cruel penal statutes, or who ventured to assert an opinion of their own, or to comment upon any of his. Again, there were the religious persecutions under Mary, and all the vexations, religious and political, inseparable from a convulsive epoch, extending more or less through the line of the Stuarts. Single acts of tyranny, however, fell rather upon the leaders, than upon the mass, of population. While that which is for a whole people the expression of government—taxation—we scarcely find in the annals of England. Each attempt to apply it was a failure. Edward the Third—skilful statesman, and popular and powerful warrior as he was—succeeded but indifferently with his poll-tax and subsidies. And the first—contrived for a standing and universal source of revenue—fell through altogether under Richard the Second. Apart a regulated tax upon moveables, and a moderate one upon

imports, rated *ad valorem*, the whole expenses of government were met by the feudal dues, as drawn from, or through the hands of, the nobility. The personal expenses of the king, again, being met by the crown lands and some claims upon the sea-ports and cities. Of all the feudal dues in the kingdom, the primary, and by far the heavier—amounting to one half of the whole—went to the state as then vested in the crown. They appear, however, to have been little burdensome, after the correctives applied to the arbitrary authority of the early kings. A matter easily understood; since these old feudal burdens were not proportionably increased, or held for increasable, with the improvements in agriculture and growth of production; as under our modern rule of money and scheme of universal taxation. It may be conjectured, also, that such portion of the dues as went to the holders of the crown fiefs, nobiliary or ecclesiastical, would long continue to be paid in produce and services. While, whatever difficulties might arise, either in raising the lion's share due to the state, or in converting it into money, would fall, as of necessity, on the immediate and responsible crown vassals. May we not here distinguish a very probable source of the unceasing strife between the barons and the sovereign head of old feudal England no less than of the general ease and cheerfulness of the mass of population. The nobiliary agricultural heads of the two hierarchies stood effectually between the king—who was the government—and the mass—who were the people. Bound in their interests and their honour—honour was a reality in feudal England, under the guarantees of the instruments of Clarendon and Runnymede—Bound in their interests and their honour to make the cause of their dependents their own. In fact, they neither liked, nor, *in petto*, admitted the right of the crown to tax the nation; nor, indeed, to meddle with their dependents in any way, unless through them. Such, indeed, was the original principle of the feudal system. Which principle the popes took in hand

to guard. The same it was that magna charta had for especial object to define and to establish in the political system of old England. And it was, again, the same which the golden bull of Charles the Fourth made law for the old Germanic confederation.

But, it will be distinguished, that the cities stood in a measure apart from the feudal system. Out of this grew all the more radical troubles, as ultimately all the political intelligence, and civil liberty of, the continent. In England, the original Norman policy, backed by the advantages of insular position, had better facilitated the holding of town and country together. Still in the former was the money. Always for government, as for male rapacity generally, the most tempting form of wealth. And as that wealth, together with the commercial activity and industrial productiveness of population, were always growing, it seemed but reasonable, and certainly convenient, to make the cities' share of contribution to the state grow in proportion. But how to do this without having recourse to arbitrary and exceptional enactments? Jews and traders had enjoyed wondrous immunities in England. Good old church Anglican had staved off the inquisition by staving off heresy, and prevented arbitrary and exceptional enactments by making herself the mother of all. Who could object to her doctrines, of which the leading ones were to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, shelter the houseless, comfort the afflicted, and give trouble to nobody? Then old Stephen Langton had propounded magna charta for the religion of the land. And, under it, Jews, traders, and heretics—so that these last would keep a civil tongue in their heads, and some common-sense discretion in their vagaries—could live peaceably while mad barons were fighting. Not forgetting, however, we may be sure, to take advantage of the growing necessities of feudal signors; nor to make rueful complaints touching the difficulty of drawing usurious prices and usurious interests from a country desolated by feud and famine,

and of which the governing crown, for a goodly period, rested on one head to-day, and on another to-morrow. But, despite some drawbacks, and some drawn sword exacted subsidies, in support of quarrels no otherwise interesting to them than as they might have their larger debtors or one side or on the other—Despite such offsets, Jews and traders must have driven a good business in old England. The landed estate and its labourers feeding the two feudal hierarchies and the government, and trade living at their expense, and at expense of the outer world, with but very little in the way of taxation drawn from it at home in return.

It has been ever found difficult to govern those, who, having intelligence, have yet neither a voice nor any well understood interest in the government. Here, under feodality, was the great difficulty with the cities. The whole system being mounted for, and directly leaning upon, labour and agriculture, government, as vested in the king, could not work to its fancy industry and commerce. To obviate such difficulty, the city charters had been devised; and, as granted by, or more properly, purchased of the crown—for government never yields anything for nothing—seemed to put the cities, more especially, under the regal control. But the wealthier burghers regarded themselves as the nobiliary heads of their population, and held it for their right—under their charters and the great charter—to decide for it as the prelates and the barons did for theirs. Hence the difficulty of taxing the cities. And hence the especial necessity for government of making something real out of the House of Commons, which, until the epoch of civil strife under Charles had presented little else than a French *lit de justice*, summoned when the monarch was in a great strait for supplies. A poor governmental machine, costing usually more than it gave. Like the loans raised from the Jews at usurious interest, its subsidies had to be paid with favours and immunities which ever

placed the governing power in a worse strait than it was before.

It is now necessary to distinguish that the great political struggle—as suspended under the protectorate and stifled at the restoration—had supplied no answer to the difficulty which had provoked it. While the civil wars and, yet more, the wars and whole policy, foreign and domestic of Cromwell, had rendered the furnishing an answer to it additionally imperative.

What caused all the calamities of Charles ? Simply the absence of means to meet the expenses of government, and the difficulty of finding any mode of meeting them which should be agreeable to the public. Nobody likes to be taxed, and nobody is willing to tax himself. This the old school English monarchs had full knowledge of. Elizabeth—popular and absolute as she was—eschewed a parliament more than a Spanish Armada. She knew to study economy. And knew to study it so well that, in the fifteenth year of her reign, without recourse to any new tax or subsidy, she cleared off all the debts of the crown whether incurred during preceding reigns or in her own. In this manner, she shielded her people from vexation, and avoided it for herself also. The Stuarts had not the same wisdom. And yet it cannot be said to have been their extravagance which lost them. Since Charles the Second—the only reckless spendthrift of the family, and always with empty coffers—was the only one who made of the throne a tolerably easy chair. The Stuarts were, to all intents and purposes, foreigners ; and, as such, had no real understanding of the position of things, nor of their own position. The first essential for the getting through safely with the governing business—a ticklish affair at all times—is the being really *of a country* in mind, habits, feelings, manners. Versed profoundly in its history—not as books teach it, but as imbibed in the very air, sucked in with the mother's milk, associated in the thoughts of a nation, with the nation's whole existence. To such many

faults will be forgiven. To others none. Nor will good intentions, or good qualities, mend the matter. Sometimes the better these are, the worse for the government and the country. Nothing but a tact of the finest sort can steer through the rocks and shallows. It was this that saved Charles the Second, as the want of it lost his father and brother—both of them better men. But what the Stuarts had no conception of was the age and country in which they lived. Consequently they could not guide a people who—in the outset—had no clearer conception of either than themselves. As the time was passed when the old feudal machinery could work the state along—it had given way with the fall of the church—so now government was becoming too huge an affair for control by mere human hands, even such as an Elizabeth's or a Cromwell's; and too costly either for land or capital to be willing or able to meet it. All this Cromwell knew perfectly, and foresaw the scheme which necessity and circumstance would originate. Not indeed its magnitude and duration; nor all that the mounting and the sustaining of it would cost to the English people and to humanity. Could this have been foreseen, even the courage of a Cromwell might have quailed. But, as the real question before the civil strife had been—on the side of the king—who should pay for the keeping of government; and—on the side of the people—who should *not* pay for the keeping of government; so was the same question open after the tragedy of Whitehall as before. The cutting off the head of Charles might have settled the question of divine right, so far as to pass the pretension to the other party. But, if divine right did not involve the right of living at expense of the public, then Parliament was little likely to consider it worth the having. And, if it did involve such right, then the public would be sure to find the keeping of scores of kings dearer than the keeping of one. So Cromwell knew. And—for the mass, and *with* all the honest intelligence of the state—he made his know-

ledge to be felt by Charles, and understood by the parliament; cutting off the head of one, and shutting up the house of the other. Oh, kind mercy! How the multitude is deceived by names! A parliament indeed! What was the parliament that Cromwell put an end to? Something more than a talking automaton—as its name bears. It was a revolutionary tribunal; more free in its volitions than ours now is in its tongue. A revolutionary tribunal, sending people to the death as malignants, for the purpose of confiscating their estates. A parliament indeed! No; time was not then for mounting that machine. Time has arrived since. And we know and understand the contrivance, in its mechanism, and its wires, and its motive power. *We know?* Nay; they who best ought to know, know not yet. Oh, people! eyes have ye and see not; ears have ye and hear not; bodies have ye and feel not; brains have ye and understand not.

But at the epoch under review—1688—the real character of government had come home to the understanding of all the upper leaders of population. They who necessarily see best and farthest, because standing highest. None of these thought of doing away with the Moloch. There might be reasons for that; as we shall see. And yet—to be fair to all, in all things, as is our intention—to do away with him—under the circumstances, and in sight of the work before protestant Europe—would this have been possible? But, as we said, for the first time it was generally distinguished by all the responsible heads of population that government *was* a Moloch; and that the Moloch was a great eater, and that the eater could not be fed by enchantment. Who then was to feed him? Here was the question; at the last as at the beginning. The landholders had decided it should not be they; and had got Charles the Second to absolve them from the whole feudal dues to the crown; and to substitute for the same a first standing tax upon an article of home fabrication and general English con-

sumption—beer. This being intended evidently as an entering wedge to a whole system. It was this indeed in every way. Since, while they obliged the king to absolve them from all their duties to the state, they continued to exact from their own feudatories, the strict performance of theirs to themselves. An arrangement all this—such was the altering spirit and altering necessities of the times—which doubtless appeared to the territorial magnates of England perfectly reasonable. They would argue it thus: The landed estate was drained by all the cost of recent war; entailing embarrassment for years to come. Embarrassment of which the responsibility fell directly, as of course, upon the crown feudatories. Again; the revolutionary parliament had always subsidized its force during the contest out of the public ways and means. Finding these, and providing for its friends, at the expense of the country gentry; whom it found convenient, pretty sweepingly, to regard as *malignant*. A word applied as often, or oftener, to those opposed to the arbitrary doings of both parties than to those devoted to that of the King. Again; it might be remembered, that the policy of Cromwell, after his dethronement of the parliament, had equally gone—although with more forms of fairness and propriety—to advantage the interests of capital and trade or of the *town party*, as it was to called, and to depress those of the landed estate, or of the *country party*. And this of course—under the ever retroactive rule of government, since the former were more generally suspected of royalist leanings, while the latter were sure to be amenable to his own views.

Whatever excuse might exist, however, for the plea of some temporary favour towards the landed interest, at the epoch of the restoration, none might be possibly devised for the unlimited exonerations so outrageously extended to it. Not willingly indeed—we may be certain—on the part of the king; who was far too sagacious not to distinguish the character of its consequences both

to the government and the country. One is tempted, however, to indulge the conviction that the royalist negotiators with Charles had in view these very consequences. They had learned their lesson no less than the other party; and might equally incline to hold that best check on the volitions of government arising out of the scarcity of supplies. It is somewhat remarkable that the branded, earless puritan, Prynne, was the first—and that from his place in parliament—to invoke the return of the hereditary sovereign. Did not both parties distinguish the absolute necessity, at the death of Cromwell, of the course that was pursued? Could any other have so well supplied time and opportunity for that experience, and that ripening of events indispensable for mounting the scheme upon which depended the effective breaking up of the feudal system? On the other hand, would not the king assent to the terms put to him, as the condition of restoration, with future projects *in petto*. Projects which circumstances, and his own indolence, would afterwards combine to neutralize, and which James took in hand to carry through? But, however all this might be, it is easy to distinguish that such an exemption from all the charges of the state, as that conceded by Charles to those who held the usufruct of its standard wealth, was certain, in the long run, to cost the Stuarts the very crown which, momentarily, by its means, they recovered. At any rate, it inevitably entailed the transaction which was brought about in 1688. Since the varied and powerful interests of the state, embraced under the heads of capital and trade, were sure to contrive for themselves exoneration equivalent to that secured by the land; and this under penalty of renewing the contest so recently closed. But England had exhausted her rage for fighting, at least at home. She might distinguish, also, too much of this in store abroad. It was time, then, to temper, and to command, that rivalry between the interests of land and capital; which—as agitating and pulling in different ways the component

elements of society—had been the preparing cause of the parliamentary struggle with the crown, and of the civil strife in the nation.

The profligacy of the second Charles, either personal or political, would have in no way impeded, but rather facilitated an arrangement of which honour and honesty were to dictate none of the articles. And had not James stood beside the throne, with, perhaps, a goodly portion of high-heeled cavaliers of the old school, not yet consigned to the tomb of the Capulets, it seems likely the whole might have been managed, under the rose, without any blowing of trumpets, in honour of a “glorious revolution.” But Charles off the scene, quiet sailing became impossible. James had *principles*; only such as were not suited to the age, and, moreover, vitiated by bigotry.

In presence of his violent overtures to the court of Rome, and his whole course of high-handed good pleasure prerogative, it could not be difficult for the political intelligence of Anglo-Norman England to distinguish what threatened. The king was well known to cherish the favourite project of his father: the recovery of those church lands seized by Henry the Eighth, and thrown, for the most part, to right and left among his favourites. But this could only be done by the overt assumption and exercise of the old regal powers over the lands of the kingdom. Once on that ground, an attempt at the complete refurbishing of the whole feudal system might be looked for. Pretexts could not be wanting, nor, in the eyes of James, good reasons either, for overhauling the land-titles of all non-paying feudatories. Perhaps, also, for exacting back dues from the epoch of the restoration. He might well be expected to consider the forced concessions of his brother as in no way binding on him. And, justly regarding, moreover, the whole proceedings of the crown vassals as utterly shameless, and equally tending to the oppression of population as to the degradation of the sovereign, might farther be

expected—from his known character, of which tact and prudence made no part—to meditate a general *coup d'etat*.

It is good to recal that—in keeping with the sublime conception of old Asiatic economy—the supreme investiture of all territory was placed, by the original designer of the feudal system—the Roman pontiff—in heaven itself. The political sovereigns again holding their titles of the catholic pontificate, as vice-gerant of Heaven upon earth. To which leading articles of the feudal theory we saw Charlemagne consenting; and Norman William dissentient.

In the original theory of England's feudal system, the supreme investiture of all national territory was distinctly placed in the king. All other proprietorship being secondary, and held of him under certain conditions. The non-fulfilment of any of which conditions entailed forfeiture with immediate reversion to the crown. Here, by the way, we clearly distinguish how the action of feudal government, as vested in the monarch, bore immediately on the crown feudatories, and not on the mass of population. And how, in fine, it was the especial office of the sovereign to hold the nobiliary heads, under him, to their duties; to the state on the one part, and—with the aid of the church, the only influential agent in that matter—to their dependents on the other.

Such was the economy of the kingdom as present to the mind of James. Like his father before him, he had no right reading of the altered, and ever altering, political mind of the age. Conceived nothing of commercial and manufactural, otherwise called protestant—because in protest against agricultural and feudal—Europe. Excepting, indeed, as a cancerous sore in the general system, that asked to be made sound, or kept down, by strong cautery. A source of disease and convulsive disorder to the whole of society, and threatening destruction alike to its labour and its labourers, and sweeping

all things to perdition before an ever-gathering flood of demoralization.

Had James been another man; with popular manners, more ambition, and less fanaticism—anything of a Cæsar or a Napoleon, in fine—it might have gone hard with the future destinies of England at that juncture. A well-made appeal to the popular passions, through the popular interests of the moment, might have thrown all into the hands of an absolute monarch. Happily, James was looking behind him into the mists of the middle ages, and dreaming about popes, high mass, and feudal systems, instead of mounting his horse with a bold manifesto, and haranguing the people. As already observed, the Stuarts were neither of the age nor the country. Neither made for England's people nor for her politicians.

Before the antiquated views and opiniative fanaticism of James, the managing leaders of the two parties could not but come to an understanding. And what was that understanding? Simply, that neither land nor capital should feed the monster it was found necessary to sustain and to pamper, but that the mass of population should. And this, by ever stimulating its productive powers on the one part, through the means of an ever expanding system of credit; and by robbing it of its productions on the other, through the agency of a scheme of indirect taxation. The whole to be brought to bear by the gradual annihilation, under feigned pretexts, of all the immunities enjoyed under the feudal system, and the miserable substitution therefor of moneyed wages. Once enticed, or ejected, from the land—to a place upon which, under certain conditions, the lowest occupant had as much right as the highest in whose name it stood—Once enticed, or ejected, from the land, population was at the mercy of all the manœuvres of government. Dependant through its necessities, upon those who monopolized the soil and capital of the nation; and on the unseen and uncomprehended power which was brought

to regulate the value of all things, labour inclusive. It was evident, that once bring a population to depend in the three great wants of humanity—food, shelter, and clothing—upon the holders, not to say upon the makers, of money, and it could be forced or held to one occupation or another, and made to subserve all the demands of political exigency without means of resistance, time of respite, or place of refuge.

Such, then, were the causes which prepared the crisis of 1688, and such the purposes held in view by those who took in hand to control it. We shall now briefly sketch, in their outline, the forms that were given to the transaction, by which it was proposed to meet those purposes. In other words, we shall present such an explanation of what was done, and what was contrived, as may render the whole facile of apprehension by the popular understanding.

CHAPTER X.

GENERAL HEAD.

ENGLAND'S TRANSACTION EXPOUNDED IN ITS PRINCIPLES AND IN ITS FORMS.—TRANSITORY ORDER OF CIVILIZATION WHICH IT GENERATES.

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Youth of population over; and with it ease and security.—Its guardians fled.—Magna Charta transformed by lawyers and politicians into a governing scheme.—Intelligence of the new compact with a view to political exigency—Adherence to the text of Magna Charta, with absolute departure from its spirit.—England lends her soil as the basis of a scheme of credit that is to fill the globe.—Ostensibly consults the interests of society.—Things not quite as they seem.—Interests of government become singly associated with trade and money.—Not distinguished by the people.—How interests universally hostile in feudal countries, come readily to understanding in England.—Great rivalry organized by England.—Establishes a new popedom and inaugurates a new god.—Throws a veil over him, swears to him the law and the army.—Cajoles the church.—Secures the faith of the crown.—Choice of the new sovereign.—Suited in all things for the work in hand.—Complicated mechanism of governing scheme.—The same expounded.—Motive power for working it.—Molten calf.—Mechanism within it for moving all things and all men throughout the globe.—How hid from the multitude.—Open scandal avoided in England.—How encountered elsewhere.—Potent priesthood of the calf.—House of Commons, how and when brought into play.—Last act of the heads of the old church.—Contrast between it and the first acts of the new.—Caucus; and what the caucus makes.—Constitutive acts of the new government.—Solemn inauguration of the molten calf.—Two branches of

the serving priesthood.—Business of each.—What liberty turns into under government.—Power of the god; and ever gathering multitude of his servitors.—New pontificate definitely dethrones the old, and makes it a servant in the new temple.—Strife between rival nations, and governing schemes likened to game of chess.—What the leading acts under the compact of 1688 constituted.—Transitory order of civilization.—Its religion.—Its theory.—Its framework.—England takes the field against feudal Europe.—Paraphernalia of constitutional government; what it is and what good for.—Its purposes in time.—Nothing wanting to give authority to the new scheme.—Constituting powers just what was wanted.—First parliament not to be abused.—Cost less than any.—How the next job of the same kind was managed.—Things less well understood then than since.—The people still to be effectively bargained away.—How done to be explained in next chapter.

ELEVEN hundred fifteen, and sixteen hundred eighty-eight, contrast strangely in English history. Gone are the barons and the old pontiffs of Canterbury! The easy days of populational wardship, when the leaders of the land were the shelterers of the mass, are flown for ever! Magna Charta, from a bond of love and a pledge of honour, is about to be transformed into a scheme of government. Hair splitting lawyers and cold-blooded politicians consult in secret over its venerable text, to see how far it may be stretched, so as to admit entire perversion of the spirit without absolute infraction of the letter.

They succeed to perfection. In their hands magna charta proves as elastic as the consciences of its expounders. Ho! people, awake! Ye may no longer sleep while your leaders are watching. They watch, indeed, but your interests are no longer theirs. They watch, but it is to deceive and defraud ye.

Apart its iniquity—never a consideration with government—the compact made between the heads of England's influential classes at the epoch of her transaction, was equally intelligent, with a view to all the difficulties of the hour, as to the political command of the future. We may admit also that—considering the thing to be made was a governing scheme—the thing

made was as much in keeping with the text of magna charta, as the circumstances and the object permitted. New and powerful interests had been developed since the great council of Runnymede. And it was now distinguished, and, ostensibly, admitted, that the heads of those interests did in fact, and ought in right, to count among the nation's leaders. In her governing scheme, as modelled for the epoch, England made room for the ostensible heads of the new interests; and so ordered its mechanism, that its walls might at all times suit their dimensions to the demands of necessity or of expediency.

But this was not all. Interpreting largely—this also ostensibly—her responsibilities to the rising interests of society, and feeling also the urgent want of their co-operation, she made arrangements for placing these in strict alliance with the old. Thus, while on the continent the feudal organization of the land power remained a barrier across the path of progress, England lent hers as the basis of the most powerful system of credit the world ever saw.

The employment of the words *ostensible* and *ostensibly*, in the preceding paragraphs, will be noticed. All was not exactly as it seemed. This of course; since the agent in the matter was government. And since government never, in any case, however ostensibly consulting the interests of society, really has in view any save its own. If, in helping these, it also helps the others, good and well. But the fact is, and is so of necessity; that it never does this lastingly, nor, indeed, at any time fairly. At and from the epoch of the transaction, the interests of government became singly associated with those of money and credit, as opposed to the people; and those of trade, as opposed to industry. Whereas heretofore they had been often, in the person of the nobility, with the mass as opposed to the king, or with them also, in the person of the king, as opposed to the nobility and to the rich burghers. The compact

of 1688—let it be clearly understood—was a governmental, and not a national compact. Consequently it was one passed between the holders of wealth and the exploiters of its human producers for political purposes. Of course, then, under the compact, the real interests of society were to be sacrificed to its ostensible interests. A matter, however, not clearly distinguished at the time, perhaps by any; nor, to this hour, rightly comprehended by the great mass, nor even by more than a very small minority of the more favoured classes.

To understand the facility with which so amicable an adjustment was made between interests usually so opposed as those of the holders of the landed estate and of the dabblers in credit and trade, we must, perhaps, revert to the peculiar character and training of the Norman race at and before the epoch of the Conquest.

We noted them, in the outset, for masters of the sea. Soon equally expert in the arts of trade as in those of diplomacy and war. Their relations throughout Europe wearing the two-fold character of the knight-errant and the travelling pedlar. Moreover, it seems probable, that the first pretensions of Duke William to the throne of Saxon England, together with the facile submission of her landed nobility, and yet more of the population of London—head-seat of her intelligence—were prepared by previous relations of Norman traders with the country. And again; we may conclude, that among the conqueror's followers would be a goodly number of ready-witted bargainers, who had tried their hand in every state in Europe; and who came prepared to turn to immediate account both the insular position of the country, and their own familiarity with the various habits, wants, and resources of the continent. The Norman policy of placing their own race at the head of the two divisions of their feudal system, could not fail to be followed up in like manner in the cities, so as to command there also all the leading interests of population. This may explain the large immunities accorded,

at so early a period, to the city of London, and to trade in general. A course of policy which powerfully prepared the way for the greatness of the country, by securing the unity of its political mind, and, ultimately, by facilitating the transaction of 1688.

And now to understand what was done at that memorable epoch when the new scheme of equipoise, by aid of the rivalry of classes, was taken in hand by the governing power of England.

We have seen that all government proceeds upon the principle of counteracting one force by another force. England had against her the feudal catholic land power of the continent. Armed with its brute labour, the gold of the new world, the arts of the Jesuits, and the chivalrous valour of France.

To meet this, England prepared a union of all her modes of wealth, her own feudal land power inclusive. As a consequent, she prepared the absolute control of all the energies of her population, with facilities for mounting her scheme of credit. And again ; of forcing, by its means, the rapid expansion of her industry. Of strengthening her fleets and armies ; establishing her maritime supremacy ; monopolizing the commerce of Europe ; and spreading herself and her influences over the globe.

To bind all her resources together, and to feed them from a never failing source of power, she established—in opposition to feudal Europe and her Jesuits—a new sort of collective popedom, in the form of an omnipotent parliament, the keys of whose power were ^{none} all in this world, instead of two-thirds in the other. The god ^{ly, poto} whom she installed over the destinies of men, and for ^{for bei} whom she established her parliament as vicar upon earth, was lodged mysteriously in a temple in Thread-needle street. But, conceiving it neither seemly nor safe to discover the real deity to vulgar regard, she threw over his idol and his altar, old bluebeard Harry's flag of church of Englandism. To veil the real creed—

as outstanding in the charter of her gilded calf, and privileges of her parliament—she showed thirty-nine articles, presenting sham dissidence with the theological creed of Rome. Swore the lawyer to uphold, and the soldier to defend them. Gave the wink to the priest, and renewed his lease to fat lands and fat living. While, to secure the fidelity of the monarch to her own new catholic faith, she decreed that the means for his support should be furnished out of the temple.

Her choice of a new sovereign was equally sagacious with the rest of the scheme. She took a valiant captain, since she could foresee a good deal of fighting to be done. Besides, that she might have some uneasiness as to roundheads and cavaliers. All had not gone to America, nor perished on the scaffold with Strafford, nor with Sydney and Russell. Many were unconverted, and she might judge would be troublesome lodgers in the half-way house of a transaction. She took her captain from Holland, since it was from the wily Dutchman she had borrowed her scheme. Besides that, it was important to secure that sagacious state's commercial neutrality and financial co-operation. And she took the man she did, since he had borne aloft the standard of protestant resistance to feudal France, then aiming at the catholic conquest of the whole of Europe, and at the centralization of her own feudal power in the hands of her monarch. And farther; because having subdued the liberties, while protecting the independence, of his own country, the Dutch prince was likely to understand how to vanquish those of Ireland, and to undermine those of England. William was, in all things, the man of, and for, the epoch. Stern and unyielding as the system he was called to establish, valiant and cold as the steel of his sword.

But duly to propound to the uninitiated the nature of this new governing scheme, we must observe that there was, in its mechanism, a wheel within a wheel, and many more again within that. We shall notice the

first, without exhibiting all the endless wheels, intercased the one within the other in the style of the well-known Chinese ivory puzzle.

While the broad rivalry of land and capital was still held as the great puissance in reserve wherewith to confront the league of feudal thrones on the political field of Europe; that rivalry—having won the battle against the royal prerogative on the political field of England—was evidently exhausted, like to the old rivalities of the king and the pope, or the king and the nobles. At home, then, this wholesale feud between the two great powers of the state was broken up into an ever increasing number of petty jealousies, embracing all the subdivisions of human occupation. The landholders remaining always like the great upper gods of Olympus. Yet carefully crossing their house, and staying their fortunes, by alliances with all the wealthier heads of the moneyed and professional classes. Never forgetting either the good old Norman rule of placing some of their kith and kin at the head of each, so as to command, at once, all the greater gains and more extended influences of all. But while these rivalities of caste—more zealous, bitter, and ridiculous than those of India—were employed to work in society, as a stimulus to all its vanities and ambitions, apart from these altogether, a rivalry of parties was organized in the political field, and brought to regulate the action of government and the contending avarice of men.

As more than two parties could only breed anarchy, all the different shades of opinion were embraced under two standards. Each army, however, being so divided into battalions and companies, as might facilitate such changes in either, as circumstances might necessitate, or the course of events permit.

These two governmental armies were easily organized out of the leanings which survived the recent civil strife. The tory being understood to represent that which favoured the stronger prerogative of the crown. The

whig, that of the parliament. More intelligibly; the one being, or appearing to be, representative of the principles of liberty and independence. The other, of those of union and order. In the course of events, however, the two have ever shifted their ground, so as to meet the wants of the hour and the schemes of the moment. Until—in the final exhaustion of all possible variations to the tune of government—the two parties represent here, as they do all the world over, nothing more than that never failing distinction of *the ins* and *the outs*. Of those who, holding the perquisites of office, want to keep them; and of those who, holding them not, want to get them.

The sole motive power for working this scheme was corruption. For which, the means lay in the temple of the molten calf. A plastered idol, gilt over to decoy the multitude and deceive the world. Within whose hollow breast was contrived a wondrous mechanism, by which was to be made to move every power in the state; every man in the nation, from the beggar to the king; and, finally—as we shall hereafter distinguish—every government and every people on the globe.

But now it being unseemly for popes to acknowledge their offspring, and it being seemly for a new scheme of government to present a fair face to the world, the popedom, throughout its two branches, was held *ostensibly* to work without pay. While things were quietly and decently managed, by aid of class exemptions and immunities, individual fat offices, convenient perquisites, favours in trade and business, bank bills, also, slipped politely into the hand, and—that convenient artifice so well understood in these days, and so well named in a country peculiarly skilled in the art—*log-rolling legislation*. By which Tom helps raise the house of Harry, and Harry helps raise the house of Tom, while both are talking of raising the house of the public.

But, in this manner, the open scandal was avoided, in England, of making the popular service (so called) a mere mode of scrambling for a living. As is the more honest, or—if you will—the more unblushing practice in some countries. Where the business of law making is ticketed at so much per diem; and let out to such as have no better mode of paying their debts and earning their dinner.

It should be noted, that the first effective appearance of the House of Commons in the English scheme of government, dates from the troubles under Charles the First. Its struggle into life was the short epoch of its virtue. Its ascension to supremacy that of its rapid degeneracy. When Cromwell turned it out of doors, put the key of the emptied house in his pocket, and sent its clerk home to his dinner, he rid the country of the tyrant of the hour; and stifled corruption, and legislative robbery, with the strong hand of power, but with the clean one of honesty. None ever suspected Cromwell of peculation; the real source—combined with his energy and ability—of his unchallenged authority.

But the House of Commons—on its present footing, as the hired and potent priesthood of the gilded calf—dates of course from the transaction. Although it was only gradually, that its thorough control—by what is politely called influence, and, in blunt language, corruption—was thoroughly brought to bear.

From the accession of the Tudors until the great political convulsion, the power in the state, and the power without rival or appeal, was the crown. The influence which had previously controlled that power, in a sense the most favourable to populational interests, was the church. Still the prelates, in common with the temporal nobility, had become good for little or nothing, as a body in the state, long before the opening of the great civil strife. And this, of course, was a main cause both of the religious and political revolution.

But now it is proper, and, moreover, as may appear hereafter, important, to observe, that—in the memorable epoch we have undertaken thus boldly to elucidate, when great civilizational evils had to be averted, and great national exigences provided for, and this even at the sacrifice of all popular justice and popular ease—^{It is} It is proper and important to observe, that the heads of the English church showed themselves not unmindful of the past history of their order. True at once to the standard of human progress, as arborated by Langton, and to that of conscientious opinion, as held fast, on the scaffold and at the stake, by either division—catholic or protesting—of England's martyrs—True to every nobler antecedent, the prelates of England withstood the bigotry, religious and political, of James; and moved ^{en} to the ill-omed Tower with the determination of patriots, and the resignation of martyrs. And again; it is curious and important to observe, that while the last expiring act of that old constitutional pontificate of the English church—which had held, more or less, until that hour, the interests of the people as *in trust*—was one of greatness; the opening acts of the heretical anti-popedom, styled *omnipotent British parliament*, who took in hand the same interests as *a governing job*, were acts of unmixed meanness. Shall we look at this? It is full of instruction.

Ninety peers, who chance to be in London, send advice to the Dutch Prince, William of Nassau—slowly and doubtfully making his way towards them with his Dutch troops—to call a convention. The convention is called. And who and what are they who conveniently are found to convene?

Imprimis: The aldermen of London—the mayor being sick, or pleading sickness. *Secundum*: The common council. *Terzio*: 160 members of the old, weak, and miserable parliament of Charles the Second. This convention calls another convention. Which second convention—after evidence obtained of its disposition—

resolves itself into a parliament. Oh, government! Oh, hocus pocus! What thou wert, thou art. And what thou art, thou wert.

And what does this newly installed *caucus*—as America would say—undertake to accomplish? It makes—all may be said in one word—It makes a *government*. And a government the most deceptive, the most puissant, the most ably poised, of any government upon earth. Unless, indeed, it should be that—to compare small things to great—of the island of Japan. [Having a second time named that ancient empire, I must—in parenthesis—a second time beg mercy for it. It meddles with nobody, and is at the end of the earth. And, at some future day, when we may have settled our own affairs after the dictates of common sense and common honesty, it may be curious and instructive to inspect that model of old Asiatic contrivance. The check and countercheck of English government are nothing to it; and—always with exception of the molten calf—it beats modern ingenuity all hollow.]

The four main constitutive acts of the modern scheme of government, and which we shall notice, were:—

1. The settlement of the line of succession to the crown. Thus staving off, through the future, all domestic disputes under that head; so fruitful, during the past, of war and disturbance.

2. The bill of rights. That indispensable prelude to running up as long and heavy a bill of wrongs as exigency or expediency might command, and the ever growing avidity of ever multiplying meddlers in the governing business, might desire.

3. The solemn inauguration of the gilded calf as the constitutional, omnipotent, omnipresent god of the British empire.

4. The establishment, under cover of the religion of the calf, of a new church, catholic and militant, in keeping an omnipotent many-headed popedom.

The first great branch of the serving priesthood of the new temple was already made to hand, and constituted the omnipotent pontificate itself. Of course, its omnipotence was ever to be perfected by practical training, and by the gradual, yet rapid, and ever accelerating, developement of the powers of the new deity, whose vicegerent throughout the universal earth it aspired to become. This heretical popedom occupied the two houses of the representative parliament. The one claiming to be representative of the territorial resources of the country. The other commanding its powers of production. The first having really in charge—as we may hereafter better understand—to prevent the whole political system from being blown to the moon by the second. Since, of that second, the standing occupation was to be the authorising illimitable drafts upon those productions of which it claimed to represent the producers. And, farther, of endowing its paper drafts upon substantial wealth with a higher value than the wealth itself. Imparting to them the character of eternal duration. The assiduity of either branch of the popedom in fulfilling its functions was effectually secured. In the one case, by the facilities afforded for monopolizing the usufruct of estates held in unchallenged guardianship. And in the other, for ensuring the ample reward of individual members, by the intelligent exercise of the collective attributes. From this epoch dates the popular enthusiasm for the representative form of government, and the universal male scramble for the right of suffrage. Oh, see! how—under government—for the word liberty, we should read corruption!

The second great division of the new priesthood was lodged in the temple itself. And in all the temples in its lead and under its control. Of this branch of the serving priesthood, the leading occupation was to be that long sought and now discovered secret of making gold, or its substitute at pleasure. These familiar spirits of the idol god, are commonly called by the name

of bankers and brokers. But with a never ending file of correspondents, aids, and sub-aids, quite past our counting. The whole headed, flanked, followed, and guarded by such armies of traders—big, little, and inconspicuous; from London's merchant princes, down to the second-hand trafficker in old coats, stale gingerbread, or a glass of grog—Such armies, I say, of all devouring traders, as, at this hour, in number and in mischief, surpass the locusts of Pharaoh, and must soon defy what remains of useful labour to feed them. Never before was a god so powerful upon earth, or served by such a train of ever multiplying servitors!

Of course, the pontificate of England's old church being now definitively dethroned, and moreover brought itself to bow down in the house of Rimmon, it hath had nothing more to do with the virtue of ancient days. I shall not say, indeed, that its uses altogether ceased with the singular compact we are attempting to elucidate. But as they then became subsidiary to those of another, and a greater power, we find them, of necessity, shorn of all their virility and splendour. No longer the holder of that social bond which links together the popular interests and the human feelings in the political system; nor of that more general bond which holds together the international interests in the civilizational system; the church, from a power, has become a pageant. Standing as a screen before that altar of country she once served, to hide from vulgar gaze the priests of Baal, as there officiating before their idol. We have elsewhere compared the course of general civilization to a colossal game of billiards. (Page 144.) So also may the governmental history of rival nations, or contending systems, be aptly likened to a game of chess, or a course of military tactics. Each move by one party generating a corresponding move from the other.

We noticed how the church of Rome—at the opening of European revolutionary convulsion—was placed under cover, and thus virtually dethroned, by the society of

Jesus. At the close of England's corresponding epoch, her church was placed under cover, and virtually dethroned by her bank; and every authority in the political system was rapidly submitted to the new religion as then governmentally inaugurated.

We noted in our introductory developements, how every new scheme of government had been ushered in by some corresponding theory, as applied to the heavens. In the form of mythological or theological variations for the mass. And in the form of some new reading of the laws of the universe for the learned. We find both of these preparing the introduction of English parliamentary omnipotence, governing male supremacy, and the powerful rivalry of classes.

Milton, the great poet of the puritan protectorate, propounded the first in his *Paradise Lost*. There we have a whole cosmogony, scheme of ethics, theology, and government, suited to the new page about to be opened in human history. On earth, angels propound the law of God to man; without the accustomed intervention of the priest. Man propounds the same to woman, and places himself over her as of course. The fallen angels prepare, in their dominions, the full model of a talking parliament, in which nothing is wanting but the molten calf. Mammon is there, however, ready to prepare its inauguration with the aid of Belial. The whole to compass adroitly, by indirect means, the schemes of Moloch. It is difficult not to think that Milton had in his eye the parliament, to which Cromwell put an end, when he painted his pandemonium. Nay! we may fairly conclude he was dreaming of the future popedom.

It is unnecessary to suggest to the intelligent student that Newton—the great contemporaneous philosopher of the transaction—supplied the theory in physics, which exhibited all the worlds of the universe, with all the atoms of constituent matter, in strife of unceasing attraction and repulsion.

Thus we see, that while the theological and doctrinal poet inaugurated male supremacy in the person of the

godhead in heaven, of humanity on earth, and of demonocracy in hell, so did the philosopher propound the universal prevalence, and irresistible omnipotence, of the male principle throughout the whole of existence.

Our object being in this treatise to rend from top to bottom, that veil of the temple, which hath hidden though all past time the juggleries of government from the eyes of the multitude, we shall proceed to define and to formulate the order of things mounted at, and from the great English transaction.

It has constituted for modern Europe, and now constitutes for the globe, a mongrel order of civilization; like the composite in architecture; and may be called *the transitory*.

Its religion, or bond of union, has been that of *swindlers associated for gain*.

Its theory may, perhaps, be rendered thus: *All is fair between rogues, except what may bring in danger the scheme of roguery itself*.

Its framework has been the *banking, funding, and commercial credit scheme*.

And now thus provided with a counter scheme of civilization to the feudal; and of which the religion addressed itself to all the selfish passions of the male sex, England took the field more than a match for the high-souled chivalry of France, the brute force of ignorant feudal Europe, and the arts and under-current influences of the Jesuits.

It will now be readily distinguished that the whole bulky and noisy machinery of constitutional government—with its press spreading error instead of truth; confusion instead of light; license instead of liberty; superstition instead of religion; voluptuousness and obscenity instead of generous affection, lofty sentiment, expansion and dignity of soul,—With its parties, dividing between them the spoils of society; and driving human thought, back and forward, through all the anarchy and tumult of passion without morality, and ambition without knowledge, to work only change without improvement,—

With its popular confusion, called elections, made up of strife and noise, corruption and deception,—With its rivalities of class, tearing society to pieces; and its individual inheritance of the soil, and the capital, and the credit of society—poisoning the very fountain springs of exertion on the part of the few, and of hope and ambition in the breasts of the many,—With its instruction made up of futilities, and errors, and contradictions,—With its law made up of solemn fictions, feigned issues with feigned parties, learned absurdities, blessed uncertainties, sanctified cruelties, and systematised injustice,—With its theological creeds, compounded of incomprehensible dogmas, contradictory arguments, drivelling imbecilities, and moral atrocities,—With its sects without end; confounding its reason, poisoning its feelings, infidelising its soul, and rendering humanity's religion of love impossible,—It will now, I say, be readily distinguished that the whole bulky and noisy machinery of constitutional government is—just so much snuff thrown in the eyes and ears of society.

And yet, in distinguishing the utter worthlessness of the whole cargo of fustian, smuggled upon the world in company with the gilded calf, we are not to suppose that—in *time and under the circumstances*—all has not had its uses. We have but to compare the state of population in countries governed by king Log and the Jesuits, to admit the advantages of the rival system.

But are there any who will still put the question: Why, in the outset, ignorance could not have been met by truth instead of error; and tyranny vanquished by justice instead of corruption?

I must refer the demurrers to the nature of government; of which man has, even yet, to learn the vice and futility. The only arguments it knew, when England brought her calf into the field, were chains, racks, dungeons, and cannon balls. Her priests of Baal forged for its use bank bills; and fraud took precedence of force. Talk of science to Austria, and liberty to the Jesuits! Yet both, at this hour, as circumvented by a

system in advance of their own, however false and wicked in itself, are, I think, likely to be made amenable, each to its proper authority. That is to say; the Jesuits to the true head of the old catholic church, the pope of Rome. And Austria to the leaders of the German people in all the German states, as speaking through the diet of the Germanic confederation. But of this hereafter.

We have now seen that nothing was wanting in the form of governmental authority, to give all governmental sanction to England's transaction. There were ninety peers, and a furniture of commons; extra the aldermen of London; and a new king and great captain into the bargain. And in the pocket of the new king, a good Dutch receipt of how to make, in true figure and proportion, the gilded calf.

But you will say: Here was an old parliament, and a rotten parliament, and a rump parliament, and an unconstitutional parliament. Unconstitutional? Take care! or we may be tried for treason. But look at it! and you will find that there is no room for calling it names. Look at it and you will find it was quite as good as any that has been had since. Nay, look at it close! and you may, perhaps, find it was infinitely better.

In the reign of Anne, the independence of Scotland cost to the buyers twenty thousand pounds. A cheap purchase, you will say. Aye. The Scot is poor, and a small sum seems large to him. He was a raw hand also in that day. Were the job to do over again, now that he has been so long in close partnership with his wealthier brethren, he would rate his country higher, if not for the honor, yet for the profit of the thing. But if the politicians of England, who managed the job of 1688, had called a general election, and made a regular span new House of Commons, they would have had to buy *it*, as they did the Scotch assembly. An operation which—just at that moment—would have cost the English people far more than the independence of all Scotland.

But you will exclaim again: Free and real representatives of the people would not have sold themselves. Free and real! Heaven help our understandings! But we shall admit for the present—intending to come back upon that subject—We shall admit that the machinery of representative government was not so well understood in that day as it has been since. And that, consequently, a span new House of Commons would have cost more trouble and more concessions than would have been convenient. Still it would have been managed; and in a manner anything but comfortable for population. Whereas, the old House of Commons of Charles II. was ready made and ready paid to hand. We do not mean paid either with specie-money, or its representative—there was but little of either in the days of Charles;—but paid with privileges and exemptions. That is to say; while the taxes they had contrived as a substitute for the feudal land-dues were general on the mass of the people, they did not touch their interests, or those of the class they represented. But, on the contrary, helped these by all which they subtracted from the public. Of course, the parties assenting to the new scheme of indirect taxation, did not mean to take the burden off the shoulders of others for the purpose of laying it on their own. When did traders and money jobbers ever fail to drive a hard bargain? The bargain driven, however, was perfectly balanced between the parties. The sufferers were those who were bargained for, and bargained away: namely, the mass of the people. The mode of proceeding was simple; and—as we said—*magna charta*, in the hands of lawyers, was the text for it. Shall we elicit how? It is the old rule: *divide and govern*. Ah! without opposing interests government were impossible!

To render apparent the radical change now induced, and ever more and more brought to bear on the whole political system of England farther elucidations become necessary. They will occupy our next chapter.

CHAPTER XI.

GENERAL HEADS.

GOVERNMENTAL INTERPRETATION GIVEN TO THE GREAT CHARTER OF RUNNYMEDE.—HOW SAID INTERPRETATION IS BROUGHT TO BEAR.—CONSEQUENCES OF THE SAME IN THE IMMEDIATE AND IN THE ULTIMATE.

CONTENTS.

Lawyers rich in arguments.—Politicians in contrivances.—The clergy nothing to them.—Text of magna charta, how rendered.—What is a nation?—Who are its leaders?—Old feudal England a compact nation.—Its leaders identified with all its interests.—The same illustrated.—Abdication expounded.—How the landholders forfeit their tenures de jure.—The same admitted and confirmed by all subsequent governmental acts.—New monarchy without lands.—New monarch a life-rent pensioner.—Old point in litigation settled.—Who render the services attached in the origin to the land tenures.—To whom the land, de jure, reverts with the services.—Question not to be referred to Court of Chancery.—Nor to court of the lords.—Question not asked at the transaction.—Question then asked.—In the answer nation not likely to get its own.—Nation itself hard to find.—Where was it?—Where is it?—Nation disappears.—Nation's leaders also.—What remains in their place.—Important matter suggested for popular reflection.—Effect of government wherever placed.—Traced in passage of the governing principle from the crown downwards, through the ranks of population.—When were the days of merry England, and why England was merry.—Misery strikes down, with the governing principle.—Confusion in things, terms, and ideas.—Class government worst of all for the governed.—No other feasible in England.—Old powers in the state all unfit and unable to take it in hand.—King, nobles, clergy, army, law—all of no account.—Preserved and strengthened in the new scheme, but merely as accessories.—Government really vested in the Commons.—Makes the governing

tool for the governors.—What money is.—And what wealth is.—Who makes the one, and who the other.—Drafts upon wealth.—By aid of what fiction made.—Secret of representative government.—Immediate object and immediate effects of England's scheme.—Calamitous results of every compact made between the holders and exploiters of wealth, while its producers have no voice in the same.—Human being in 1688 treated as a mere creative machine.—Population treated over again as it had been at the conquest.—With a difference only making matters worse.—Step in progress, however, with view to principle.—Population torn from the soil.—Man not a vegetable.—Feodality fixed him.—New scheme sets him afloat.—Vicious and oppressive consequences in time.—These explained.—What results involving principles may also have been induced.—Radical changes effected in political system.—The same expounded.—Final results at this hour.—Absolute necessity for the people to make use of their understandings.—If this be done, what may be discovered and what realised.—Must first attain a knowledge of their actual ignorance.—Study the past, understand the present, in order righteously to co-ordinate the future.—General character of final results envisaged with a view to stimulate popular curiosity and attention.—Character of historical elucidations to be opened in Chapter XII.

To the leaders of a nation belong the interpretation of that nation's interests. Such was the text which lawyers and politicians undertook to reconcile with the transaction of 1688, and the scheme which grew out of it. When were lawyers in want of arguments, or politicians of contrivances? The people talk largely of the craft of the church. It is nothing to that of the bar, and the press, and the privy council of government.

And now first: what is a nation? Second, who are its leaders?

A nation is the collective sum of such population, as, occupying a given territory, *secured to their use*, is held together by one common bond of political association.

The leaders of a nation are they who, having an intimate understanding of the collective interests, both of territory and population, have also their own interests distinctly identified with the same.

By aid of all our previous elucidations, we distinguish readily: that feudal England was pre-eminently a na-

tion. Her soil held compactly for the people's occupancy, and for the state's service. And, again: That her leaders were the three heads of her political system: The king, the prelates, and the barons. All these, viewed as a whole, represented the vital interests of the state, and the vital interests of its people. And, each of these, viewed individually, whether as an order in the state, or as a member, either of such order or of collective society, could—apart, indeed, the rage for fighting, an evil inherent in the age, and in the very principles and organization of feudal society—But, apart this, neither individual nor order in the state could readily have any interest distinct from, much less opposed to, the well-being of the mass of population.

Apart from the feudal system—as based upon, and sustained by, the land; and by the great mass of population occupying the land,—there was, as we have noted, the cities; with their population, as supported by commerce, the mechanic trades, and just rising manufactures. This population again, under the reign of feodality, was ever, of necessity, faithfully protected by its leaders. These being stimulated to cherish their dependants, as well by the great outstanding rivalry between land and capital, as by resistance to the crown in all its efforts at taxation. In those days there was no patent machine for squeezing the life out of the people, called by the taking name of the popular representation. A feudal parliament really embodied the interests of the nation, versus those of government. It was the shield of Fabius against the sword of the enemy. The Commons more especially represented the wealth of towns and cities, and were held to find what they voted. Ah! if the house of honourables could now be called on for a subsidy, and nothing to draw upon but their own stock in trade!

We thus see that old England was a body homogeneous in its interests, and united always for one great purpose—resistance to vexation by government. Go-

vernment being vested in the crown, and bearing upon the responsible heads, and not upon the mass, of population.

When the feudal system was finally broken up—killed in its old nobiliary leaders; in the influences of the church; in the power of the monarch; in the habits and feelings of population; and, finally, in the abrogated duties of all the landholders, and the passage of these duties to the holders of money and dabblers in credit; and the passage again, of the same by the same, to the shoulders of the labouring mass—where precisely was the English nation? And who were the leaders to represent the English nation, wherever it might be? A curious complication was induced, demanding some reflection to attain a conception of it.

In the first place, the land was virtually forfeited by its nominal holders. Those holders, under the dead system—by which they still held, although the system was effectively dead, and killed, too, by the *coup de grâce* dealt by themselves. Those holders had been, at any time, only holders in trust. On the one part for the mass of population, and, on the other, for the service of the state. True, that in the crown deeds of tenure, the last only was expressed in words. This of course; since *it* only involved burden. The retainers of the baronial fiefs constituted the baronial family; the baronial strength and the baronial wealth. Their right to territorial occupancy formed the very essence of the feudal system. And, with regard to that of England, magna charta is there in witness. Broadly, then, we may assert, that in abrogating their duties—with, as without, the forced assent of Charles—they forfeited their tenure in the sight of earth and heaven. Here is a question that refers itself to a higher court than a court of chancery. They forfeited their tenure *de jure*. To whom? James would have said: to himself, the king. Charles, being that most easy, shapeless, selfish, worthless of all characters, a sensualist and voluptuary, cared nothing

who fed him, or sustained either his own vices, or the state's service. Not so James. He therefore had his plans laid for bringing all men to order, and setting all things to rights. His brother knew this perfectly; as we may distinguish by the observations made touching the trouble that would come after him. But—as hath been said—there was a question which James did not see to ask. Whether society had not outgrown her old garments; and whether that was not the reason they had fallen off her back? A new generation new clothes. Ah! when humankind shall clearly distinguish that truth, she will have an easy time of it. England's statesmen did see this. Will they not see it now? They will, they must; or prove false to that political sagacity which had its origin in the wandering, prying disposition of their old North-men ancestry.

James, as was explained, saw nothing of the state of the case. In consequence he was driven off. The politicians called it *abdicated*. They had abdicated themselves; and so the word might readily come to their tongues. But if they had abdicated their duties, they had no notion of *abdicated* their quarters or their privileges. The more easily to keep these, they raised and prolonged an astounding hum about popery, high mass, church sacraments, white surplices; and, whenever this died down, set a myriad of sectaries—always better at that job than their own poor walking ghost of old church Anglican—to elucidate a myriad of differences between tweedle-dum and tweedle-dee. Thus, by throwing out tubs to the whale, church established married herself fast to the state, and held on to the lands which bluff Harry had left to her. While the lands he had stolen remained snugly in possession, not only of purchasers, but of temporal lords to whose ancestors he had thrown them. What staunch protestants, and constitutional whigs, such noble lords have been to this day! Oh, politicians! when were a people a match for ye? How should they be? You who have nothing to do but to

plot and chicane, and the people who have to work for their dinner.

But they had forfeited their tenure *de jure*. Let us note that. It may serve us in good stead for bringing order out of the chaos in which we are plunged. Nor will the landholders deny the fact. They admitted it, in and by all the acts of the curious transaction which we have attempted to expound. And they have farther admitted it, in and by all the acts which have been enacted since, either to amend those acts, or to amend their amendments. But, in forfeiting their tenure, to whom did it revert? The representative of England's old feudal kings was gone; and, with his departure, her old feudal system definitively expired. The new king was gifted with no lands at all, and was demanded to sign away, or to sell out, all the old crown lands to individuals. Thus the sovereign was made a life-rent pensioner of the mass of the people. They having to meet, by the process of general taxation, his personal expenses, with those of his court, in addition to the whole outstanding and ever-growing cost of government.

But let us note again! The crown here cedes the point so long in litigation. Where is divine right now? Holder, *in capite*, no more of anything. The crown lays down its claims. The nobles forfeit theirs. *De jure* understood. But shall we ask, In this forfeiture *de jure* of all the lands of England, on the part of their holders, to whom should the tenures, also *de jure*, revert? Clearly to those on whom have been thrown, and by whom have been borne, *are* borne to this hour, the burden of services attached to them. Clearly to the collective sum of population. Here, also is a question that will be referred to a higher court than one of chancery, or a house of lords. To a court never yet, indeed, convened upon earth, but for which the nations must soon prepare. A court supreme over all law, a court of justice.

But here was a question not asked at the transaction. The question then asked was very different—namely, how, in regular geometric progression, the people might be robbed of all privileges, and be charged with all burdens.

It is clear that, with reference to the performance of this operation, a strong government, rather than any just attention to the public interests, was in demand. The nation, then, was little likely to get its own. And even the nation itself—according to our definition of a nation—might be hard to find. Where indeed—if any where—now was the English nation ?

We defined a nation to be the collective sum of such population, as occupying a given territory, is held together by one common bond of political association. But to occupy a territory, it is necessary to have the right of occupancy well secured. And it was precisely that right of occupancy—in its principles and in its forms, its advantages and its duties—which constituted the national bond of old England's political association. Under her feudal system, such right *was* secured. But lo ! at its annulment, this right is gone. As if King James, in *abdication*—as Whig phrase is—with the crown tenures in his pocket, had conjured away the territory from under the feet of population. No ; it was not king James did this. Who then ? The knot of politicians who managed public affairs, with a view to the throwing of population out of the old political framework into a new one. The nation is cut down into classes. It is classes who have leaders. And it is the leaders of leading classes who are to rule the mass of population, and dispose of their property and their persons. Ah ! see, we have our answer. Where is the nation ? we asked. Verily there is no nation. The nation disappeared with the right to territorial use and occupancy. Where is the king when you seize his kingdom ? Where is the nation when shut off from the bosom of the soil ? When you lay on burdens, and take away all privilege ? When you

speculate on the very light and air of heaven? Wall in the woods, and fields, and hills, once open to free passage? Set traps and guns, and gamekeepers, to vex, and dodge, and hold at bay, the race whose fathers trod the land as free men? Transmute into paupers, and felons, and prostitutes? Imprison in gaols and in poor houses? Corrupt, deprave, inebriate, and slay, the sons and daughters of England? Nation! No, there is no nation. No compact body of population, united in its interests and its feelings, and guided by leaders acknowledging the same. No; in lieu of the English nation, we have, on the one part, governing classes, and on the other, a governed people. And lo! the action of the privileged few upon the oppressed many has been to crush down and degrade these from a people into a populace.

And now who are the leaders of this divided, governing, and begoverned population? Why thus it is. The heads of the governing classes are styled the leaders of the governed mass. The landholder, and the capitalist, and the merchant—well to do in the world, with credit in bank, and friends in high places—These make laws for the ranks of labour and of industry, and for the whole sex of woman—that universal service-renderer of society. These do the governing. That is, make the taxes, fill the offices, enjoy the privileges, deal out the same to their friends and kindred, and, in general, dispose all things according to their good pleasure and convenience.

And now let us investigate a thing most curious. Let us bring to it attention, thought; for without thought on the part of the people, humanity cannot be saved.

The two programmes of Clarendon and Runnymede, by confining strictly the action of the governing principle, as placed in the crown, to the upper ranks of the nobiliary leaders, and leaving the whole remaining body of feudal society relieved from its pressure, was the

single cause—on the one hand—of the baronial wars with the crown, and—on the other—of the ease and liberty enjoyed by the mass of the people, Then were the happy days of merry England. Then was it that the English people were the admiration and the envy of all who visited their country, whether for the purposes of trade, or diplomacy, or curiosity. And thus was it—in this general absence of government, and consequent presence of populational ease—that grew up that mighty race which fought out the political civil wars with Charles and Cromwell, and founded the wonderful colonies of North America.

And now mark again! When the crown, relieved from the check of the great barons—these being all slain in the battle-field; and, again, from that of the church—this being absorbed by itself—When and while the crown thus stood without competitor in the land, it became the tyrant over all within its reach. The eighth Harry governed his wives out of the world. His nobles, his ministers, and his parliaments, out of their principles, their opinions, their property, and their existence. The church out of its lands. The helpless poor, with deserted women and orphans, out of their shelter, succour, and sustenance. His daughter Mary—inspired by that Philip who strained to coerce the whole civilizational system—burnt heretics and forced consciences. Elizabeth—in obedience to political exigency—slew a lovely rival queen, and held a rod of iron over her court, her parliament, and her preachers. Charles tried his prerogative, through the middle class, on the free nation of England, and failed in the attempt. Cromwell, being of that class, applied his, unchallenged, but in the name of the Lord, instead of his own. Now that, in the absence of all other agents, government is placed in the hands of governing classes—themselves for the most part risen out of the ranks of the mass they rule—mark how its vexation spreads and spreads, until it covers the land! Aye, mark and watch the process! See how—as

the governing power strikes down from rank to rank, recruiting the classes of the governing out of the governed—See! how suffering, uneasiness, corruption, degradation, strike down with it! Foulest ambition! Most insane delusion! And this—this strife to command each the other; to rob the class beneath them; to exercise a voice in governing—that is, in taxing—that is, in defrauding, their fellow-men—This, this—the foulest wrong, is called the first of rights. This strife for pelf—this vulgar rapine, is honoured with the name of liberty. Ah, Runnymede! thy programme breathed another spirit. And they who framed it better understood the nature both of liberty and government. The purpose and the purport of magna charta was to tie the hands of government. To ward its breath and contact from the mass of population. To leave a people room to breathe and grow. To acquire the sentiment of ease and consciousness of strength. It inspired no thirst of power, no greed of gold, no shame of honest labour, no desire to play the tyrant over equals, to pull down superiors, nor to defraud either of their own. It claimed for men no rights to government, nor taught them duties of submission. Ah! they were men—that pontiff, and those barons. And they knew how to make men out of a race of serfs. Aye, even as in our day, the paltry race of lordlings, who rule by money, quibbles of law, and tricks of trade, have known how to turn men into a race of sycophants and thieves!

Worst for the mass—decidedly worst of all, in every immediate effect—the government that has been speciously exercised upon them by class leaders whose every interest has been opposed to theirs. Such was, in sum, the fraud of the transaction. In all its immediate consequences, for humanity at large, terrific. And for the classes who thus rose—apart all merit to lord it over honest industry—For them, corrupting and depraving, beyond all power of estimation.

It may, however, be well to distinguish that, since government, and strong government, was in question, the delusion of making class leaders pass for leaders of the people, and arming them, in the name of the people, with authority, presented the only possible means for attaining the object. At the epoch of the transaction, which of the old powers in the state might have taken in hand the control of population ?

The crown ? This—as we have seen—had been thrown, at the restoration, into the blessed beatitude of dependance upon the voluntary, or of appeal to the arbitrary, principle. One about as hopeless as the other. William of Nassau, indeed, was a warrior, and a great one. He did the fighting. But he did not undertake, nor was he asked to undertake, nor could he possibly undertake, the governing. Unless, indeed, when, while, and where, martial law was in question. Population no longer holds of the king. It is the king that holds of population. Clearly, then, he cannot govern those of whom he holds. The nobles ? If such we are to call them. Since the restoration, these had been fast turning into courtiers and idlers. Puppets and puppies of fashion. Besides, they had recently dethroned themselves. Since they who vacate their duties, vacate all claims to honour and obedience. The law ? The law is made up of law, lawyers, judges, gaolers, and a hangman. But who was to pay these gentlemen ? Without which they would be of no more service to a government than its culprits or its paupers. The army ? *Point d'argent, point de Suisses*. The church ? Old church Anglican was defunct, or existed but the wreck of what she was. Mere ghost stories—to the talking about which she was now reduced—would never keep the world a-going. Besides, her office, through all the past, had been to protect, and not to vex, population. She had been a universal influence in the state, but one adverse to oppression. Feeding the hungry, and sheltering the houseless, even to the encouragement of sloth, apathy,

vagrancy, and mendicity. She could never be metamorphosed into a governing machine ; that worst of all torments for population. We here see that none of the old powers in the state were sufficient for the work, or, indeed, could do anything really effective in the matter. All these, indeed, were preserved, and made to figure in the governing scheme. But the pivot upon which the whole machinery turned, or the lever by which alone it could be either set or kept in motion, was the House of Commons. Money was the governing tool. And the Commons made the money for the governors, and forced the governed—by the process of taxation—to pay interest upon the money made. And—let us understand it—The Commons only could make the money. Why? They were held to represent the people, who make wealth. And it is clear that, by any fiction of rhetoric, they alone might hold a warrant to make drafts upon that wealth !

Drafts upon that wealth ! Aye ; here is the secret of representative government. Drafts upon that wealth ! Kind mercy ! what have those drafts not been ? May we find that the objects they will have tended to secure are vast as the price at which they have been purchased !

It is evident that, before an edifice can be raised, room must be made for it to stand upon. This is the operation that was systematically opened at the transaction. The measures then taken by the political power of England, tore up, at home, the foundations of old feudal society, destroying alike its good and its evil. And farther, they made preparation for doing the same abroad. All immediate effects were cruel for the many, and demoralizing for the few ; and have become ever more and more disorganizing, corrupting, and depraving, for the whole of humanity.

Results thus calamitous and vicious we shall observe to be always necessitated by every compact passed between the holders and exploiters of the wealth of a country, while the real human producers of that wealth are excluded from all place in, and from all understand-

ing of, the same. In 1688, the human being—considered in his, or her, character of a service renderer of society—was forgotten, or was considered only as a transferrable and creative machine. The mass of population was thus again treated as it had been at the epoch of the conquest. With this difference. That it was no longer disposed of with the soil, but apart from it. There were reasons for this. Reasons of exigency. Government never knows any other. Let us distinguish, however; that, in this separation of population from the soil, there was a vast step in progress with a view to principle. Disadvantageous, as it might be, in immediate practice. Man is not a vegetable. He is not made, by nature, to take root in the soil like a tree. He is locomotive and progressive. The feudal system—as devised to change him from a wandering, destroying savage to a labouring occupant of the soil—drave a nail, as it were, into his feet; and pinned him down both in the individual and in his generations. The national compact of England's magna charta, followed by all the warlike events and political commotions which mark her history until the period of the restoration, had gradually neutralized the feudal principles. Still the feudal practice survived in its leading feature—the local fixity of the great mass of population—until the course of policy, generated by the governmental compact of 1688, came to be actively developed. The mass of population was then both drawn, and ejected, from the soil by mutual understanding, as existing between the heads of the governing classes. This mass, when not killed in war, was thrown into cities; there to be employed in the development of manufactures. The immediate consequences of this arrangement were similar to those of all governmental acts whatsoever—oppressive, cruel, and absolutely destructive of the governed. By it an independent yeomanry was either driven from the country to seek a home with their brethren in America, drafted into the army, forcibly pressed into the navy, or crushed

down into a populace. This last—horrible to think!—being the especial fate of woman. Such were to be the necessitated consequences of that monetary system, conjoined with a universal credit scheme, which—as first mounted with governmental power and effect at and from the transaction of 1688—was to form the leading feature of England's transitory order of civilization.

But were there no other changes, involved in the arrangements of the transaction, which—as effecting principles—promised to work out results, in the future, corrective of all the evils inflicted at the present? To substantiate this, let us resume the changes then induced in the political system.

First; The disappearance of the soil from beneath the feet of population.

Second; The disappearance of the nation itself from the realm of England.

Third; The substitution for a free and compact nation of governing classes and a governed people.

Fourth; The absence of an owner to the soil.

Fifth; The absence of all real *de jure* titles to the occupancy of the soil on the part of its holders.

Sixth; The transmutation of a divine-right, governing, soil-owning monarch into a dependant life-rent pensioner of the Commons House and the Bank of England.

Seventh; The inauguration of an omnipotent government in the hands of a new popedom. Aspiring to the character filled by the old in the renascent ages—catholic, apostolic, militant. And claiming to govern the world in the name of the people, as the other did in the name of God.

Things once taken in hand by governing omnipotence, the innovations and complications induced, under the transaction of 1688, were, of course, to find no limit short of the impossible. The soil of England, whether with or without an owner, and all the wealth of England, in what name soever held or claimed, and those of all the three realms absorbed in her state seal and her

crowns, and, farther yet, those of the whole British empire on which, like that of old Austrian Spain, the sun never sets—all these were speedily to be signed away in drafts on the credit of the world. Nay! once placed at the head of industrial and commercial Europe, and lanced in the scheme by which was to be sustained its cause, the new popedom of the omnipotent parliament—transforming itself from a political into a civilizational power—was ultimately to put in pawn the very globe itself, with all that it contains and it carries. Thus ever approaching towards a state of things when no individual owner, in the absolute, would remain to any thing, and all have some claim upon every thing. While again; by the process to be followed, and the consequences, as by that process to be induced, the right *de jure* to the soil was to revert to the governed mass, and the credit claims instituted upon it were to be held by the governing classes. Thus transferring that old sign of divine right—as presented in the ownership *de capite* of the bosom of earth—alike from pope and king; to the great collective sum of population.

Very extraordinary changes and innovations these! The great social and political pyramid as at first poised upon its apex, would seem thus to envisage reversion upon its base. Ah! perhaps—if we look into it—we may find that, in spite of all the drawbacks presented by past suffering, and existing wrong and demoralization, no small compensation is, at this time, held by means of progress towards establishment of correct principle. Perhaps, after all, we may find, or we may so make it to be, that the past and the present have been only sacrificed to the future. But to find this, or to make this to be, it is clear that the people of all countries must take the trouble of exercising their understandings, and of acquiring that of which they possess very little at the time present—useful information, and correct views on any subject whatsoever. It is clear that they must come to a sense of their actual ignorance, and conceive of

some nobler ambition than mere scraping together of pounds, shillings, and pence, by the tricks of trade, the quibbles of law, the quackeries of charlatanism, or the violence of revolutionary movements. It is clear that they must consent to learn; and be willing to study the past, and to comprehend the present, in order that they may rightly conceive, and righteously realize, the future.

Before entering upon the singular tale of strife—physical, political, and financial—which the credit scheme of England was mounted to sustain, it has appeared suitable to envisage the general character of those final results which are, perhaps, in the future, to form its apology. The English people may possibly consider, with better patience, their own past sufferings, and humanity at large may do the same by hers, if they shall distinguish these to have been endured for results indispensable for arriving at a satisfactory answer to the difficult problem involved in universal civilization.

The historical elucidations we shall open in our next chapter will expound the course followed by England since her transaction. With that, also, of the leading nations, whose abetting or resisting efforts have influenced the same, and complicated the great drama, while—as we may now hope—facilitating, and even constraining, its ultimately felicitous denouement.

Aspiring after the attainment of civilizational supremacy, England envisaged, as of necessity, the gradual induction into her scheme of credit; first, of all those realms which stood in protest against the religious bond, and the framework of feodality. Second; those of feudal Europe itself, and, ultimately, those of the globe. We shall have occasion, shortly, to present the process of this induction. With the difficulties it encountered, the violence it generated, the pertinacity, on the part of England, with which it was prosecuted and sustained, and the success with which that pertinacity has been ultimately crowned.

CHAPTER XII.

GENERAL HEAD.

THE TRANSACTION IN ITS HISTORY.—OPENING OF THE SAME.

CONTENTS.

England with gold for the god of her people, enters the lists boldly against feudal France.—Outline sketch of her proceedings.—How one necessity entails another.—At home as abroad, and abroad as home.—Places her own crown on the three kingdoms.—Centralization followed up until it attempts the impossible.—Resistance of America.—What she resists.—Character of the colonies.—Difficulty present to the mind of England.—Exigency the sole rule of government.—England governed by her scheme.—Her colonies necessary to her scheme.—Makes war on them for it.—Makes peace with the United States for the same.—Review of things in Europe, Holland, France.—Suppression of the Jesuits.—Vengeance taken by the same.—Parallel between their mode of proceeding and that of England's priests of Baal.—Jesuits of France.—How at one epoch aiders of progress.—Rich materials in the bosom of France.—Counteracting difficulties.—In making peace with America, England secures the triumph of her scheme.—America saves her honour, establishes her independence but infringes on her liberty.—Important elucidations touching the conflict ever induced by war and government between all the principles of truth.—Under that conflict the vicious course impressed upon nations, and upon men in society.—America succumbs to the scheme of England with reservations.—Her position.—She consults expediency and yields to exigency.—Frames a governing scheme on the model of that of England, and instals the molten calf in her temple of liberty.—In doing so copies the style of old Egypt.—Does also as England had done.—Puts her programme of

liberty on the shelf.—Each and every nation has done the same.—Yet every programme lives and is yet to see the light.—Each nation to vindicate the thoughts and deeds of its fathers.—America having bent the knee to England's god, France takes the field.—Against the feudal and against the transitory.

UNDER her new scheme of civilization, of which we have expounded the purposes, the forms, and the principles, England was soon afloat; and faced boldly the catholic power of Europe, as sustained by the chivalrous valour and unstained honour of fental France. She counted no odds, feared no outlay; and, whatever might be her temporary defeats, felt sure of ultimate success. She had made gold the god of her people, and proceeded to make it the god of the world. No halt in her activity. No scruple of conscience in her policy. Abroad, at home, she worked—time about and both together—the two arguments of power. On the continent, how sustained the conflict, how close the game, how dreadful the strife! Every court felt the wires of her diplomacy; every battle field drank largely of her blood. And when France paused, exhausted; and Louis, in his dotage, revoking the edict of the great Henry, drove out conscientious opinion and intelligent industry with his Huguenots; how well England and her colonies profited by his loss! And then how astutely England turned to account the vices of the Orleans regency, and the imbecilities of its successor! And how the Mississippi scheme of her subject and pupil Law, drained her rival of gold—the sinews of war—to the advantage of her own treasury and power. And then again—closely following upon—how her own South Sea bubble—created by incorporated company, and protected against the demands of its creditors by successive acts of parliament—was made in its final ruin, to swell her credit by all its loss!

And still, ever with the growth of her scheme grows her ambition. Her interests no longer at home, she becomes the great political busybody of the world. Plays the deepest game of civilizational policy. Sure of suc-

cess, from the fixedness of her object and unscrupulous determination of her purpose. Shoulders the cause of the Queen of Hungary. Manœuvres herself into the good graces of every petty German principality. A new power (Prussia) putting a crown on its own head, and carving out for itself, in the heart of Europe, a place with the sword, she draws it into her lead by loaning it funds and sending it troops. One alliance and one necessity ever engendering others. War creating debt. Debt forcing taxation, and exacting the extension of credit. Credit again demanding the extension of commerce; and this involving new war and a greater extension of empire. The whole constraining—as it seemed, and as experience was rapidly to prove—absolute command over the resources, not of her own dominions alone, but of every associated state; of her dependencies, her allies, and the whole civilized world.

While engaged as we have sketched abroad, what was, what could be, the course of things at home? Within her own domain, the free yeoman disappearing from the soil. Vice, pollution, luxury, misery, vanity, deforming the face of society; and indigence stealing on the land preparing for pauperism. In Ireland the sword of desolation. In Scotland the canker of corruption. One chained to the car of the victor. The other sold by her children. £20,000 distributed among the members of Scotland's assembly fastened that ancient realm like a fifth wheel to the state carriage of England. Shades of Wallace and Bruce! looked ye down upon the treason? Wales! you died a nobler death by the sword of Edward. And thou, Ireland——

I pause. Union to centralization; centralization to consolidation, may have had their necessity in time, how vicious soever in principle. And that evil thing called government knows no rule but expediency.

But soon England sought to depass the expedient; even the possible; when—urged by necessity; foreseeing ever increasing embarrassment; having strained

her credit to the uttermost limit of her then resources to cover; and fearing either a marplot or a rival in her American colonies, if left to their own freedom of volition—she determined to absorb them also in her metropolitan consolidation. Ah, England! well might thy great Chatham rejoice that America resisted. She resisted in that crisis, not for herself alone, but for thee, for Europe, for the whole futurity of man.

But let us clearly distinguish what it was that America resisted.

She resisted, in their junction and united exercise, those two prerogatives of king and parliament which her great founders had resisted each in isolated and alternated action on the soil of England; and from which—in turn, or both together—roundhead or cavalier, royalist and republican, had fled to her own then savage wilds. She resisted the stroke of a good pleasure government, as now, *for her*, united through all its parts, in irresponsible action under the auspices of the idol in Threadneedle street and its priests of Baal. She resisted such absorption in the first nucleus of the British empire, as would have killed her volition, crushed her heart out of her, and dragged her, like the corpse of Hector, at the chariot wheels of Achilles. She resisted that against which Ireland protests, beneath which Ireland groans, and with which Ireland struggles in the frenzy of despair. She resisted that which has corrupted Scotland in the very marrow of her bones. She resisted that which raised Wales from the dead to protest by the voice of Rebecca and her daughters. She resisted that which we have seen deluge the Canadas with gore, and plunge the West Indies in ruin. She resisted that which has torn out the entrails of long ravaged, ever tyrannized, tormented, subjugated, devastated India. She resisted that which has fallen like a blight on every modern colony; killed in the germ many a rising state; and sunk in deeper corrosion every ancient empire. She resisted—Ah, listen! England!

Britain ! Europe ! Ay, and thou, too, America !—For what thou didst see, to resist in thy infant weakness from thy all puissant metropolitan, we see thee now, in thy strength, inflicting upon thyself, and striving, with the sword, to inflict upon others—Yea ! the wise infant—wise with the wisdom, strong with the strength of Alcides in the cradle—resisted, spurned, vanquished centralization.

And now this resistance of England's colonies was in perfect keeping with the programme of her magna charta. *The leaders of a people are the legitimate interpreters of that people's interests.* The whole tyranny of the globe is but the practical exhibit of the inverse of that proposition. And again ; the degradation, ignorance, vice, misery, of populations find in it—in centralization—under one or other of its varied forms—their fountain source, their food, and nourishment.

We shall now observe that colonial America did not demur to the paying her share of England's governmental expenses. The more so, as many of these—if not exactly incurred for her benefit—had redounded to her advantage. But she did refuse to give to her metropolitan *carte blanche* for deciding at all times what that share might be ; and authorizing her, by precedent, to put the hand of her imperial parliament into her pocket when and how it might please, without leave asked or account rendered. And, yet farther, she refused to have the free volitions, morality, intelligence, and political homogeneity of her people vitiated by the transfer to her shores of feudal land tenures, primogeniture entails, church and state wedlock, snug offices for worn out politicians, and snug sinecures for worn out officials. Farther yet, she refused to be made a Botany Bay for discharged or condemned criminals, and all the catalogue of fearful elements ever multiplying under the action of her metropolitan's new scheme of government by aid of money-jobbing, taxation, and corruption.

During her colonial existence, and, more or less, for a long period after her disrapture from the mother country, the passage of the great ocean presented difficulty and expense insurmountable save by those of, at least, moderately independent condition. Also, and yet better, by those endowed with that moral energy inseparable from conscientious opinion, religious or political, and which nerves men to encounter danger and privation for other and higher objects than moneyed gain, or the bettering their physical existence. Not by the wealthy—with few and noble exceptions—nor yet by the indigent, were the wonderful foundations laid of the American empire. But by the intrepid in mind and body of the rising middle classes of every more advanced nation. That is to say—for it is instructive to precise the matter—it was the practical farmer, familiar with the theory of agriculture no less than with the plough and all the implements of husbandry. The intelligent mechanic, familiar with the rules of his art no less than with the tools of his trade. The adventurous seaman, familiar with the science of navigation no less than with the dangers of the ocean. The sagacious and courageous trader, fearless of accident, because trebly armed with small capital, intelligence, and industry. The more moral and energetic, in fine, of all the more useful classes of the religiously and politically agitated maritime states of Europe.

- And now the political mind of England understood the sterling character of America's colonial population perfectly. Although it is possible that the acting head of England's cabinet did not. He who took the colony of Virginia for a West India island, might imagine the people of all the colonies to be old Anglo-Saxons, such as the conquest found on the soil of Albion. Instead of Anglo-Normans, such as magna charta, with all its consequences, had trained during a course of ages; to check by turns Charles and the Parliament, and to lay the foundations of empire in a new world. But the

real mind of England did understand the truth of the case. It also understood, however, that to consult the mind of America, as equal with equal, might bring things to a crisis in very awkward moments.

England knew her colonies for clear sighted and strong willed. True chips of the old block of her commonwealth. With tough offsets from republican Holland, protesting Sweden, adventurous Norway, Huguenot France, and rebellious Ireland. It was not to be supposed they would, of their own free will, break their head, or allow her to break it for them, in all the encounters, right and left over Europe and the globe, in which, for the success of her scheme, she might find it convenient to engage.

Their enterprise and energy were the great layers of that golden egg which had always to constitute the *nest egg* for the brood hatched by her priests of Baal. Let them, at the moment of their choice, refuse—as England knew they would—to play the part of a good tame goose, and lay the egg just as, and how, when, and where, she pleased, the consequences might be fatal. What, again ; if—instead of a serviceable, do-your-bidding domestic fowl—they should turn cuckoo on her hands, and fly off to lay their egg in the nest of a neighbour ? The result of all this was, that England determined to abide by her scheme, and to let go her programme, and to force her colonies to let it go also ! It is what happens, sooner or later, under all government. Honour and principle are sacrificed to expediency. The colonies—young, ardent, intelligent, and virtuous—stood to the programme in spite of her, and, drawing up in addition one of their own, opened a new page in the history of nations.

I shall here observe, in passing, that America's history has been, *until recently*, made up of formulations of principles, and struggles in their defence, not for herself only, but for the world. Herein has lain her

strength. Let her forsake this ground, and she will be found like to Sampson when shorn of his hair.

But now, as England made war on her colonies for the success of her scheme, so did she make peace with the United States from the same motive. Human opinion was running against her at home, and throughout Europe. And her scheme had for its maxim *to mislead, but never to defy, opinion.*

The chivalry of France, as presented in the young La Fayette. The loftiest virtue of humanity, as breathing in Washington. The wisdom of experienced and beneficent age, as realized in Franklin. The independence of nations, and liberty of man, as personified in the young realm which had risen on the political horizon in despite of her fiat, and in resistance at once of her power and her scheme—All this spoke to the soul of the age.

But there was more. France had mingled her lilies with the young stars. And France and Holland had each conceded a loan to the nascent republic, in the hour of her dire extremity. Here was a fast ally and an old enemy in league with her rebels! What might come next? And—unless she looked to it—what might become of her scheme? Holland was long-headed as an old Puritan, and had deep and burning thoughts in her Dutch bosom. If she had suffered her standard of liberty, as born by her De Witts, to succumb to that of independence, as borne by her Nassaus; and if she had lowered her own glorious flag to the cross of St. George, yet had she done all this for the common good of Protestant Europe, insurgent for industry, commerce and progress against brute labour, humdrum and statu quo. And not for England, and the building up of her fortunes, at expense of those of the globe, the universal and eternal liberty of the seas, and the sacred sovereignty of realms. England knew all this. And then her scheme was still young, and had but small hold on the continent. Spain, too, however weakened, was still in the lead of

France. Maria Theresa slept with her fathers. The head of the German empire, at the time, was nobody; and France had given check to the Jesuits.

In 1773—at the opening of American troubles—the enlightened and virtuous Ganganelli, Pope Clement the Sixth, signed, at the request of France, the bull suppressing the order of Jesus. And, in doing so, signed, as he prophetically observed, his own death-warrant. It was as if, with advice of her prelates, England should order the priests of Baal out of the temple. Or as if her premier, with a majority at his heels, should order out of it the molten calf. We know what would happen in such case. Every daily press in the realm would present this order from head-quarters. *To stop the authorities, go for gold. The Jesuits went for poison.* Clement the Sixth found death at the altar in the holy wafer of the eucharist.

But again. For it is proper to be just to all men. The Jesuits of France were not, as a body, either those of Spain or of Germany. Previous to the act of suppression, they had been liberalized by the spirit of the eighteenth century, and in the circles of the then accomplished society of Paris. As instructors of youth, and feeders of the press, they propagated the best science and the most profound learning of the age. From extinguishers, they had become torches of light; and, as thrown loose from their order on the bosom of the French nation, aided the general impulsion towards the movement of 1789. This is well attested by the rich character of the varied productions in moral and political philosophy, which appeared surreptitiously from the press during the thirty years which preceded the French revolution; and which, though generally anonymous, are known to be from the pen of Jesuits. Some years back, the book-stalls on the quais of Paris were thickly strewn with such. The resuscitated society has latterly evinced its secret activity and influence by effecting their disappearance.

At the epoch adverted to—that preceding the opening of convulsive revolutionary movement—many were the rich materials existing in France out of which to have made a more dangerous rivalry for England than that of mere fleets and armies. And, had not the house of Bourbon been divided against itself—had not its elder branch been born under the star of the Stuarts, and its younger not been sworn to England's idol—had her nobility comprised less of the cavalier, and some of the puritan—had not England possessed all that astuteness of political sagacity wanting to her rival—had, in short, many things been other than they were, it might have gone hard with the scheme at the epoch of England's quarrel with her colonies.

We observed that England made peace, as she had made war, for her scheme. Of course she did not rule her scheme; her scheme ruled her. Aye! it was her law, and her life, her religion and her civilization. In making peace, therefore, she failed not to secure its triumph, for which the door was now open.

America had been ravaged; for the time being, ruined, and moreover, demoralized by war. Aye! in however sacred a cause, still demoralized. Such was the conviction which drew from the wise Franklin the words: *I never knew a good war, nor a bad peace.* The United States had conquered the principle for which they drew the sword. They came from the conflict with laurels on their brow, and the royal bird of independence on their escutcheon. But vouchers of debt were on their council table. Their industry and commerce were arrested; and all credit was in the hands of the enemy. England felt that her prerogative was gone; her pride wounded, but her scheme safe. And America felt that her happy childhood was over; her golden age of innocence and freedom fled; and that she was forcibly thrown by a frightful convulsion, on that troubled stage of difficult, anxious, and contentious existence, which men call political empire.

As the object of this, our novel course of investigation is, to elicit the true lessons of history apart from all disguise of policy, all mere exigencies of the hour, all considerations, in fine, but those most sublime of all—the preparing humanity to see things as they are, and to select the straight and safe path in which to tread throughout all the future,—As this is our object, I shall pause to present here a few observations.

We distinguished—in those opening investigations to which it is ever indispensable to recur,—We distinguished, for the regulating principles of political science, order and union on the one part; independence and liberty on the other. (Page 14.) In the free, equal, harmonious action of which principles lies the peace of nations and of men. But, as we observed (Pages 21 and 22) consistently with that universal interpretation of the laws of the universe, which makes all and every thing subject to external—*i.e.* to *brute* force, or again to external, *i.e.* to *corrupt* or *deceptive* influences, instead of to those ethereal, apt, and duly proportioned energies, which are interwoven with, and make part of, every mode of material existence; and again to those spontaneous, and yet, ever revised, amended, and enlarged, conceptions and convictions, which the human mind is fitted to form, and ought and can alone form, for itself, as aided by the light of knowledge, observation, and experience,—Consistently, I say, with that violent interpretation of things which has its source (as was also explained) in the male organization; and consequently in that male control of human affairs, by which all things are driven by forces, or entrained by influences, out of themselves, instead of impelled by energies, and guided by convictions, judiciously developed and stimulated within themselves,—Consistently with this fundamental error, upon which political, as all other, science is now made to stand—the first principles of human economy are thrown into horrid conflict, and forced to work destruction, instead of to nourish life. (Pages 14 to 23.)

We noted how order was at war with liberty, and union with independence. But there is yet a fiercer and more profound and more extended war than this in our political elements. One, too, more horribly unnatural and monstrous.

Order and liberty, opposed as they are in their natures when placed in disjunction, may be conceived of by the human mind, and employed, for a time at least, by governmental skill, as two counterpoising make-weights, wherewith and whereby to work an anxious, ticklish equilibrium in human rights and human interests. And in like manner—during the first youth of nations, when collective wealth is small, and, therefore, governing power weak—may collective interests be worked along the up-hill path of early civilization, not indeed by aid, but in despite, of contending forces. In an early, which is always in a simple and agricultural state of society, when human occupations, and therefore, interests, are few like human wants; then the bodies of men have earth room, and their souls are little agitated with contending volitions. So is it that society—in what are called primitive times—moves along by the unrestrained and generally according exertions of its individual members. Government being then no more than power in reserve, but which, however, is no sooner forced into play by the complications of multiplying and unregulated human interests, than all becomes violence, vice, corruption, and disease.

But, worse than this. Not only is order brought, as in self-defence, to strangle liberty, or liberty to convulse order; and not only is union made to destroy independence, or independence to annihilate union; but even liberty and independence are placed in active hostility, and made each to plunge a sword into the other's bosom. Look into this thing, and read the organic disease of nations and of society!

In a world racked by antagonistic principles, each existence—individual or collective—has to stand on

guard against all around it. For a nation to establish its independence, it must arm cap-a-pie and do battle for its life. To maintain its independence when established, it must expend its wealth and its strength; or so entrench itself with law and government, as ever to sustain that panoply of power beneath whose iron weight expansive liberty expires. As with the great whole, so with every subdivision of its parts. Until we find each individual human being struggling to make his way, and hold his own, against the opposing efforts of all whom he encounters in the path of life. Starting with the flame of liberty burning bright within him, he finds himself threatened in his independence; and gradually yielding to necessity, bows down before the altar of the money-god. Forfeiting all the better feelings of his nature, and loftier sentiments of his soul. Purchasing the right to live by concessions at variance with honour, dignity, and truth. Such has been the history of nations. Such is the history of society.

America, removed as she was from the civilizational system of Europe, yet had to struggle with its animosity; and only vanquished its force to yield to its influences. Armed, however, with the sagacity, as with the valour, of puritan and cavalier, she succumbed *with reservations*.

Before her a savage world, behind her a sea of strife, and exposed, in the progress of events, to influx of populations far behind her own in the habits and conceptions of civil freedom, she too prepared—first in the states, and then in her United States, a governmental edifice, capable of being ever strengthened and fitted to meet the requisitions of ever shifting circumstance and ever exacting exigence. In its foundations it was fashioned on the model of that of the metropolitan. In its structure presenting fairer forms, but yet more fearfully open to sap and mine from populational ignorance or corruption.

Thus having broken ground, she sealed the treaty of peace with England by a transaction with her scheme;

made obeisance to the idol, a compact with the priests of Baal, and lo! the molten calf was installed in the temple of liberty.

Yet in thus yielding to those exigencies which, under the warring principles of existing civilization, have to decide the policy of empires, America was not unmindful of her mission as the guardian of the future. On the frontal of the temple thus desecrated to mammon, she inscribed every principle of supreme civilizational science. Darkly indeed as, in the enigmatic language of ancient Egypt, yet intelligible to the reflecting mind familiar with the rich lessons of history, and with the simple but sublime truths of national and human economy.

We thus see that even as England did for ages with her protest of Clarendon, and as she has since done with her charter of Runnymede, so did America with her compact of Plymouth. Ay! and so has every nation that ever formulated a programme of principle. All have been laid up in the archives. Long neglected. Sometimes forgotten. Yet never abjured nor destroyed. They live! they live! to find a voice in the future. They live to achieve the redemption of states. They live to combine for the salvation of man. England! France! Spain! Italy! Switzerland! Holland! and thou, too, Prussia! with the iron heel and iron heart, yet with the head of reason. Saxony! queen of the German states! whose spoliation and dethronement have placed in power dark Austria and the Jesuits; and whose resuscitation and regeneration shall quicken the whole of central Europe, and break for aye the spell of the old iron crown. Then, then shall all awake. Till Europe feel the warm current of the blood of youthful life run tingling through every vein of her convalescent system. Scandinavia! Denmark! Hungaria! Poland, soul of Slavonian states! destined in thy resuscitation to call new nations into being, and to break the absolute sceptre of Russia's barbarian autocrat! And thou, too, Greece! yet struggling with the cerements of the

grave—All, all and each shall rise to vindicate some generous programme of your fathers. And then thou, America! last-born of nations! Whose blood is of the blood of all, and whose programme, as of necessity, covers the whole ground embraced by thy predecessors.—Then thou, America! wilt read to us the full enigma on the frontal of thy temple.

But to conceive the future we must comprehend the present. To comprehend the present we must understand the past. Having seen how America laid up in her archives—although not without frequent recurrence thereto—that programme of principle which arose out of England's civil wars; let us see how England carried out her mission of bouleversing existing practice so as to prepare a transition from the past to the future.

But, in this her mission, she was now to find a mighty colaborator in the form of a terrific rival. France was to take the field against expiring feodality; but equally against the yet ill-seated transitory.

In our next chapter, we shall throw a rapid glance over the opening of her convulsive revolutionary epoch. Embracing the same in the principles which it brought into collision.

CHAPTER XIII.

GENERAL HEAD.

*CONVULSIVE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF FRANCE CONSIDERED
IN ITS PRINCIPLES.*

C O N T E N T S.

England's transaction fortified by adhesion of America.—America plays the puritan.—England does the same.—Storm gathers and breaks in France.—No history impartial, nor can be under government.—Cause expounded.—Illustrated by revolutionary France, and the party politics which arise out of it.—Three parties who fill the opening scene.—How each has its own point of view.—How to have seen the true in time all should have taken that of each, and also fathomed the thoughts of England.—Thus only the true in time might have been distinguished.—To which, under government, the true in principle has to be subservient.—How, under circumstances, difficult to be distinguished.—How the same is undistinguished yet.—Party politics the worst darkener of the understanding.—How, at this hour, opinion is divided as in 1793.—The three colours, and the three parties they represent.—Their origin.—Their political history as an emblem.—Idea of the chivalrous arborator.—How, at the time and under the circumstances, a chimera.—Same evinced in the original disposal of the colours.—Reversed by Napoleon.—What each represented in the opening of revolution.—Differing views of the parties on the matter.—Advantage ever derived by England from her compact of Runnymede; and early formulation of mode for expanding her political system.—Evil experienced by France from absence of such.—Consequent necessity of appeal to unorganised masses.—Revolutionary emblem susceptible on the instant of two interpretations.—Soon of

more.—Varies from day to day.—Shadows out every phasis of revolutionary history.—Terrific rivalry of which it was soon the image.—Disorganizing character of the emblem for the epoch.—Its opposing oppressive character at this hour.—Only feasible governmental programme which it presents.—Demands of the revolutionary epoch.—How inconsistent one with the other.—Confusion and violence under circumstances unavoidable.—Death-stroke of old France, when dealt.—Anarchal blow dealt simultaneously by the tricolor.—Misconceptions touching the nature of government, fruitful source of confusion.—How government, of necessity, divides society.—Inevitable result under every form of it.—What started the political mind of France on a wrong scent.—General character of her leaders at the opening of the epoch.—Neither statesmen nor politicians saved France.—Popular instinct fanatized by the Mountain.—Wonderful energies of the nation.—Called to admit that no programme less convulsive than that of the tricolor could have created new France, or have quickened Europe.—Scientific mind of France yet to give a true meaning to her emblem.—Position of France wholly different from that of England in corresponding epoch.—In England political preceded by religious convulsion.—Change effected among the landholders.—Existing concentration of landed domain how, and since when induced.—Two extremes then absent.—Immediate effect of French convulsive movement.—Distinguished by acting head of government.—How the French revolutionary power stood between two fires.—Policy of England expounded.—Other advantages possessed by England during her civil commotions.—Farther comparison of the two epochs.—Every nation in its great epochs finds those fitted for the work to be done.—How strong characters fit themselves for the epoch and the work.—What Cromwell would have been in the France of 1793.

THE scheme of England's transaction was now fortified by the adhesion of America. The young nation, yielding to necessity, had laid up in her archives the great programme of the future to lay hold of that of the present. Like Holland, she had put her state vessel in tow of one more puissant. But—with the sentiment that she was the ordained head of another hemispheric system—and that moreover she held in keeping those fundamental principles of national independence and human liberty, which in Europe were certain to be run down and run over by ever-multiplying, ever-strengthening, governmental exigencies—With these deep con-

victions in her bosom, America nailed her colours to her own mast-head ; and, with the long head of her puritan ancestry, laid plans for cutting loose whensoever circumstances might permit.

“ Let us,” wrote Washington to a friend, when he had sheathed and given back the sword to the power that gave it—“ Let us have twenty years of peace, and we may defy the world.” It may be observed that America’s first bank of the United States was chartered for about that term of years. To secure breathing time, to recruit her exhausted population, start anew her industry, and develope her resources, America determined to endure all things, saving only national dishonour, and the point at issue for which she had drawn the sword

England read the thought of her young rival. And, while on the great civilizational theatre, she gave the hand of reconciliation, looked surlily at the masked door in the side-scenes, by which she knew America thought to give her the slip on the first occasion. But England knew how to play the puritan also ; and determined to block up the door with never-ending embarrassments as long as possible.

And now the thunder-gust of thy revolution, France ! cracked over the zenith.

We must throw a glance over that great epoch ; which has yet to be embraced by the eye of philosophy, and drawn by the pencil of truth.

We have observed that no history has been as yet impartial ; nor ever can be until the reign of government is closed. Under its rule men can neither tell the truth, nor see the truth. Each looks through a glass coloured by party, and falls in a passion with those who may tell him he sees through a false medium.

But the predicament of one is the predicament of all. The whole acting part of society is divided and organized after the principle of opposing make-weights and rivalities ; and of course nothing is to be heard, and

nothing is to be seen, but the war-cries of the combatants. The mass of all ranks, who act as spectators of the drama ; or, more properly, who take the account of it from the hired speaking and writing organs of those leaders of party, who—like the staff of a military commander—distribute, and see to the execution of, the orders of the chief—The mass of all ranks, I say, are brought by their interests, their passions, and, sometimes, by their simplicity, to assume the badge, and employ the pass-word, of one party or the other. This once effected, the common course is to read, and to listen only to what confirms and flatters the views thus adopted. In some cases—and these the most hopeless of all—a set mode of thinking being once received, individuals read no more, and listen to nothing ; and remain fighting the ghosts of past dangers ; while new, and worse perhaps, are walking the earth. The result of both these modes of proceeding is the same. Passions become and remain heated ; heads obstinate, and public opinion presents a mass of floating error, prejudice, and inconsistency.

We could not select a more striking illustration of the absolute truth of this statement than that supplied by the French revolution, and the party politics which arose out of it.

There were, at the opening of convulsive movement, three parties whose views and acts filled the political scene of France.

The leaders of each of these looked at the public estate from a point of view occupied by them alone ; and saw, therefore, things unseen by the other two. To have distinguished what was indispensable to correct judgment, all should have taken the view commanded by each. And, moreover, from the higher eminence of political science, should have looked abroad on the whole field of then existing civilization ; and have fathomed the tactics of the great power in that field—England. In this manner, a conception might have been attained of

the *true in time*; always the first necessity. The true in principle having, unfortunately—during the reign of human ignorance and human error, and that state of governmental violence called war, the result of human ignorance and human error—The true in principle having unfortunately to be made—always as little as possible but still to be made—subservient to the other.

It should be admitted, however, that, in such a convulsion as that of 1789, when a great empire was suddenly upturned from its foundations, as well by the old corruptions, and the new philosophy bred in its own bosom, as by the stirring page in civilizational history opened by America, such political discrimination could fall but to the lot of few, and those few least likely to attract attention under the circumstances. But what in the hurry and confusion of conflicting exigencies and conflicting passions, it was impossible for men to distinguish at the time, remains, it would seem, an impossibility to distinguish yet.

Every writer on the subject of the great political cataclysm of modern times has taken, and yet takes, the view of one or other of the parties who were engaged in the strife. In consequence, human opinion—as tortured and confounded, rather than formed, by the press—is still, after the lapse of half a century, divided into the same three colours it wore in 1793. We have the white cockade uncompromising partizans of the old court and nobility. The tricolor inamorati of the money-driving bourgeoisie. The red-capped enthusiasts of the determined Jacobin.

The first step towards attaining a comprehension of any great political epoch is to distinguish the human interests which it brought into collision and placed in rivalry. At the time, these are so disguised by party cries, party names, passions, and sympathies, and again so forcibly distorted by the arts of government from their true form and meaning, that this important discovery is not easy to make. Gradually, however, for the dispa-

sionate student, it becomes facile. We may now see to transfer the white of legitimacy to the landed interest. The blue, of the bourgeoisie to capital. The red, of the people to human service, of whatever kind. By way of allegorizing this triple rivalry, the tri-coloured flag was hoisted ; and—after many ups and downs—is seen flying at this hour.

I do not mean, however, that the modern French emblem expressed at the moment of arboration, any more than it expresses at this hour, a governmental rivalry thus extended. It was compounded, in the origin, out of the colours of the city of Paris and the royal white of old France ; and was employed to typify an ambitioned harmonious understanding and good fellowship between the king and nobility, *white* ; the clergy, *blue* ; the professional and monied classes, *red*. These being the three orders sitting in the *Etats generaux*, or general parliament of the thirty provinces of the kingdom. This idea of an harmonious blending of three bodies until that hour held distinct, and of which the interests of two then pulled the opposite way from those of the third, was—at the opening of convulsive revolutionary movement—one of those chimeras which a sanguine mind believes because it desires, and because itself willing for that which it proposes to others. We recognise here, at once, the character of the sanguine and chivalrous arborator of the revolutionary emblem ; La Fayette. It, of course, soon appeared that,—to make room on a footing of equality for a third party, who, until that hour, had been held for nobody—it would be necessary to jostle somewhat rudely the other two who held in possession the whole of the stage. In such cases, as a matter of course, the two first—conceiving themselves, as the received phrase expresses it, to have with them nine-tenths of the law—resist. When the whole is thrown into a state of attack and defence ; that is to say, *into war*.

But—what is curious—the mode of disposing the three colours in the new flag exhibited, at the outset, the

true state of the case. The red, or new invading classes—a power never before heard of—was placed first, that is, next the staff. The blue, second. The white, third. Thus foreshadowing anything but an harmonious blending of interests, as of the colours in the rainbow. We shall better conceive the difficulty of any immediate good understanding, if we take note that the white and the blue—i. e., the clergy and nobility—constituted the two great powers, embracing the whole temporal and spiritual divisions of the feudal system. The third—of which the law was the ostensible occupant—was regarded by each and both of these feudal powers as a sort of business agent—a service renderer, in fine—but, by no means, as constituting a real body, and exerting a deliberative voice, in the state. The law, on the other hand, aspired to embrace, and conceived of itself, as representing, under the circumstances, all those new and multiple interests of society which, more or less, it ostensibly has for its province in all countries, to understand, regulate, and defend. It saw these interests to be bursting to the air and light of day, in despite both of the political framework and the civilizational principles. Through, and over, and under, the narrow barriers of feodality—as constructed long before their birth—these had gradually interlaced and shot forth their roots and fibres, and now, like to the bay tree, mined and threatened the wall which cramped, instead of protecting, their growth.

Let us here observe the immense advantage which has accrued to England from the early formulation of a regulated mode for enlarging the boundaries of her political system. From the outset, the interests of her population were placed under the protection of the heads of those interests. All has not been done—nothing has *effectively* been done towards securing the real fitness of the ostensible and acting leaders of population, for the high office they hold. But still much was done at Runnymede, by inaugurating *the principle of order simul-*

taneously with that of progress. It has averted from England many a storm. And, it is my impression that, at this hour, it is to ensure, not her salvation only, but that of Europe.

In France, there had been no compact between the heads of her feudal system and the interests of population. No preparatory steps had been laid by which to facilitate a transaction between contending classes. Thus the barriers of the feudal system broken through, all was in confusion. While, to effect their rupture, it was necessary to make tumultuous appeal to the whole unorganised, or rather, to the forcibly *disorganised*, mass of society.

In this state of things, the new revolutionary emblem was immediately susceptible of two readings. That originally designed, or rather ambitioned, was the harmonious union of all the master interests of society, or, in other words, of all the outstanding modes of wealth. That of moneyed capital—as being, at the time, the oppressed and insurgent interest; and, moreover, that more immediately indispensable for quickening the energies of society—was placed, as we said, first, or next the staff. The blue second, and the white last. This order is the inverse from what is seen at present. The original design being reversed by Napoleon. Who was little likely to be blind to the subversive tendency of this most truly revolutionary emblem. The less so, after the red had been appropriated by a fourth party, in the outset not taken at all into account; but whose Herculean shoulders were soon to make for him a place at expense of all the parties in litigation.

The ambitioned governmental union of all the modes of wealth thus conceived of, in the outset of revolution, as a *beau ideal* of liberty, we, who have seen its realisation, may at this day distinguish for the quintessence of all oppression. Since, by its agency, the great mass of society—composed always of service renderers—has to bear the burden of an ever thickening legion of riders,

expressly united for their spoliation. But this view of the matter was, at the time perhaps, distinctly taken by no individual, even of the most extreme party. Time, speaking with the voice of experience, could alone divulge a truth, offensive alike to the immediate interests, and the immediate peace, of society. But least of all did those distinguish the real tendency of the ambitioned governmental association of all the modes of power and influence, whose immediate worldly interests it would best have secured.

Long after the real power of feodality was gone, its pretensions and vanities, and—we should add also—its convictions, remained. Seeing, in its overthrow, society threatened with chaos, it might naturally conceive of itself as the expression of order and peace. The mass of the white therefore, together with the directing heads of the blue—i.e. the nobility and higher clergy—resisted a union with the third estate as representative of the professions, the smaller clergy, smaller proprietors, and heads of industry and commerce.

This obstinacy of the nobility, by forcing forward convulsive movement, modified from day to day, and hour to hour, the meaning of the revolutionary emblem, until a new party was called into existence; that representative of the interests of the great mass. This once powerfully in the field, the tricolor assumed the character of that triple rivalry we at first formulated of *land*, *capital*, and *service renderers*. Again to diverge from it; following, and shadowing out, all the phases of French revolutionary history. Threatening even, at one time, to attach itself lastingly to the most fatally worthless of all,—military glory and power centralized in a sword. Happily the tricolor has lost this character, if it be only to have assumed that of the governmental union of all the forms and modes of wealth, as projected by the third party at the opening of revolution. The evil existing here admits of facile remedy with transmutation into good. While the other,—Oh, for it there is no language

to speak its danger. None to denounce its monstrosity. If the existing inglorious, money loving, money grasping *juste milieu* dynasty has served to deliver France of this her most dangerous passion, the great nation may find much to console her for some dusky pages in her history.

But the rivalry we have expounded as presenting the programme of the French revolution in its tremendous all bouleversing activity, presented—if I may so express myself—two practical solecisms. The one in political science, the other in political economy. A governmental union of all the forms and modes of wealth is a thing easily understood. A reform for a season ; it is oppression, and the fulness of all oppression, in the end. But a rivalry between all the modes of wealth, and all the producers of it, is the evident destruction of all things. And yet, to this, all revolutionary movement—as turning upon the governmental pivot—invariably, and inevitably, tends. Awful predicament ! and from which it is time society should be redeemed !

We have previously observed, that under any scheme of government, more than two parties in standing active hostility, breed confusion.

Three armies in one battle field, all fighting at one time, and each seeing enemies in the two others, could evidently present but a *pèle mèle* rout, riot and indiscriminate destruction. A veritable exhibit, on a large scale, of the story of the Kilkenny cats. Now as government under any form—save that of the extreme absolute Asiatic despotic—is but an organized and modified system of warfare ; three parties in a political system must present a similar predicament with that of the three armies in the battle field.

Again, as the economy of a political system is but that system itself considered in its functions, or—if we please—in its practical results ; any governmental programme, which should exhibit the different modes of wealth pulling different ways, could only present the converse of all economy, political or human. It must

have constituted a rivalry, all but as incongruous and destructive as that which arose between all the modes of wealth and all their producers.

The French revolutionary emblem therefore, as formulated in the tricolored flag, presented but one really feasible programme. That which it could not realise at the time; and which, while presenting the ultimatum to which every government tends, none would certainly presume to formulate. Consequently, and as a matter of necessity under the circumstances, it assumed the terrific signification of the convulsive rivalry which ruled the epoch: namely, that between all the modes of wealth and all its producers. The *white*, or landed interest, being emblematic of wealth by agriculture; the *blue*, of wealth in capital; and the *red* of labour. Thus interpreted, the tricolor presented an impossible, because anarchal, programme, under any conceivable scheme of government, and also under any conceivable scheme of economy, human as political.

Of course it was government, and government only, that was in question. For never was government more necessary; or that just and enlightened organization of human affairs, which can alone supply its substitute more impossible.

The demand of the epoch was a political system that should give a larger scope to human exertion, and stronger stimulus to human industry. But to obtain this the outstanding frame of society had to be dislocated. The two operations of destruction and creation are incongruous, one with the other, at the same moment of time. Here is ever the gordian knot of convulsive revolution.

The death-stroke of old France was dealt when the vote by orders was made to succumb to the vote by head. The two feudal sections of the church and the nobility taken in their entities presented *statu quo*. Reduced to their constituent individual elements they gave—by aid of the minority of the nobles and the ma-

majority of the smaller clergy—an overwhelming preponderance to the third; which, as we have explained, was at the time, the expression of the new thoughts and the new wants of society.

But now, it is remarkable, that while the abolition of the vote by orders tended to the blending of society into one mass, the arboration of the tricolor, openly professed to divide it into three interests. Admit of a confusion of objects, and you have a confusion of measures. Worse! you set in motion a confliction of principles. Of course the immediate result is of a confusion of all things, and a chaotic contention throughout the whole of society.

But, again, the tricolor professed to institute three paramount interests in government. If in rivalry and equal; they tear each other to pieces. If in rivalry and unequal; the weak is borne down by the stronger.

But, it is evident, that the inconsistencies and incompatibilities distinguishable in the revolutionary programme, arose out of that misconception touching the nature of government to which we have so often adverted. The tricolor was an attempt to reconcile things irreconcilable under any governmental system whatsoever.

Divide society—as all *government* does, and of necessity, ever must do, whatever form you give to it—into landholders, capitalists, and service renderers; and then undertake to prove their interests are one and the same! It is clear—as the old phrase has it—you will lose your Latin.

In the first whirlwind of revolution, such as blew over France, and while the destruction of her old government was the order of the day, the power of numbers had the advantage over all the forces and influences of wealth. But the reaction is of course inevitable; and in despite of distributive laws of inheritance, or any mode short of Dr. Francia's fiat of despotism, or the miserable populational breeding and scrambling, as go-

vernmentally protected, and religiously encouraged, in China,—In despite, I say, of any preventative measures presenting common sense, like will seek its like. The wealth of land will be accumulated by the wealth of capital. Fraud and cunning, by accumulating the latter, will accumulate both. And, all together, will bear down right, reason, and humanity, with every just claim of human service.

Such is the inevitable result under all government. Mount its machinery after any fashion you please. As its motive power is that of brute force, however disguised, it will, and must, under penalty of death, command all the forces of society, material and spiritual. Under the old feudal civilization, this was effected by populational organization, and the unity of Christian catholic influences. Under despotic government, the same is effected by military organization, or the knout, or the sword. Under the transitory scheme, the same result is ensured by the ubiquitous influences and absolute power of the money god.

We might observe, that two more especial misconceptions tended to start on a wrong scent the political mind of France, at the opening of her convulsive movement. This regarded the machinery of English government, looked to as a model by the leaders of one division of the French reform party. And also the machinery of American government, looked to as a model by the leaders of the other division of the same party.

The politicians of France, at that epoch, were closet philosophers and men of letters. They knew books, and not men. Studied theory apart from the living objects, phenomena, and relations of which it treats. Thus, English government was for them what De Lolme and Montesquieu had drawn and reasoned; and American government what her constitutional code presented. Not seeing that in either case, these were but the open peristyle of that mock temple of liberty called constitutional government. The fair proscenium upon

which were called to walk and talk the actors in the tragedy, or farce, or melodrama, played off to fill the eyes and ears of population. Not seeing that behind, and far within, extended the sanctum sanctorum where the priests of Baal burned incense before the altar, and ate of the fat offerings there laid for their convenience. Not seeing that the real scheme of English government lay in the charter of its bank; the money bills of its omnipotent parliament; its commercial supremacy abroad and at home. The whole sustained by better than fleets and armies, and diplomacy unsleeping, and enterprise untiring. Namely, by absolute command held over the public estate, the public capital, public credit, and thus, over the energies, hopes, vanities, and ambitions of her people. And American government—for what was all its machinery but to sustain a bank then in dependance upon that of London, a commercial treaty and a credit bill, which, as a whole, supplied the counterpart and branch feeder of the scheme of England?

No; it was not political science, in that critical epoch, which made or saved France. Mere politicians, indeed, in such an hour, could have done little, and her best statesmen were less fitted to guide the public bark through the hurricane, than were men drawn out by circumstances from the mass of the people. The daring leaders of the Mountain distinguished this; and saved the country by fanatizing the multitude in its defence. The great contest then began between the governments of Europe, as sustained by the scheme and pertinacious daring of England, and the energies of a mighty people. Nobly the French revolutionary power executed its task of forcing forward those energies. All that was done would now appear, in relation, inconceivable; and all had to be done by the sole means of a determined central committee, with its departmental correspondence sustaining and directing the enthusiasm of population. Moneyed treasure there was none. Experience as little. And, in place of morality, all the corruption

entailed from the old government, with all the violence and the error inseparable from the new. Add to which, enemies without and within; spies, intrigues, hired fomenters of trouble. Every old anchor of society reft away, and no time given for the supplying of new ones.

In distinguishing, then, the French revolutionary programme, as shadowed out in the tricolored flag and cockade, to have been—if considered governmentally—contentious to anarchy, and—if considered with reference to any system of economy—erroneous to confusion. In distinguishing this, we are called to admit, that one either less extreme, or more philosophical, must have been powerless under the circumstances.

For the cauterising an old court and old society festering in corruption—for the calling an energetic people into sudden and active existence—for the rousing a great nation to the full knowledge of its powers—preparing it to ring out the larum to Europe; to quicken the dull souls of her benighted populations; to shake the heavy thrones of her royal bigots and barbarian despots, from the Escorial to the Kremlin; to wake to the first sound of reviving civilization the dead echoes of the Pyramids; to cope with the scheme of England, and then to take advantage of its aid as an agent of industrial progress and civilizational extension—For accomplishing all the great purposes indispensable at the time for France and for Europe, the tricolor, and nothing short of the tricolor, was the emblem of the epoch. Oh! let us learn to estimate things according to their uses. According to their value in place and in time, albeit they may fall short of the requisitions of truth in the absolute. Nor do they, nor can they, fall short even of these, if they shall have served to advance humanity on her long and painful journey through all the earlier stages of civilization.

In this estimation of the tricolor as a powerful emblem of great, but—up to this hour—only temporary progress, I express myself, as my custom is, with all

fearlessness, though with all deference to the ultimate supreme decision of the nation touching whose affairs I formulate an opinion. And this the rather, because it is my impression that—in the course of events, and in the progress of that science to which France is pledged in especial mission—It is my impression that France is yet to give a new meaning to her emblem, and even to add to its uses and purposes. I shall explain hereafter.

Before closing the present chapter, some observations yet appear called for. They will be made in the view, if possible, of silencing those never ending aspersions upon a great country and a great epoch, for calamities beyond human power or skill to avert; and which had their single cause in the nature of government. Government! that Moloch which, in last extremity and last resort, never knows, nor ever knew, nor ever can know, any argument but the axe, the sword, the gibbet, or—as France contrived it—the guillotine! In justice to France, we have to observe, that her position bore no resemblance to that of England at her corresponding epoch.

England had been prepared for political revolution by a long course of religious revolution. The effects of which had quickened, generally, her popular energy, and modified considerably her political system.

During that period—mainly in consequence of the repartition of the rich monasterial domains by sales at cheap rates—the landholders were again much strengthened in number. And England's landed gentry—by that and other means, arising out of the general development of the country's intelligence and resources—presented a body of men, equal in their persons, their fortunes, and their minds, to vindicate civil liberty, and to interpret its requisitions. While—be it observed also—the national estate—for such the soil is in right and reason—The national estate continued protected from that inefficient and ruinous repartition which ever as equally, if not with yet worse certainty, than the

other extreme of concentration in the hands of a few—ensures for an empire corrosion and decline. The existing governmental concentration of the landed domain of England dates from, as it was effected by, the huge expansion and omnipotent rule of her money scheme. It constituted the basis upon which she raised her mongrel order of transitory civilization. While—be it observed in passing—it is ultimately to facilitate, in connexion with that money scheme, the wise and effective reconstruction of the great whole of all human affairs.

But the convulsive revolutionary movement of France—effected as it was suddenly and tumultuously, and therefore rashly, however, in the outset, gloriously, by the great mass rising to stature as under the wand of a magician—The convulsive revolutionary movement of France proceeded forthwith to the overthrow of the feudal fortunes by the violent repartition of the nobiliary landed estates. Mostly, of course, appropriated, in the outset, by speculators and scrambling politicians. The acting head of the committee of public safety soon distinguished the danger to country in this inevitable result of convulsive movement; and sought to arrest what, for a time, was beyond mastery—a universal flood of popular demoralization. The new government was thus, as is ever the case at such epochs, between two fires. It had to contend on the one hand with its enemies in the lead of feodality; and, on the other, with its ostensible friends, under no lead but that of their own passions. England understood the predicament, and had no fancy for any popular demoralization likely to redound to unorganised mischief, beyond the reach of her scheme to turn to account. In consequence, she opened a two-sided masked battery of political intrigue. The one aimed against the old white flag, and the other against the tricolor. This masked battery was infinitely more deadly than the open assault of Europe's armed coalition.

And now see here again the advantages on the side of England during her civil commotions. She had enjoyed the supreme blessing of fighting out her own battles, and earning her own experience in her own way. France, on the other hand, had every question, theoretic and practical, to envisage at one and the same time. And, with her finances, her government, and her popular mind all blown into air, she had the whole of Europe on her back, the scheme of England mining under her feet, and her own court and nobility in league with her foes. As usual, she had to arm, and triple arm, to preserve existence no less than independence; and order and liberty fell as a matter of course.

And, would we farther compare the two epochs, we shall find that equal if not similar aberrations existed at the one as at the other. These would, in England, have generated similar anarchy and similar violence of revolutionary tribunals, had not the whole been arrested by Cromwell.

Again: If France did not find her Cromwell, it must be observed that she had no time to arrange anything, or select anybody; and had forcibly—from the precipitate current of events—to plunge into and dash through the stormy ocean which England escaped. And, let us admit; That every great nation, at every great epoch, finds those who are fitted for the service required. If France had no Cromwell, she had also no saints; and infatuated nobles, no less than wrong-headed philosophers, unprincipled demagogues, and scrambling politicians, are infinitely harder to deal with. According to circumstances, also, strong characters change themselves and their measures. If Cromwell had lived in the France of 1793, he would have been a Jacobin and a Robespierre.

Having now considered—as my custom is—the great French epoch in the principles which it brought into collision, we may with better facility embrace a correct general view of the course of its events,

CHAPTER XIV.

GENERAL HEAD.

*CONVULSIVE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF FRANCE CONTINUED.—
REIGN OF TERROR.*

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THE two events which opened that dire epoch of French revolutionary history, known under the name of the reign of terror, were :

First ; The armed intervention of the coalesced Germanic powers—as set forth in the declaration of Pilnitz, and the manifest of the Duke of Brunswick—in favour of the divine right of kings.

Second ;—And as provoked and forced by the first : The judiciary murder of the French king by decree of the French convention, in support and in defence of the divine right of peoples.

Both of these crimes had a common origin : The nature of the governing principle. This, as we have seen, is ever to work by opposing make-weights, and to admit in consequence of no rule but exigency or even expediency.

Feudal Germany—of which the very existence depends upon the absence of all thought having for object a practical result ; and, consequently, of all stimulus provoking such thought—became terrified at the growing disturbance in a neighbouring country. She might and would have been frightened at less.

Had France confined herself to the discussion of the divine presence in the eucharist ; the precise seat of the soul in the human body ; the mode in which thought acts upon the will, or the will upon the muscles ; whe-

ther the Jewish scriptures are historical, or allegorical, or fabulous, or all three; and the Christian gospels susceptible of transcendental interpretations — Had France occupied herself after this fashion, northern Germany would have been edified; and have eaten her dinner and smoked her pipe as usual. And southern Germany would have eaten *her* dinner, smoked *her* pipe, said her prayers, and snored on till the day of judgment. But, when France took to looking after her worldly affairs, and examining the screws and hinges of her political system, Austria had the nightmare, Prussia called for his spurs, and the Duke of Brunswick got on horseback. Ay! and there were more than these who had a cholic and an ague fit. Miserable Sardinia, ever in the lead of king Log. Three of Germany's ecclesiastical electors also, took the field like the church militant of the middle ages. It was clear that the surest way to prevent the world from thinking, was to set it to fighting. In consequence Austria and Prussia judged it expedient, and pronounced it for religiously right and proper, to take up the cross for the deliverance of Louis the 16th, and to preach the same crusade to all the kings of Europe. Russia pronounced the same. But, being busy at the moment, and, moreover, having in view a second quartering of Poland, she gave the coalesced armies her blessing, and staid at home.

Out of this move, as made with a view to political expediency, arose in France the political exigency of sending the unfortunate Louis to the scaffold. Government is an exquisite thing! Sometimes even for the governors!

We shall now admit the execution of the French monarch to have been an act of far greater political gravity than that of the English.

Charles was a right-divine, good-pleasure king, by long established, undisputed precedent. He, nor his predecessors for better than a century, had ever heard of the great charter; unless as they might of the deluge. It is clear, therefore, that Charles had to bear all the respon-

sibilities which rest on the head of absolute power. If the Russian Ctzar will look through the annals of his empire, he will understand their nature; and admit perhaps that the autocracy he flourishes, is not always a better thing for the despot than for the slave. But Louis of France was sworn in a constitutional king. Was the constitution of no account? For monarch and people, a girdle of flax thrown round a raging fire? That was not the king's look out. He was under cover. His person inviolable. His ministers responsible. So said the law. And the ink was barely dry which had registered the contract. Ah! when a nation derides the law of its own making; and when the one-half of a government cuts the throat of the other—There is no law. There is no government. And the hell-hounds of anarchy are let loose upon the earth.

It is somewhat remarkable, and curious, as evincing the absence of all political experience, and practical familiarity with any of the principles either of law or justice—That, among the motived votes given by many conscientious and courageous French citizens—they were given under peril of life—in favour of the king, not one adverted to the judicial atrocity, and governmental violence, so glaringly prominent. The only member who grounded his defence of Louis upon an argument so unanswerable as the text of the constitution, was the distinguished foreigner, Thomas Paine. This entire absence, from the mind of population, of all familiarity with the first principles of civil polity, alone suffices to reveal the difficulties of the epoch. We should observe, however, that those of the convention who could best have distinguished and employed the argument, went for the king's death. On the same ground that Cromwell condemned Charles—*political exigency*. In fact, see the awful predicament! And, in that predicament, what was the French nation or the power which represented it—the legislative assembly and convention—to do?

In 1791, in the midst of generous excitement and violent commotion—as rising from day to day, spreading throughout France, and gaining more or less the popular mind of the whole civilized world—appeared the declaration of Pilnitz. Parties : king of Prussia and emperor of Austria, speaking in the name of the altar and the throne. Shouldering the common cause of the sovereigns of Europe, and sustaining the especial prerogatives and interests of the French king against the liberties and the interests of the French people.

At this time, the whole scaffolding of feodality, with its offensive exactions and privileges, had been overthrown by the constituent assembly in Paris, and by the arm of the peasantry in the majority of the provinces. This had been easy. The more so, that it was worm-eaten by time, and had been rudely handled during previous reigns. But now every question inseparable from the substitution of a new order of things, wherewith to replace the old, was under discussion ; and, as a matter of course, every interest, as every opinion came into collision. It was the moment to breed discord. And old king Log—the Jesuits under the still outstanding pontifical act of suppression, were out of sight, but they were not far off—And old king Log, of whom Prussia holds the sword, and represents the intelligence, judged it proper to raise his black banner and take the field.

Louis the 16th, feeble in character and driven by every wind, wishing well to the world, and to himself an easy life ; his habits those of a good-pleasure king ; his feelings those of a good-natured man ; in religion, a conscientious disciple of the Roman church ; as a constitutional king—for which character, under other circumstances, he would have been well fitted—called to sanction and uphold the civil oath of the clergy in contradistinction to the declared will of the pope ; drawn one way by a lovely and high-spirited queen, besotted relatives, and infatuated courtiers ; directed another by his ministers ; pulled backwards by every secret adviser ; and

pushed forwards by the will of the nation—Never was a man more to be pitied, nor a monarch more to be excused.

The queen, proud in character, an Austrian in blood, education and principle. The court nobles corrupt and licentious. The others generous and valiant; but—with brilliant exceptions—void alike of good sense and of common sense. The clergy, many well disposed, but, as a body, inimical, and by their influences, dangerous. In such a state of things, and at such a moment of crisis, the declaration of Pilnitz was at once a declaration of civil and of foreign war. Part of the royal family emigrate, and the more violent nobility. The same correspond from abroad with the court, and the court intrigue with the enemy. After many fair promises, always broken; theatrical reconciliations; gathering perplexities; imprudences of the court; just suspicion on the part of the people; acts of violence on both sides; insurrections, troubles and confusion, the unfortunate Louis and his family run away. The best thing they could possibly do, both for themselves and the nation, under the circumstances.

But the public mind thinks otherwise. In its simplicity it still believes that irreconcilable elements may be harmonized. That the centre of faction will be less dangerous if retained within the country, than if thrown without. And also that a settled form being once given to the new government the more liberal of the foreign powers, England at their head, will view the French cause with favour. In consequence, the king is pursued, arrested, and brought back to Paris. The constituent assembly present their constitution which the king accepts. There are not wanting to see, and to proclaim, that this is holding up a sheet of parchment against a hurricane, and formulating oaths, certain on all sides to be broken. Things are not ripe for a dictatorship even were there at hand a dictator. The public mind can only follow the course of public events; and, when liberty

has spoken to a people, government must follow the course of the public mind, or the country perish. It is thus that is made the apprenticeship of a nation. France, at the epoch under consideration, made hers by the week, the hour, and the minute. But the court learned nothing and provoked everything. Until—having lost the confidence, and endangered the existence, of every friend in every party able and willing to save—it was besieged, in the palace of the kings, by a people and a populace roused to frenzy.

Louis and his family, escaping in the confusion, take refuge in the bosom of that very legislative assembly they had so trifled with. In that assembly, once so ardent to associate the descendant of the great Henry, with the regeneration of country, they can now find only silent pity or determined enmity. The king is suspended from his functions preparatory to imprisonment and death; and that convention called which was to save and to invigorate the nation by means of a government of pure terror; sustained by a horrible ochlocracy; baptised with oceans of blood; yet replete with energy, genius, and patriotism.

And now, if it was the design of the Duke of Brunswick, and the governments he both openly and covertly represented, to force France into an impass from which she should find no issue but over the dead body of her king; then was his manifest a well digested instrument. And then was his invasion, and that of the king of Prussia in person; and the approach of the emperor of Austria in the rear of his troops to the French frontier; and all the rash provocations of the emigrants; and the undisguised communications held by the enemy with the infatuated French court,—If, I say, it was intended to force the revolution to odious extremities, then was the whole course of proceeding admirably contrived. How—under the circumstances—a course less determined could have been followed by those who held the governmental reins of French affairs it would be hard to

distinguish. But certain it is that when the dethroned monarch—in open contravention of the constitution as newly confirmed in the name of the nation—was placed at the bar of the convention, government, by and with law, was at an end. Order and liberty were both felled to the earth; and, to save union and independence, France had no resource—for the direction of the anarchy thus daringly inaugurated—but a popular tyrannicide.

How profoundly instructive the lesson breathing from this page of history! How does it expose the vice inherent in the governing principle! Behold it exhibiting government for a thing so worthless, that whenever—in moments of crisis and therefore of course when most needed—it becomes enclosed within the vicious circle of its own enactments, it has no resource but that of the scorpion; and is driven, by its own spontaneous volition, to sting itself to death! We cannot here do justice to a lesson which might seek illustration in the annals of every state. I suggest it only. Leaving to intelligence to make its general application at leisure.

A good-pleasure people was now on the throne of a good-pleasure king. Whichever party had won the day the sword was to rule it. The Duke of Brunswick had set forth in the name of Austria and Prussia—those quarterers of Poland who, even at that moment, under *secret articles* of the treaty of Pilnitz, were marking out new provinces for appropriation, and more populations for slaughter;—The Duke of Brunswick had set forth, I say, in the name of Austria and Prussia; that the French people were to see in him and his army the deliverers of their king. That, if received with open doors and blind obedience, lives and property should be respected, and themselves remain no longer than might be necessary to secure the absolute authority of the French monarch, and the restoring of all things to the old shape. But if otherwise, then otherwise. All should be given over to fire and sword, sack and slaughter; and the

good pleasure of the native king should be preceded by that of a foreign soldiery.

The immediate authors of French revolutionary violence were here, self-evidently, these coalesced enemies of the French people; who instead of minding their own business came to meddle with that of others. The parties knew this perfectly when they made their declaration, and their manifest. Diplomacy is a game of chess; and good players foresee all the probable and possible consequences of the stroke they venture. Prussia was ever an able tactician; and Austria, taught to move in his wake, sees at least to profit by the brain in another she may lack herself.

Shall we read the plain truth of all this? That the allied powers cared as little for the French king as they did for the French people. They were thinking exclusively of the effects likely to result, from the outstanding quarrel between them, upon the European system generally, and, yet more, upon their own dominions in particular. Ruled—as we explained in our opening chapter—by the male principle of the universe, government never thinks of anything but itself. If the hanging and quartering of King Louis and his family, and all his court, were to throw a new make-weight into the scale of union and order; which everywhere threatened, at the moment, to kick the beam, why, then, the sooner he, and all, were hanged and quartered the better. Such was the reasoning of the allied powers. Ay! and of every *politician* in every party. Royalist as jacobin, and jacobin as royalist, in France and throughout Europe. The equally urgent necessity—as interpreted by every holder of the governmental rein in which ever direction pulling,—The equally urgent necessity, everywhere, was strong government. Such agreeable necessities are ever arising, and ever will and must arise, under the action of the male principle. And so poor Louis, and his queen, and all the insurrectionary leaders—either for the king or for the constitution, or for anything but the power of

the moment,—became the scape-goats of the epoch. One great exigency—in France, that of holding together the body politic, and—throughout Europe—that of holding together each body politic and the whole civilizational system,—One and the same exigency swayed the ruling mind, and decided the public measures of every nation. In France, it raised to dictatorship the committee of public safety. Placed the independent leaders of every party—republican as royalist—under the guillotine. Silenced every conscientious opinion throughout the nation, and saved independence—as usual in moments of convulsion—at expense of liberty. The case was similar, varying only in degree, throughout the civilized world.

And now, where was England all this time? Her name does not figure in the treaty of Pilnitz. Nor is there question of her in the manifest. But, England! you should know something of the Duke of Brunswick. Ah! I understand. You were not party to the treaty, nor to the coalition of the allied powers. And your signature was not to the commission of the commander-in-chief of their invading armies. You furnished no troops. You said not a word. And you looked impenetrable. England! *did you furnish no funds?* It might be curious to compare your entries of credit, and other folks' entries of debt. Pitt was a profound statesman, and a desperate financier. You will not say *Yes* to the query, England! And you will not say *No*. For we are serious now.

Here then—at the close of the brilliant eighteenth century—was a new crusade by right-divine monarchs for the oppression of peoples, in the sense of that we noted in the twelfth. Mark how nations are true to their antecedents, under a statu quo order of civilization! Mark how fast we move, while the male principles of brute force and circumventing fraud impel the world!

Then we saw the German Frederic summoning France and Switzerland to renounce and pursue to the death that political heresy which gave a first electric shock to the dark ages. Following it up through Italy with fire and sword; and strengthening the hands of the pope to give to the flames of martyrdom its generous apostle. Six hundred years elapse; and here we find Austria—that walking ghost of the old iron crown!—preaching a crusade to all the governments of Europe against the renewed, amended, and enlarged political heresy of revolutionary France! Not one idea has entered thy Bœotian head, southern Germany! since the days of Charlemagne. And the soul of thy populations hath ever grown duller with ignorance, bigotry, sleep, and gross diet! Shame on thee, Prussia! to be found in such company. Among thy antecedents are some, at least, which should ill fit thee for taking the cross with the *frères ignorantins* against the land of Voltaire and of D'Alembert.

But thou, England! where was thy programme of Clarendon, and, yet greater, of Runnymede? Ah! we noted how both were laid on the shelf to make room for the scheme and the idol. And after doing thy best to cut the throat of thy virtuous colonies, we cannot marvel if thy policy now is to encourage the French people to cut the throats of each other. See, here, the inconsistencies, no less than the iniquities, which grow out of government! We have seen England, for better than a century, jeopard her existence to check, undermine, and overturn, the power of feudal France. Behold its throne in the dust! Its chivalrous nobility swept from the soil of their fathers! What does England now? Why, after spending her wealth in pulling down the house of Bourbon, she will spend her credit to build it up again. She sees now a greater rival in preparation than a feudal king. A mighty people are born into the world; and, by the stir they make at their entrance into life, she can see trouble a-head.

Nothing, certainly, more wonderful in the history of man than the energy exhibited by France under the rule of her terrific convention, doubly flanked by her committee of public safety and her club of the jacobins.

With foreign armies pouring over her frontier, plied with conspiracies in her central heart; priests, nobles, spies, foreign funds, all at work within and around; and all moving and acting in the name of her dethroned and imprisoned monarch; she sets her back to the wall, lets loose her people like a lion lashed to fury, and throws at the kings of the earth the head of her own. Small marvel if France, in her commingled excitement and trouble, was at this epoch positively seized with a confluent brain fever, and sent it forth to run round the world like the cholera. If we look into it, there was enough to engender the malady. And certainly, the remedies, as prescribed by political doctors, and administered through the press of the whole civilised world, might have killed a less hardy patient than poor humanity hath ever proved herself to be.

Under the name of liberty—ever most talked of when she least exists—Under the name of liberty, tyranny now reigns with barely the mockeries of law. Every class, every party, supplies its heroes and its martyrs. Wealth, rank, youth, beauty, age, talent, valour, learning, genius, science, virtue. Breathing, in life and death, devotion to duty, affection, honour, party, principle, or country. Horrible drama! Yet replete with grandeur and with solemn lessons. Oh, France! how dearly wilt thou have purchased liberty! Oh, Humanity! how much hath thy redemption cost thy children! In every nation, every age, on every spot of thine earth's surface, how have thy noblest wept and suffered that thou mightest better live in futurity! But let us take note how, in a span of time, the tricolour of revolutionary and murderous rivalry has been torn into ribands.

As of necessity, the blue had sought a junction with the white. Capital had sought to stay itself upon the

land. The white, smitten with insanity, refuses. The old feudal nobility, taking counsel with the church, scorns to raise to its level the professions, the commerce, and the heads of industry; and, standing aloof, calls in the aid of the stranger. The red comes to the rescue; drives off the invader; sweeps the white from the soil; suspects the blue of meditating transactions with the white and the enemy; runs it down, murders its leaders, and stands, for a while, the terrible master of the field. Thus the red—not content, like the blue, with seizure of the first place, next the staff—fills the whole flag. And—so far as can be done by aid of anarchy, confiscation, depreciation of currency, war civil and domestic, and all that ensues of robbery and confusion—it seizes, fractions, and throws to right and left, the land and the capital of its two rivals.

And, yet, see! In the midst of all, how the revolutionary convention—with the same sword pending over the heads of its individual members which its collective body holds over those of others.—See how the revolutionary convention keeps true to its mission! While it mows down the tall poppies of a generation it suspects, how it sows broadcast the seed of others. Organizes a system of instruction such as the world had never seen. New models the whole country. Ploughs up the very foundations of feodality in the political system and in the soul of population. Arms the whole nation in a single day. Fanatizes the millions in defence of country. Sends forth a propagand of peoples in answer to that of priests and kings which had been poured into its bosom, and shakes the foundations of Europe's old worn-eaten civilizational system to its centre.

I have said thus much respecting the most wonderful political drama ever enacted on our globe, because it has appeared to me important to exhibit the manner of its opening; the true character of its purposes and its effects; the singular, and absolutely convulsive governmental rivalities which it brought into play; and also

clearly to elicit the fact, that the French nation were, in the outset, the aggrieved party. This is only important in so far as all Europe was made to believe the contrary; and as probably nine-tenths of its population believe so at this hour. Thus admirably exhibiting the deceptive character of government; and the purpose which that great engine the press has been made to serve under its reign. Namely, to humbug the masses, and to mislead on every subject, little or great, nations, classes, parties, and individuals.

But if France was the aggrieved party in the outset, she soon, not exchanged, perhaps, but *shared* with her adversaries, that character for the opposite. Thus again exhibiting but too faithfully the principle which has ever ruled all human affairs. Presenting itself under the varying forms of contending forces, circumventing fraud, brute matter make-weights, wrangling, robbery, and war to the death.

In closing our sketch of the terrific epoch, I must call, once again, attention to the fact ever illustrated, sooner or later, by all revolutions effected by the hand of violence in the bosom of a corrupt society. It is simply this. That although, at such epochs, liberty is always invoked, her character is never understood, and, consequently, her reign never established. After passing through every mode of license and of tyranny—and the two must ever go together; since what is license for some must be tyranny for others; these inflicting and those enduring—After running the round of all the modes of which, in revolutionary times, the evil thing is susceptible, government in France assumed the form to which it ever by its nature tends; military despotism and power centered in a single hand. I shall be told that this was the work of Napoleon, who might and ought to have done otherwise. Nonsense! France had in her bosom scores of Napoleons. Cæsars are never wanting when a throne is ready. And a throne is ever ready when anarchy hath done its work, and

when a nation, instead of employing its energies in the paths of industry, expends them in political strife. Then comes, and must come, the moment when foreign war is a blessing, and conquest a necessity. When the false meteor glory is a light from heaven, giving diversion to the bewildered thoughts and suicidal ambitions of society, turned loose upon itself after subduing its oppressors. Happy, at least, when such national aberrations have redounded to the ultimate advantage of the great human family. Never was this more remarkably the case than at the epoch to which our rapid survey has brought us. The empire—as following close upon the other phases of the great French revolution—shook every political body in the European system. Called, more or less, every population into play. And brought to bear, at the cannon's mouth, the great modern propagand of convulsive change; that—as yet—unfortunately, indispensable precursor of improvement.

With a view to the yet better exhibiting the vicious circle in which, from its nature, government is constrained to move, I shall distinguish, in opening our next chapter, how the very means employed, and of *necessity* employed, for the destruction of the old system, impressed the character of single-handed despotism on the new.

C H A P T E R X V.

GENERAL HEAD.

*CONVULSIVE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT OF FRANCE CONTINUED.
THE EMPIRE.*

C O N T E N T S.

Effective overthrow of any civilization must be preceded by loosening of its religious bond.—When this in the hands of a priesthood, revolution prepared by a course of disputation either logical or theological.—Where it is designed to stop short of entire subversion of a political system, popular mind drawn into the latter.—This how prevented in France.—France thrown into the hands of her philosophers.—Convulsion thus necessitated.—Frightful in time; salutary with a view to ultimate consequences.—Convulsive movement must propose some one definite object.—That of France destruction of feodality.—Where its force was centred.—What this necessitated.—And what the necessity entailed.—As usual to secure independence, Liberty sacrificed.—Tyrannicide how rendered indispensable.—Course of reasoning, and course of things.—Power lodged in a corrupt legislative body worst of all.—Corruption of that of revolutionary France approaches fast to what is common elsewhere.—Under no organized control. Dreadful predicament.—Two honest men rule it and the country.—How?—Nature of government revealed.—Accession of a military ruler; how rendered inevitable.—In unripeness of things, and absence of new principle, complete governmental revolution has to be accomplished.—Summary of the contest on field of Europe throughout convulsive movement of France.—How quarrels shift their ground; and wrong and right shift sides during their course.—The empire does more for Europe than France.—What, however, it does for the last—Tricolor assumes a new meaning.—

That meaning good in time.—What the empire does for Europe.—England during the contest.—The contest itself.—Napoleon.—Genius capacious as a captain, indifferent as a statesman.—Out of his programme nothing could come.—Out of the counter programme, counterchecked as it has been by a third power, is no felicitous result to be secured?—At the time no better object held in view by one party than the other.—While the male principle is rampant neither nations nor individuals are or can be other than selfish.—Entire revolution of the French political body completed with fall of Napoleon.—Turns necessarily on the world the old phasis of hereditary monarchy.—Before expounding the epoch of 1815, necessary to consider the part acted in the universal drama by America.

FEODALITY constituted the political framework of the first European order of civilization. This appears in the very name we gave to it of the *Christian catholic feudal*. The epithets Christian catholic, marking the religion, or bond of union of that order of civilization. The epithet *feudal* marking the political organization which the religious bond holds together.

The religion of empires constituting—as was previously explained—the bond of their political and civilizational confraternity, it is evident that with the decline of their religion, every thing tends to fall to pieces. It is thus that, wherever the religious bond is placed in the hand of a priesthood, all religious revolution is prepared by a course of theological disputation, or, as it is variously called—according to its mode and its degree of intensity—heresy, scepticism, or infidelity.

In Europe, wherever the political mind of a country has designed to stop short of the entire subversion of the old political system, it has timeously facilitated the the leading off the popular mind into the labyrinth either of controversial protestant theology, or controversial metaphysics. These are but two paths in the same labyrinth, and are followed variously according to the leanings of national institutions or of individual temperament. This course of *mezzo termine*, as followed throughout protestant Europe, was mainly prevented in France. First, by the powerful statesmanship of Cardinal Richelieu;

and, second, by the political arrogance of Louis the Fourteenth, and the opinionative bigotry of Madame de Maintenon. The result of all which was, on the one part, the corruption and the depression of the nobility; and, on the other, the banishment of the conscientious Huguenots.

The belief is consoling that acts of policy the most blind and the most iniquitous at the time, often work out the opposite of what is designed. It was not given to a fatuous old monarch and an intriguing old woman to transform France into another most catholic Spain. At the close of the 17th century, there was, in her bosom, too much real science and expansive thought for such a dire catastrophe. In consequence, the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and the consequent depression of the Huguenots, threw the whole mind of France into the hands of her philosophers. Thus that influential realm—the power, and, in general also, the virtue, of the nobility having dwindled away in the fœtid atmosphere of a court—That influential realm was prepared for sudden, entire, and convulsive revolution. Horrible cataclysm it is true; yet indispensable for Europe; indispensable for the globe. However frightful in some of its immediate effects, it must ever mark in history as one of the greatest steps ever made towards the ultimate entire emancipation of humanity in her mind as in her body.

But change, sudden and convulsive, however entire, can effect no lasting purpose unless forcibly directed to some one distinct object. That one object was, and had to be, the destruction of feodality. Of this the whole force was centred in the provinces. There it could entrench itself behind the habits and, often, the affections of population, no less than the influences of the clergy. It was thus that La Vendée had to be *conquered* to revolution; and the same more or less was the case elsewhere. No sudden change, effected by governmental violence, benefits everybody. And seldom that it does not, to attain some immediate good, entail some

future evil. Still, at such epochs of crisis, the good of the great collective sum has to be secured, and secured too by such means as present themselves.

For the successful overthrow then of feodality, a fearful blow had to be dealt on the French political system. One subversive of the principles of political science. One which, at the very moment that the tocsin rang out for liberty, rendered the promise delusive. One which presented a counter sense to industrial developement, to general prosperity, to a just and beneficent order of human economy. One which was to render popular sovereignty impossible. And yet, which was an absolute political necessity. Without which the regeneration of country could never have been achieved. Its independence never secured. Its homogeneity as a nation, and an empire, never attained. This, in time, absolute political necessity; and this, in principle, absolute political monstrosity, was the annihilation of the provincial sectionment of the country, and the consequent immediate concentration of all political power and general wealth in one supreme metropolis. Without this blow, feodality would have survived in all its roots. No other assault upon it could—under the circumstances—have constituted more than the lopping of its boughs and branches. No less extreme a measure could, at that epoch, have secured national independence, and the sacred integrity of the realm.

But see! This measure, which secured, and which, at that epoch of time, could alone secure independence, made simply and purely a transfer to, and concentration in, the central head, of all the power previously fractioned among thirty provinces. That is to say, it was a tyrannicide. And no matter whether it wear the name and the form of a convention, of a committee of public safety, of a consulate, or of an emperor—Power, at the time, was indispensable to raise, direct, control, and, finally, to subdue, the revolutionary tempest. Power exercised by every body of course kills itself. It is soon

found that thirty tyrants are, at once, safer and more effective than a hundred. Twelve than thirty. Three than twelve. And, finally, one than three. No power more dangerous than that vested in a corrupt legislative body. It is well known that the longer such a body exists, the worse it grows. The French convention, made up in the outset of the best energy and the best intentions in France, rapidly approached towards the corruption of England's existing House of Commons, the Chamber of Deputies in France, or the Hall of Representatives in America. While, horrid to think of, the corruption of the French Convention was under no fixed or organized control ; and while its honesty had constituted the only anchor of safety for the tempest tossed ship of state. In definitive, and at the height of its power, that terrific body was estimated to contain two honest men ! That is to say, men who were *known* to have the palm clean of bribe ; the public good in view apart that of the individual. Two more, doubtless, these, than any legislative body may now boast of, or would care to possess. Since, while honesty is the sheet anchor in convulsive revolution, organised corruption, under supreme control of the idol god, is the reliance of modern government. Horrid reliance ! And which, as we now are, threatens finally to submerge civilization itself, in the slough of universal corruption.

But now look back to the fact we noted. Two men of approved, clean-handed integrity, in the revolutionary tribunal of the French Convention ! Of course they ruled it. But how ? Just look at the thing ! It tells the whole story of government. Those two honest men, who would neither bribe others nor be bribed themselves, were Terrorists. They undertook to establish that public functionaries should be forced to probity, and that commonsense should be the order of the day.*

* In the words of St. Just, *condamner les fonctionnaires à la probité, et mettre le bon sens à l'ordre du jour*. St. Just was another clean-handed Terrorist, but seldom in the convention or in Paris : his sphere being in the army and the departments.

Having decreed this, what did they do ? They cut the heads off many thousand shoulders, came themselves to a violent death, and left the world no more honest than they found it. We shall not deny, however, that they saved the country. They met the exigencies of the epoch. After a horrible fashion, it is true, but the only one which lay under their hand, or promised efficacy under the circumstances.

France, then, having drawn all her power to the centre, by the hands of her popular leaders, what was she to do with it? Foreign enemies, and rebellion on her soil; the answer was easy. She pulverized them. Conquered all resistance within, and faced the whole of Europe without. Fighting, then, became of necessity the whole absorbing business. The army the great power. Of civil tyranny, society was tired, and it fell, of course, into weakness. The military came home crowned with laurels. All acknowledged authority was at the centre. Paris was now France. Blame Napoleon for upsetting the Directory, and the governmental scaffolding attached to it! There was no virtue in either, or both would have resisted. Blame him, again, for not putting something better than himself in place of that which he overthrew. This is only, as usual, making an individual the scapegoat of an epoch! It is given to no man to octroy the liberty of peoples. The very words, indeed, involve a counter sense. And even were it otherwise—could liberty be given, population would not know what to do with the gift. France had to make her apprenticeship, and to aid, also, that of Europe. Circumstances, and—as moulded by circumstances—the human mind, were not ripe for reform. And since no new direction was impressed on the course of things by the human mind, governmental revolution—that is, the complete turn of the political body on its axis—had to be accomplished.

The dreadful conflict which arose with, and lasted out, the whole French revolution yet lives in the remem-

brance of men. It was sustained, in the outset, by France against the whole of Europe. Afterwards by England against the same. And, finally, once more by France ; overwhelmed by the coalesced nations converted from friends to enemies by the reckless ambition of her chief.

In the outset the nations were led, or driven, to right and left as without any volition of their own ; until, finally, the mad ambition of Napoleon kindled the sacred sentiment of national independence in the breast of all. France had now raised against herself—among the peoples as among the sovereigns—a sentiment of confraternity. And—united by that righteous sentiment—both turned irresistibly against their assailant, that programme of universal popular redemption which she had so recently formulated. So it is that every quarrel shifts its ground as it advances ; and that every party is found, time about, in the wrong and in the right. This is one of the necessitated results of the governing principle. At this time, an international peace of thirty-two years, cemented by freer international communication than ever previously existed upon earth, seems to have prepared human thought and sentiment for a just appreciation of the general course pursued by each of the great powers whose rivalry shook the world.

The French empire did more for Europe than for France. All that France has achieved of really good and useful for herself and her people, she did under her old monarchy, or her revolutionary convention. Her empire followed up her vengeance upon the powers who had coalesced for her destruction ; and raised, in commemoration thereof, her brazen column in the Place Vendôme.

One thing, however, the empire did for France. It obliterated old scores and domestic quarrels, and united her people under a really national flag. The three hostile stripes blended their hues in the rainbow of glory, and the vexed and ill-interpreted device of *liberty and*

equality gave place to that of *honour and country*.* No soldier of the great army ever asked himself whether his grandfather traced back his ancestry to the *nights of time*, wore a sword and black gown in the parliaments, or was *tailléable et corvéable à merci*.†

For Europe, on the other hand, imperial France did immensely. Not by any rational system that she either established or proposed; but simply by setting things in motion, knocking thrones from right to left; and forcibly disturbing the old *statu quo* of thought and practice.

But, farther yet. France, and her military leader, and her own wonderful military achievements, rendered the most indispensable of all services to the world. They used up the *ignis fatuus* of glory. None after her may ever take in hand to shew what valour, fanatized by ambition, may achieve of miraculous. There is an end of that mode of male insanity, at any rate.

On the other part, England forcibly wedded, as we have seen, to her scheme, pushed its universal establishment, and final triumph, with a determination which no defeat could vanquish, no danger make to quail.

We have seen that it was for her scheme she forced her colonies to revolution. For it that she suspended hostilities, and bent her pride to acknowledge their independence. For it, also, that she accelerated, by intrigue, convulsive movement in France. So, again, was it for the same she watched the moment for raising a universal coalition against France, in the day of trouble, and placed herself with her idol at its head.

Soon defeated, in her allies, on all points of the continent, and driven from all its ports by the arms of her rival, she failed not one moment to her purpose. With the telescopic and microscopic vision of her policy fixed upon the entire globe, she calculated all her movements

* *Honneur et patrie*. The device of the Legion of Honour.

† Taxable and workable at pleasure.

so as best to sustain existence at the present, and ensure triumph in the future. Already she had placed in pawn all her possessions. Already she had despoiled the Indies of their treasure. Already she had crushed down her people under a weight of burdens, until the invention of a new tax was more extraordinary than the discovery of a new planet. Already she had ventured on the extreme measure of refusing to discount her own currency notes—more properly, her *fictitious exchange money*—in specie. And this when her very capital was debt, and her revenue was credit. Thus laying open her idol to examination, and her priests of Baal to suspicion. Never was a position so fraught with hazard. Yet still she quailed not. Played deeper stakes, and courted chances of success. Boldly, in the worst hour of defeat and pressure, she undertook to increase her store of wealth, by forcing into being new modes of production, and simultaneously to force open markets, and secure advantageous exchange, on the trading principle of buying cheap and selling dear.

And here her maritime supremacy was her sheet anchor of trust. While holding this, she knew she held ever in reversion the puissance of commerce; and that one false move of her adversary gave her the game. Horrid position of the world! She held the sea, and her rival the land. He was the robber Clovis, with his Franks. She was the pirate Rollo, with his Northmen. But the scene of their depredation was now extended by the extension of civilization. No spot of earth or of ocean was removed from their strife or their rapine. The one bent upon the monopoly of commerce; the other as madly upon its destruction. Every ship was subject to seizure; every seaport threatened with destruction. The fleet of an old ally annihilated in its own harbour by the bullets of England, and the flag of the only neutral on the globe equally violated by either belligerent.

Napoleon was a great captain. But—if we correctly interpret political, not to speak of civilizational, science

—he was an indifferent statesman. And this because he was a worse than indifferent patriot. A statesman *must* think of the state first, and of himself at any rate second. He reversed this order of things. *L'état c'est moi* of Louis the Fourteenth lost the old monarchy. *L'empire c'est moi* of Napoleon lost the empire. He had the means of developing all the commercial power of Europe, and, with that, its industry. For this, he had but to take in friendship the ever proffered hand of America. Let him have respected her neutral flag, and the interests and feelings of Europe's varied populations, and he must have bankrupted England's scheme, or brought her to reasonable terms. This last—I conceive—had there ever been any reason in him, would not have been difficult after the catastrophe of Austerlitz.

But this common sense mode of proceeding would have developed, with the resources, the intelligence and the liberties of all the states of Europe; and would have thrown France into contact with a free people. With one too experienced in the true character of freedom; and a match for England in political sagacity. But Napoleon had a horror of liberty as a hydrophobe of water; and eschewed all political sagacity that went not for the strengthening of his personal power, and the establishment of his house as an autocratic dynasty. Therefore it was he excluded commerce from his imperial programme; and this because commerce, with all its sins, has ever a sort of inkling after liberty. Mercury, although a desperate thief, and a lying fellow into the bargain, has wings on his head as well as his heels, and a wand in his hand, which, if used—not too much nor for too long a space, or it conjures every thing out of a country; half its population out of their wits, and the other half out of existence,—But, if used with tolerable circumspection, commerce is a wonderful first quickener of human energy. Napoleon would none of it. And rather than have a word to say to the quicksilver god, he threw his arms round old king Log, and married his daughter! Ah! on that day, he broke the talisman

of his fortune. History might have absolved general Bonaparte for acting the part of Cromwell, but surely not for acting that of Napoleon. His invasion of Spain jeopardized every thing, but when he made an alliance with Austria, and childishly copied all the insignia of titles and pretensions of the old western empire of the middle ages, he forfeited his throne. No government can, with impunity, run counter to the principle of its existence; trifle with the honour and the vital interests of country, and outrage at once the good sense of the age, with every antecedent which called it into being. France had indeed laid her programme on the shelf; but she had not arborated its opposite. She wanted no modern Roman empire. And no modern feudal system, with its modern Charlemagne. Who—be it said in passing—had he lived by metempsychosis in the nineteenth century would have had other ambition, and better sense, than Napoleon.

But now were all these years of storm and trouble—these aspirations after the great and good—these keen disappointments—these illusions, sacrifices, sufferings, deeds of heroism and deeds of crime—Were all these, I say—as conceived, achieved, and endured in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries—to end as had all others in bygone ages? Were these all to die in the womb of time without working out some great denouement for humanity? Was such a rivalry as we have poorly sketched between the two leading powers of civilized Europe, to relax only to revive again under the same horrific form of ravage, strife, and carnage? Had the field of Waterloo terminated in favour of France—France being merged in her incorrigible emperor—such would certainly have come to pass. Out of the programme of a military monarch, with a military dynasty at his heels, it is evident nothing could come. Glory is a barren tree. The god Mars was the worst god in the classic calendar. Good indeed for the iron age of Rome. But we are past the age of iron. We ought also to be

past the age of gold. Ay, England! and past even the age of humbug, of shuffle, and of paper. We ought to be approaching the age of science. That age when the eye of the mind shall pierce beyond the sign to the thing signified. And when nations—laying aside all the gross conceptions of civilizational childhood—shall seize on truth itself in the etherial form of its eternal principles.

Will not the course pursued by England—counter-checked as it has been by that of a third power—bring about this felicitous result? We may hope it. At this hour, we may believe it. Yet may we not believe that—during the career of violence she pursued in rivalry with France—she knew one thought more generous than selfish elevation at expense of others.

This motive sentiment appertains to the male principle inherent in government. Nor, while submitted to that principle, is there, or can there be, a nation, barely an individual on the globe, superior to the vulgar ambition.

The entire revolution of the French political body on the governmental axis was completed at the fall of Napoleon. Circumstances being, now in France, as heretofore elsewhere, thoroughly unripe for developing the impulsion of any new principle, her political body had necessarily to turn upon the world the old accustomed phasis of the hereditary rule of one.

The epoch of 1814 and '15, being one of the most remarkable in history; and remaining until this hour without an interpreter, we shall endeavour to define what was then effected under cover of the treaties of those dates.

In the first place, however, it will be necessary to consider the part which had been acted, in the great drama we have hastily passed in review, by a third power. She who held in especial charge the programme of the future. A few opening words, then, in our next, touching America.

CHAPTER XVI.

GENERAL HEAD.

REVIEW OF ENGLAND'S SECOND WAR WITH AMERICA, IN ITS CAUSES AND RESULTS; AND EUROPE AT THE FALL OF NAPOLEON.

CONTENTS.

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WE explained how the young republic of the United States laid her colonial programme of liberty on the

shelf, to inaugurate a scheme of government. And this in order to place under cover the idol of England, whose religion her people had embraced. But we farther noted how, in doing this, she held ever aloft the two principles for which she had drawn the sword: namely, national independence and popular sovereignty. It will be distinguished that these two principles involve and imply *non-intervention in the affairs of others*. Since he who would keep his own house to himself must be the last to assault that of a neighbour. This great matter of non-intervention, when consistently brought to bear—in and throughout the whole civilizational system; in and throughout every political body; and in and throughout the whole of human economy—will secure for ever the peace, the liberty and harmony of the world. Important then it was, that—in the confused struggle, not only between opposing political, but also between opposing civilizational, principles, which convulsed the old hemisphere,—Important it was, that one power of tried sagacity and valour should have scored out that much of the sacred programme of the future, and have laid her sword in guard upon it.

However quiet and reasonable this programme, as arborated by the United States, it was easy to see that it would not sustain itself, in the outset, by its own virtue. When all the world is fighting in the street, it must be a hard matter for a quiet man to make his way along without being involved occasionally in the strife. More especially if, as he passes, every combatant should turn to bar his passage. This was distinctly and violently the position of America, from the opening of the fearful strife which arose out of the French revolution.

In 1798, under the directory, the conduct of France, was such as to force the United States to quick and active measures of repression. And, for this purpose, they created the first nucleus of a navy.

In 1801, America again laid her hand upon the sword, and in a manner and for a cause singularly significative.

She was the first power positively to challenge, and bring to order, the Bey of Tripoli. She forced satisfaction for wrong and insult received, the enlargement of all Christian captives, then held in durance, and the future respect of her own flag. Having effected thus much, she withdrew on the instant. It was no business of hers to vindicate the general freedom of an European sea. And the Quixote who should have undertaken it, would have had others to deal with besides Barbary pirates. That swarm having served, and then serving, as a very effective police, in aid of the views and interests of a certain maritime supremacy. We know, however, how this initiative, on the part of America, was ultimately followed up. First; by England at the great close of hostilities; and then by France. So that christendom has been finally delivered from, if possible, a yet greater pest and disgrace than the black slave trade; as still carried on by citizens and subjects of maritime powers; laws of legislation, preachings of saints, palaverings of philanthropy, and professions of governments to the contrary, notwithstanding.

The third challenge America had to make, or to meet, in defence of her programme, was more serious. In consequence, the young puritan took more time to think of it.

The only foreign rivalry which has ever really agitated the political mind of America has been that with her old metropolitan. The little tiff we have noted with France, was only with an ephemeral government. And those she has had with Spain, in like manner, have never been serious. Her quarrels with England, on the other hand, have been those of nation with nation, and of a character so complicated, and so fundamental, as to be susceptible of no frank and final adjustment under the existing governing scheme of either party. The moot points at issue between these two great powers have been both political and civilizational. Covering, therefore, the whole ground of their national economy. For

hostility arising out of scism thus fundamental there has been no cure unless one of these two. Either a treacherous definitive abandonment, by both, of their ancestral programmes for a cordial junction under a homogeneous governing scheme, in treasonous coalition, against the vital interests of their peoples. Or a cordial definitive abandonment by both of their governing scheme, for a frank recurrence each to her ancestral programme. In either of which cases they would occupy the same ground, and might get along without collision. Under the one supposition moving on rapidly in the path of righteousness towards the goal of felicity. Under the other advancing with equal ratio of speed on the highway of iniquity towards the devouring pit of destruction. But—as explained—England having laid aside her charter of Runnymede, and America her compact of Plymouth, to embrace each a complex scheme of government; and the scheme in their hands pulling different ways, it is evident that the more they might quarrel about the scheme instead of employing it for the purposes intended, the less headway they would make towards getting clear of it.

It was not then without some, and many, second thoughts that America entered the lists again with her old metropolitan. It was a quarrel to which the sword could present no solution; and in which, though America should a second time win the honour, England must inevitably gain the pudding. Both parties understood the case; and so, while the one gave unceasing provocation, the other fought shy.

We may here observe that not the least singular, nor the least instructive period of American history is that which filled the space between the suspension of hostilities in 1783, and their renewal in 1811. The longanimity of the young nation revealed all the deep resolve of her collective character; and the perfect union of her political mind. This apart all the surface rivalities of party as constituting the obligated machinery of govern-

ment. Her achievements in civilization exhibited the energy, enterprise, and valour of her individual citizens. Without the cover of a military force—for small and scattered stations and outposts, serving as depots of ammunition, points of succour, and ralliement in last resort, merited not the name,—Without the cover of a military force; armed individually with the rifle and the axe; a practiced hand, a steady eye; unquailing endurance of every hardship—her scattered people pushed, landward, the conquest of a savage world, rife with the fiercest race of savage men. Without the cover of a navy, seaward they pushed their fortunes, and that of their country at every conceivable hazard. The ships of a powerful enemy—for such was England after peace as before—covered every sea, watched every port, and soon under a thousand pretexts, waylaid their vessels, and dragged their seamen from under their flag.

Never certainly was a power so harassed as England at that epoch; and certainly never was one which embarrassed others as much. At home, her own people; abroad, both friend and foe. She had taken in especial mission the tormenting of nations, and the tyrannising of humanity. With regard to America her policy is easily explained. The young nation,—it shows what can be done when human volitions are stimulated by a strong purpose and a noble ambition,—The young nation was beginning to pay off her debt. The twenty years asked for by Washington had transpired, and his country was preparing to stand alone.

But—pay off her debt? Do we see precisely what this constituted. The severing of England's bond of civilizational union. Here, then, was the new religion threatened with scism before it had well taken hold of the world, or supplanted the old Christian catholic feudal. Europe, too, was in arms from one end to the other. But the great nation was getting tired of being killed up itself in exchange for killing others. And populations were getting tired of feeding and lodging their

conquerors. The more so as these had laid their programme of popular emancipation on the shelf for that of humouring old kings and setting up new ones. Then—in one way or another—some man of common sense might take hold of France, or France take hold of him, in place of her modern Alexander. The day *that* should chance America and France were on good terms; and England's commerce and navy would have as hard work as her army. A certain spirited dash in the Mediterranean right under the nose of Gibraltar had shown that her young rival could build ships while others were sleeping. It must have been a hard puzzle for England's cabinet. And we may imagine her Premier—having shut the door, and satisfied himself there were no eaves-droppers—reasoning after this fashion in the privy council.

“Let that restless, long headed Yankee cut loose just now, and the ground will be taken from under our idol. He is growing too fast and getting too strong. With one hand he purchases Louisiana, and with the other begins to pay off his debt. Pay off his debt! What government not carved after the fashion of the Grand Turk's, or that does more than bivouac in open field at common expense of all nations like military France,—What other government, gentlemen, can live without debt? America is no fool; and knows well enough—saint of liberty as she is!—that all governments must sacrifice to Mammon or to Moloch. Pay off her debt! She is for paying off our creditors and transferring their claims to her own citizens. And then what shall we see? Another calf in the field. And—who knows? Heresies are catching. Let her once get the right ear of France we may have her setting up a calf too. Where are we then? The whole European system is torn to pieces; and we are all at war till the day of judgment. And now the case is clear. America for us is a suspicious character. A rank heretic, if not an infidel, at the bottom. With those who follow our god we are good

Christians. Those who do not, must look out for themselves. Honour among thieves is well; but only among those who have common stock. We know how to make war without declaring it; and, in this case, we must follow the old rule, and that in earnest. Treat the young hunter of pirates as a pirate herself! Run down her vessels! Use up her trade! Kidnap her people! Press them into British ships! No seamen better. War can but come at last, as come it must. And let us make the most of time while France is kind enough to cut her own throat, by helping us to cut that of our old colonies."

America understood the policy of England just as if she had heard from a cupboard in the private cabinet of Downing street, the speech we have imagined. But—pushed to the wall—after trying every expedient; a general embargo; closing her ports like those of old China; a special non-intercourse act, restricted to the two powers, authors of the orders in council and the Milan decrees; disguising in one section of her country the wrongs of England, and thus fomenting a peace party to make rivalry with the cry for war—After employing all the longanimity and all the ingenuity inherited from her round-head ancestry—her president Madison signed, on the same day, a declaration of war against the two powers; which is to say, against the whole civilised world. It might have been curious to see what would have come out of this. Some new political combinations certainly; and perhaps some variety in the mode of attaining civilizational denouement. But the news of the catastrophe of 1812 relieved America from the painful necessity of measuring swords with France. Only to expose her, however, to the whole force of the power of England. She had, in consequence, to encounter the veteran troops formed in the harassing campaigns of the Spanish peninsula, and a navy, mistress of all the seas of the globe.

We know how she acquitted herself in the struggle. Thus purchasing for herself the right and power of accepting, as before, the terms of her adversary *with reservations*, and of commanding, this time, from her adversary, *respect for the same*.

And now then, see the curious civilizational epoch to which we are brought by the decisive triumph of America at New Orleans, followed by that of the European allies at Waterloo! Thus and then was prepared the governmental peace of the world. As sealed, at Ghent, 1815, between England and America; and, definitively, between the powers of Europe, at Vienna and Paris, 1814 and '15.

The epoch to which our rapid survey has now brought us, is the most remarkable in history. It presents us, on the part of all the governments of the world, with a suspension of all hostility. The sudden disappearance of that political and civilizational rivalry which had convulsed Europe since the epoch called of the reformation, and—as systematized at the epoch of England's transaction—had tended to rend in twain the family of nations.

In 1815, the governments of Europe—as previously pulling different ways; first, under the impulsion of the principles of the Christian catholic feudal civilization, and then of the centralizing power of the French military empire, on the one part; and of the commercial and financiering transitory on the other,—In 1815, the governments appertaining to either category came to a general and definitive understanding. It was absolutely indispensable to put an end to war and devastation, and to set the world to working instead of to fighting. For this purpose, to put down Napoleon was a *sine quâ non*. He had proved himself quite as incorrigible as any legitimate king nations were ever troubled with. And, with the finest opportunities after his return from Elba—succeeding, as he then did, to a government of odious reaction—may surely be regarded as having acted little

better than the part of a marplot. He certainly had no clearer conception of the great civilizational question on the *tapis vert* of Europe, than had the Duc d'Artois, afterwards Charles the Tenth. And had it even been possible to give him a right comprehension of it, he was at that period, as utterly unfitted by habit as, perhaps, at all times by character, to aid in its solution. This is not said to derogate from his merit, nor from the aid he lent to the great work of human apprenticeship. But time it is for the world to cure itself of man-worship, and at the same time to do justice to each and to all. No one ever was, or ever will be, good for everything. And if, after rendering one great service, a remarkable individual fails to others; not with him the fault, but with society, which sees not so to cast the framework of its economy, as to facilitate the putting of everybody, as of everything, in the place it is best fitted to occupy, and equally to prevent them from being put elsewhere.

Idle, then, to say, that had Napoleon been a man of political sense, as well as of military genius, he might, perhaps, have shortened the term, or at least have tempered the character, of French, and so of European, apprenticeship. All that *might have been* we cannot tell. What we know is; that things and men being as they were, both France and Europe had to pass through the fire twice heated of political restoration.

But again: For I conceive it useful to distinguish the whole of this matter. The disorganization of the French empire was an equal necessity with the overthrow of its creator. And this for the simple reason that it belonged to neither of the two civilizations which it found in the field; and had no relations with, and could give no securities to, either the one or the other. For Europe, it was a salutary hurricane; tending to vivify a stagnant atmosphere. For France, it constituted an interregnum, and a necessary one, between two orders of civilization; the feudal and the transitory; the past and the present. But having served its purpose, it had to pass

away even as it had broken upon the sight. Like those brilliant meteors of the northern sky, which illuminate without heat; yet fill a place in the great chain of phenomena, and serve a purpose in the vast and varied economy of the universe.

On the other hand, the two civilizations which had waged a war so desperate covered the whole of christendom, and embraced all the outstanding interests of nations and of individuals. France only excepted. And, even there, however violently the one had been uprooted from the soil, and the other kept at bay by the hand of military power, a transaction was not only easy, but had, of necessity, been prepared by the very means and the agents employed to prevent it. Ah! well might England rely on the puissance of her idol god! The government which best speaks to male selfishness, and to all the male passions and interests of the moment, is sure to carry the day. But let us distinguish; that immense is the step in human progress when governments are brought to consider human interests in any shape whatsoever. Let but the principle enter, and it will make its way. It is thus that constitutional government, so called, with all its vice, is ages ahead of the arbitrary.

Would we now distinguish the relations existing between the two civilizations which united for the overthrow of Napoleon, we must turn to the outstanding account of the obligations contracted between them, in the form of debt and of credit. While the French empire made war pay for itself, by raising contributions in each country, submitted to its sway, the policy of England placed it to the debit of the parties. But, on the other hand, it made this debt a source of power to the governments contracting it, no less than a bond of union between them, and a source of tribute to England. Rome, as the civilizational head, exacted Peter's pence. In the same character, England has exacted good golden guineas. Food without which the coating would have

fallen from her calf, and all men would have known it for a plastered idol.

The epoch at which we have now arrived witnessed the extension of England's scheme to the whole of christendom, and a first apotheosis of the molten calf throughout the world.

Not thus, however, was the case understood by the populational mind of the European continent. With the trumpets of France had mingled the clarion of liberty. Thought had been awakened. Generous aspirations kindled. Italy, Holland, Saxony, Poland, had welcomed the flag of revolution. And if, afterwards, fatigued with intrusion, or disappointed in expectation, populations had rallied under their native leaders against the power at first welcomed, this had been only in the name of liberty no less than of independence. France had taught the propagand of human enfranchisement, of the greatness of peoples, and the dignity of man. Once learned, the glorious lesson is never forgotten. The kings of Europe marched their peoples against the French eagles, under solemn promise to realise, in their several states, the programme of progress. While exchanging this promise with their peoples, what was the distinct compact passed between themselves ?

The compact entered into by the powers of Europe, in 1814 and 1815, *between themselves*, may be regarded as a great governmental partnership for securing the peace of nations.

But a governmental partnership ! What do the words involve ? Ha ! peoples, look out !

We shall attempt to look out with and for them in our next chapter.

CHAPTER XVII.

GENERAL HEAD.

*GREAT GOVERNMENTAL COMPACT AND CIVILIZATIONAL TRANSACTION
OF 1814 AND 1815.*

CONTENTS.

What the compact constitutes.—What is its more especial object — England's scheme envelopes the whole system.—Transaction between the two civilizations.—France, appertaining to neither, how inducted into the one, and chained to the other.—England holder of new catholic bond of union.—Treaties.—Two categories of.—Division of spoils under these.—England's portion and especial business.—Portion and especial business of her great continental allies.—New repartition of Europe under old thrones and old forms.—Emblems and titles favouring liberty removed.—Poland.—Arrangements concerning.—Pope restored to Rome.—First act of spiritual authority.—Universal European restoration.—Dreadful predicament for population.—Step in progress with view to principle.—Difference in position between people of England and people of Europe, at epochs of transaction.—Difference in the transactions themselves.—How alone civilizational transaction might be brought to bear.—Two signs indicative of future recurrence to principles then immolated.—Reversion of poles of the system.—One sign, of hostile import for the future, left in the field.—Singular illustration of the reigning selfish principle.—Transaction between the two systems should involve partnership of the two popedom.

WE said that the compact passed between the allied powers of Europe, 1814 and 1815, was that of a great governmental partnership for securing the peace of nations. I think we have looked sufficiently behind the

scenes, at this time, to understand that a governmental partnership augurs nothing very good to the governed. Shall we compress, as is our wont, into one short sentence, what this partnership was to effect ?

The subtraction from Europe's varied populations of a wholesale revenue to the amount of two hundred millions of pounds sterling. It may have been less ; it is now more. We may take that for its general expression in round numbers.

This great funded debt, or rather, this great sum of interest upon the consolidated funded debts, of Europe, constitutes but an item of all which this great partnership had in view, to secure the subtraction. As holding in hand the supreme master rein of the whole civilizational system, it took in charge to protect all established modes of extortion, throughout the two divisions of the catholic feudal and the protesting transitory. Whether in the form of body service, or of moneyed tribute. Whether to meet the revenue of regular servants of the altar, of mendicant friars, ignorant brothers, cloistered monks, or Jesuits. Whether the revenue of cities, or of chartered, or of unchartered, companies—weighing down with burdens every enterprise or industry on sea or land. Whether the claims of collective bodies or of individuals, upon that mother earth whose sacred bosom all her children strive to hold in vast monopolies, or to park out in worthless, powerless repartition. On the one hand despoiling the millions of their first right and privilege. On the other, despoiling human economy of its power and grandeur ; nature of its beauty, and the great human species of its kingdom.

Nor does this include any of the other thousand modes of extortion by trickery, professional or individual ; ever multiplying with the growth and spread of human wants and human ingenuity. Nor that universal tribute—at this hour heaviest of all—extorted, apart the legal tariff, custom or excise, by commerce, trade, or petty traffic. The whole presenting, in its concrete

weight of oppression, that wondrous compound of force, and fraud, vexation, corruption, deception, delusion, and systematized injustice, which men call government.

Such then was the object of the great governmental partnership, sealed by the heads of the European system, in the treaties of 1814 and '15. And in this behold the full accomplishment of that long ambitioned junction of the religious bonds of political and civilizational union! Behold all saving rivalry at an end! All check removed from the hand of government! All power lodged in the collective hand of Europe's co-associated continental kings and sovereign princes! While England, with her religion of a common purse, holds all bound together. And France handcuffed, in the strait jacket imposed on her at Waterloo, is led about to witness, sanction, nay! inflict, that very oppression of peoples she had roused, as from the sleep of ages, to redress. Is this then the realisation of thy dream, great Henry? And of thine, Sully? And of thine, too, Elizabeth? Governments shall indeed arm no more the nations for battle. The Roman hierarch shall insult no more the majesty of thrones. But should kings conspire against the weal of peoples; should priests become the tools of their cupidity; should greedy despots conspire the quartering of realms, and decimating of populations,—Oh, then, where may be found authority to denounce? Where a voice to plead? Where an arm to avenge? Fisher and More! have not your protests, as sealed with martyrdom, been justified? And thine, too, old Thomas of Canterbury? And yours, all ye catholic statesmen? Oh, let us muse over the lessons of history; and learn how every party sees some point of truth, and has its conscientious patriots and its martyrs!

But let us look more closely into this governmental compact, sealed with the blood of all Europe's bravest on the field of Waterloo. Tremendous close to a tremendous conflict! Our preceding investigations traced the birth and progress of England's scheme, until we

now find it launched on and throughout the European continent. This was successfully effected by the transaction passed between the four great coalesced powers, in 1814 and '15. France making the fifth, in the person of her Louis the Eighteenth, under cover of a constitutional charter. That constitutional charter, with the government it inaugurated, and the bank of France, presenting the counterpart of what we noticed as having been concocted in the United States of America, at the epoch of the inauguration of her outstanding scheme of government. At the epoch to which we have now arrived, the debt of America—as remounted by the cost of her second war—adverted to in a preceding chapter—was thrown into partnership with the debts of all Europe, as consolidated under the management of the great mother bank, or central temple of the universal god of the world, in Threadneedle street, London. Accounts being balanced and financial concerns administered between the two hemispheres by the bank of the United States, as rechartered in 1816, for a given term of years. That term expired—as the world has reason to remember—after the close of the presidency of General Jackson—1836—when America drew out her capital from the great civilizational partnership, and set up business for herself. Thus following out the realization of the principle—national independence—for which she had twice drawn the sword. But not otherwise in anything approaching towards the realization of her compact of Plymouth. Instead of one idol, she has now as many as you please. All, however, in sufficient good understanding, and central executive influence, to pull all the resources of territory and energies of population out of their proper spheres. To corrupt the whole political system. To reduce the labouring masses to poverty. Harass the middle class with ever increasing difficulty, uncertainty, and disquietude. And, finally, at this hour, to outrage every antecedent of the republic, by provoking and subsidizing the armed invasion of a sister em-

pire. The results there, in sum, being precisely similar to what have been and are experienced in Europe.

But to return to the affairs of this hemisphere.

Two civilizations—neither of them well seated, except the old feudal in the hereditary dominions of Austria—divided its states into two families; and, again, divided more or less the views and interests of population in each state and kingdom. Apart from these, again, the seeds of a third civilization—that of the future—agitated the mind of youth, and were ever ready to germinate in the bosom of nations. Italy loathed the ancient yoke. Spain, while vindicating independence, had learned again to lisp the once familiar name of liberty. Switzerland, united by glorious traditions, but pulled in every sense by aristocracy, democracy, protestant theologies, and catholic influences, presented every element of disturbance. France, the great volcano of thought and energy, lay spent as after an irruption. Checked, but not subdued; wounded, mortified, temporarily exhausted in resources and population, she was held as a party to the contract against herself by a king and court denationalized by twenty-five years of emigration, and imposed by foreign bayonets. France, then, came out of her revolutionary tempest, and her imperial interregnum of military glory, to find herself suddenly beset with notions and fashions, which, for her, had altogether ceased to exist, unless in print or in tapestry. It was a restoration ten times more severe than that of England, in the person of her Stuarts. Although it brought with it—as we shall hereafter distinguish—securities and advantages greatly on the side of France and her Bourbons.

A power versed in the affairs of all Europe, as England since the conquest has ever been, could well distinguish all the elements of civilizational and political discord scattered throughout states as well as populations. The holder, now, of the new catholic bond of union, as accepted by all the crowned heads of Europe,

and consecrated by universal treaties, she directed all her sagacity to apply it adroitly, and to hold it firmly. But let us not think her skill was to be applied for the liberation of peoples. No. Her interests were pledged to her scheme, and her faith to despots. Ah! had the generous leaders of European popular interests, and interpreters of all her national feelings, seen to distinguish the governmental compact supplied by those treaties, and equally to distinguish the undeviating policy of England, as inspired by her scheme — Ah! how many fruitless efforts, how many ardent chivalrous victims had been spared! And yet none were hazarded, none lost in vain. Each drop of precious blood shed on the field or on the scaffold; each sigh, each dying groan drawn in the dungeon; each tortured victim and each broken heart, have aided thy great work, immortal liberty! And soon shall earn for every nation, sovereignty; for every people, justice!

The treaties of 1815 stand under two categories. To some, England was a party; and to others, not. But this only tended, and was only *intended*, to place the continent under the more strict surveillance of the three powers charged with its political police. These were, Russia, the barbarian; Prussia, the military despot; and Austria, the conserved mummy of the dark ages. The three torturers and quarterers of Poland! But let us look to the arrangement of human affairs, together with the partition of territory and of jurisdiction carved out for themselves, by the supreme disposers of all things.

We shall not advert to the temporary occupation of France by the allied army of one hundred and fifty thousand men. Nor to the thirty millions sterling exacted in payment of the last great campaign. Nor to the dismantling of her strongest frontier fortifications. Nor to the second restoration of the Bourbons, and the old emigrants, at the point of the bayonet. Nor any of

the more reactionary measures consequent thereupon. Such as these, are ever the result of war, combined with the party hostility of political differences and conflicting interests. And—to make the observation yet more generally applicable—such must ever be the result, when the governing power of any country is wielded by foreigners. And foreigners the return emigrants were, for their native land, as effectively as if they had been born and raised out of it. As it is not our purpose to rip up old wounds, or to rekindle forgotten hatreds between nations, we shall not refer to any of these details; but confine our attention to those more general dispositions bearing upon Europe; upon France, as upon an integral and leading portion of Europe; and upon the civilized world.

According to the old governmental rule—*To the victors belong the spoils*. France, triumphant over her aggressing enemies, had gleaned hers in the broad field of Europe. Retaliating Europe gleaned hers again in the field of France. But—apart this;—what do the great allied powers, with all their peoples at their back, do for those peoples whom they led against Gallia's military captain in the name of liberty?

Here also—as ever—*to the victors belong the spoils*. And the victors at Waterloo—as on every battle field, national or political—the victors are the governments; the vanquished and the dupes are the people.

How, then, do the governments divide the spoil?

England, as of course, under her maritime supremacy, claims the seas. With such colonies as are to her fancy; and all the stations she may find convenient, now or hereafter.

In this manner she is to gather the daily food to cram the maw of her idol. To glut the rapacity of her army of traders, now let loose over the globe with appetite whetted by long fast. To spread her religion of sordid gain among demi-savage and demi-civilized. And to

secure—under cover of bible society, proselytizing missions, philanthropy, and humbug—the monopoly of that richest item of commerce; the African slave-trade. The same monopoly of the African slave-trade—Oh, England, the hypocrite!—The same monopoly being prepared by the old maritime concessions of Holland. By the treaty of Methuen with Portugal; reducing that kingdom to a mere British dependency. By a special clause of the great Spanish treaty of Utrecht. That same treaty touching which grave statesmen,—if so be in these days there be any gravity going,—But touching which the ears of Europe throughout the whole of last winter, were so dinned, on the important occasion of the marriage of four children. But which none found it opportune to quote, some years since, when the great question, or rather, the great humbug, of the *right of search* was in question. And yet farther secured—that same monopoly of the African slave-trade—by command of the Mediterranean and of the Baltic. Thus preventing—France once beaten from the seas,—Thus preventing competition from any maritime European power whatsoever. And yet moreover,—and by this the universality of commercial monopoly was secured.—And yet moreover, by a renewed financial understanding (as we have explained) with England's only commercial rival—the United States of America. This colossal scheme of spoliation being upheld by an overwhelming naval force and undisputed mercantile credit in all the waters of the globe.

Besides this wholesale commercial and financial exploitation of all tribes and nations, together with that command of the universal measure of all value which it secures, England was, of course, to receive due interest money for all bygone advances. As made for stimulating and sustaining European coalitions—of which there were no less than four—against revolutionary France. And farther; was of course understood to be ever ready to confer similar favours on similar conditions.

England was now afloat; and, on the anniversary of her Pitt, could raise the anthem with full heart. *To the pilot who weathered the storm.*

England thus taking the sea, her three allies—especially bound together by the most singular document in all history, the treaty of the holy alliance,—Her three allies take for their especial exploitation the land.

Russia's barbarian pushes himself into the heart of Europe, menacing Turkey and looking after Austria. Ready to sustain the sceptre of lead with the iron of his Cossacks; and to take advantage, in his own favour, of the blunders of his dull sister. Prussia stretches himself across the continent from the Niemen to the Rhine. Cutting right through, and half devouring, intelligent Saxony; drawing a sanitary cordon along the whole northern frontier of the newly extended dominions of Austria; and mounting guard at the very door of France. This, to wall in king Log from all communication with Belgium, Holland, and the ideas of western and northern Europe. Thus, Austria—breathing at ease behind the wall of her Carpathian mountains, and the bristling bayonets of Russia and Prussia—seizes upon all to which she can trump up an old claim, or contrive a new one. Plunges once again into Italy; lays the weight of her odious sceptre upon states and cities; and joins, on the Rhine, the shield of her darkness to the sword of Prussia.

But this is not all. Everywhere old thrones are set up in their old places; and old forms re-established. Excepting, indeed, where these last might tend to reminiscences of liberty rather than of power. Thus Holland—thrown into union with old Flanders assumes the name of kingdom; and her Statholder is relieved of a title tending to remind him and others of the source, origin, and purpose of his greatness.* The three parti-

* *Statholder*, or *holder of the states*. Holder, until such time as circumstances may permit of their again holding themselves. The title answers to that of protector in English history.

tions of Poland are recognized in the new map of kingdoms, as drawn by general treaty, to which all the powers of Europe,—England inclusive—are parties. One spot alone—the city of Cracow—is declared independent; and the sacred flag of Sobieski and Kosciusko left to waive over a desolated land. What scenes of ever renewed horrors was it not destined to look upon! Yet still it waived; a signal of hope and promise. Fixing the eyes, and saving from despair, the hearts of a decimated people. Still it waived until,—But no, not yet will we advert to that scene of carnage; and remind thee, England! of thy pledge. Ay; thine more than all. Who wert not absolutely party to the especial holy league of the continental powers, and who found a voice—only a voice—to denounce the secret treaty of 1822. But let us complete our survey of the work we have in view to illustrate.

The father of old Christendom—Pope Pius the 7th, who had been translated to Paris by Napoleon,—is restored to Rome and reinstated in his temporal dominions. And, *nota bene!* his first act of spiritual authority is the re-establishment of the society of Jesus.

The overthrow of the military French empire entailed then, as we see, a universal European restoration. That phasis of government of all others the most offensive and afflictive, because invariably vindictive and retroactive. It was also, in the present case, accompanied by a perfect understanding on the part of all governments without any similar understanding on the part of populations. But was there no great step in general progress made at that epoch? Decidedly there was. One too that is to count for much hereafter in the great work of human emancipation. All our preceding investigations may now enable us precisely to distinguish what that step was, and to characterize it in a manner tending to throw light upon the whole page of cotemporaneous history. The great European restoration of 1814 and '15, must be understood as effecting a civiliza-

tional transaction between the old Christian catholic feudal and the scheming protesting transitory.

We saw that the political transaction of England in 1688 induced the regularising and consolidating of her outstanding governmental debts; and facilitating, by the increase of such debts, the expansion of public credit. This last in a ratio proportionate, on the one hand, to the growing power and wants of civilization; and, on the other, to the ever accumulating political exigencies arising out of the ever complicating affairs of society and conflicting programmes of nations.

But let us recal that, at the time of the passage of the English transaction, the political mind of England had been matured by one hundred years of active religious and political revolution. The holders of her landed estate, and leaders of her public mind, saw and felt what had to be done, and were willing to enter upon the doing of it. Little would they conceive indeed of the extent of the undertaking, or the ocean of storm and tempest on which they were embarking the ship of state. Could they have done so, the hardihood of a Cromwell himself might have quailed.

But a civilizational transaction—however prepared and necessitated, at the epoch we have now under review, by every event as by every exigency—was evidently far otherwise ticklish and embarrassing, than one embracing any single political body. This has only to reconcile the views and interests of a population more or less homogeneous. The other has to manage those of nations differing in language, character, habits, prejudices; and occupying every varying point in the path of human progress. It is evident that such could only be brought about by the supreme political heads of nations; and that, *for the occasion*, it was indispensable they should be armed with dictatorial power. The civilizational transaction of Europe was distinctly carried by a *coup de main*. That *coup de main* was struck at Waterloo. May the world never see such another.

But having thus sketched in its outline this singular governmental compact between two orders of civilization, let us enquire if no sign was given, indicative of future recurrence to principles then offered up in holocaust to political exigency? Yes; two signs were given. And these by the two political bodies at the head of the two civilizations thus thrown into unnatural union.

At that epoch, Austria cut a crowned head from her, till that hour, double headed, double crowned eagle. Those two heads, and those two crowns, being representative of the old iron crown of Charlemagne's cisalpine and transalpine western empire. Mark it Italia! Hail it as an omen of redemption! The crown is gone. But not the sceptre yet: Oh, stir not! stir not! lest the iron enter into thy soul.

And the other signal. By whom given? By England. She too laid down an arrogant pretension. And this at the very moment she assumed a real superiority. *King of England and of France*. So read the title of her monarchs since the days of her fifth Harry. When—leading by the hand the banished race of Bourbon—she, with her allies, placed an eighteenth Louis on a constitutional throne (so called) under cover of an ambiguous charter, she abjured, in reason, her boastful title to the crown she gave. Her ambition is no longer a political usurpation, but a civilizational supremacy. And she lays down the one in the day that she secures the other. The reversion of the poles of the system is now completed. The negative has become the absolute; and the absolute the negative, or rather the one has absorbed the other. The transitory has subdued the feudal, and holds it in dependent vassalage. Yet—as we said—is signal given of some intended recurrence to better political science in the future. One double crown is stricken from the field; and one anciently offensive political pretension is abandoned. Still remains, how-

ever, a double crown to insult the sovereignty of populations and the independence of territorial jurisdictions. Russia! thou, the barbarian! art the standing emblem of aggressive civilizational violence, as Austria, thou! of stagnant populational darkness. Russia! thy double headed eagle — vulture rather! — boasts to wear the crown of Paleologus. Greece! thou shouldst have many sponsors. Will all fail to thee, as all have failed to Poland?*

Ha! see the selfish principle which rules the world! The strict governmental compact we have taken in hand to illustrate embraces the heads of the two families of the catholic feudal and the protesting transitory. They who are foreign to both, or who are insurgent against either, are neglected, or run down and run over. Abandoned to the Russian despot; delivered, bound, and handcuffed to Austria; sold to civil discord; to wars of race, or wars of creed; by turns excited, flattered, and betrayed! If progress there have been, alas, how imperfect and how slow!

But the great European transaction of 1814 and '15, being distinguished for a civilizational transaction between the old Christian catholic, unbending, unchanging feudal, and the scheming, disputing, protesting, all demoralizing, all bouleversing transitory, — it should seem that, somewhere and somehow or other, the two popedoms of Rome and London must have come into partnership. We find this to have been the case. With the short elucidation of this curious matter, we shall open our next chapter.

* The daughter of the unfortunate John Paleologus, last occupant of the Græco-Roman throne, married the Ctzar of Moscovy. Hence the double crown of Russia; and the ever threatening pretensions of that empire to Constantinople, and all else, in that quarter, suited to its fancy.

CHAPTER XVIII.

GENERAL HEAD.

CIVILIZATIONAL TRANSACTION EXPOUNDED IN ITS NATURE AND EFFECTS.

CONTENTS.

Compact sealed by constitutional heads of the two systems.—Roman pontificate does homage to the idol.—Catholic emancipation bill.—University of Oxford.—A word concerning.—Reacknowledgment of society of Jesus.—Use of to feudal Christendom.—Similar to the transitory's incorporated companies.—Roman pontificate reduced to position of a constitutional monarchy.—Occupation of crowned heads in Paris, 1814.—Occupation of ditto, 1815.—Treaty of the Holy Alliance.—Kings take a page out of England's puritan history.—Not without bloody reprisals in the outset.—Peep at the Congress of Vienna.—Advice of Mephistopheles.—Counter characters of the feudal and the transitory.—Effects of the latter upon the human labourer.—Short and simple elucidations touching outstanding scheme of economy.—Nature of money.—Source of its evil, and practical paradoxes induced by the same.—Position of France.—How stretched on the rack between the two systems.—General view of state of Europe under treaties of 1814 and 1815.—Special treaties.—Secret treaties, and treaties to amend treaties.—Peace of governments versus peace of populations.

A FULL and frank understanding between the heads of the two civilizations occupying the field of Europe—that is the Christian catholic feudal, and the scheming, protesting transitory—took place, as we have explained, in 1814 and 1815.

Pius the 7th being then restored to the Italian papal dominions, and re-established in plenary temporal power over them; he was entered on the books of his complaisant rival for somewhat over half a million sterling. A bank in correspondence with the central temple in London was simultaneously opened in Rome; and priests of Baal appointed, in Brussels, for due transmission of interest dues, and balancing of accounts between the parties.

We now distinguish how, and when, the two popedoms of Rome and London joined firms. Forgetting old grudges; and, without a word said touching the holy virgin, the seven sacraments, the thirty-nine articles, or the divine presence in the bread, or with the bread. Popes and bishops are men of business; and understand perfectly the advantage of bills drawn at sight in this world, instead of at long credit in another.

And, now here—be it said in passing,—If the public will follow out the clue supplied by this reconciliation, they will readily distinguish how things were prepared for passage by the British parliament, of the catholic emancipation bill. The head of the old catholic feudal system having once taken firm hold of the bond of union supplied by the scheming money-jobbing transitory, there was at the bottom no ground of quarrel. Popes and bishops understand all this perfectly; and truly it is not their fault if the religious bond will not bear the light.

To aid, however, still farther the intelligence of the babes and sucklings—of which every church holds a goodly mass in its congregation,—I will point to what is going on in the very strong-hold of English orthodoxy; the divinity of the university of Oxford. Have we not learned divines of the protesting church of Blue Beard Harry and of great Queen Bess, issuing counter protests in favour of old Roman vestments, and old Roman readings, and old Roman interpretations, and old Roman forms, and old Roman catholic unity? I shall not call

in doubt—far be such presumption from my thoughts—the assertion of the dissidents. That the old church of England followed the rule—saving its pretensions and its pedantry—as by them laid down. Or that it was the intention of the father of English reform, Harry the 8th—what a reformer!—to do other or more than to make the monarch, instead of the pope, holder of the bond of union. Dr. Pusey has the right reading, I apprehend, both of the civil constitutions of Clarendon, of the heresy of the eighth Henry, and of the thought of Queen Bess. But, if the learned doctor opine that the thought of England in the nineteenth century is no larger grown from what it was in the thirteenth, or again in the sixteenth; or that the autocracy of kings and omnipotence of corrupt parliaments—as speaking in supreme civilizational congress—may now suit the views of the nations of Europe and the necessities of her people; why, then, I humbly conceive the learned doctor to be considerably mistaken. To return from, and to apologize for, this digression.

The pope being re-established in his spiritual authority over catholic Christendom, the same date of 1814 saw—as we have noted—the reacknowledgment of the existence and the occupation of the society of Jesus. I say *reacknowledgment*, for, however fallen into neglect, these had never ceased to be. But when king Log and his two imperial brethren were meditating their treaty of the holy alliance, and putting themselves under cover of divine love, Jesus Christ, and the trinity, it was clearly time to put himself under cover also. It was not that of the three “indivisible” potentates, Russia was a standing heretic, and Prussia, time about, heretic and infidel. But that it was easy to understand, fanaticism was to be called actively to the aid of politics; and ignorant superstition was to help the work of government. Under the popedom of London, half the work is done by those nondescript existences, called incorporated companies. Once lunched, these move on alone like comets through

space. Roaming afar as if acknowledging no volition but their own; yet ever sentient of that central heat which commands their energies, and directs their course. So is it under the popedom of Rome, with the irresponsible ubiquitous and dubious order of Jesus. Much can be done by it, which would be unseemly on the part of the venerable head of the catholic world; and which—to say the truth—he would but little care to meddle with. It was evident that while the religious bond of all Europe, nay! of the whole civilized world, was in the hand of England; and a holy alliance of kings stood armed cap-a-pie to defend it,—It was evident the occupation of the father of old Christendom was reduced to that of a *constitutional pontificate*; or of a Merovingian king under a mayoralty of the palace. But the Jesuits under the circumstances, would be evidently indispensable as the most holy police of the most holy allies; and their restoration might well figure in the tragi-comedy or tragic farce opened in 1814 and '15.

But now let us farther note. That, while the restored pope was restoring the order of Jesus, and the restored kings were everywhere restoring the Jesuits to their dominions, the Russian Alexander was talking philanthropy in Paris; and the Prussian Frederick William with his small brethren of Saxony and Wirtemberg were promising every liberty, ease, and blessing to the people of the German states.

In 1815—after the great *coup de main* of Waterloo—the language somewhat changed. Their victorious majesties were still indeed of “the peace society,” and exchanging fine sayings with all the charlatans of the day. But, in lieu of the doctrines of Plato and De Lolme, they now propounded mysteries in the name of *the most holy and indivisible trinity*. Interchanged with each other—not with their subjects—aid, succour and indissoluble fraternity. Recommended their people to the divine care of Jesus Christ; and gave their own souls to the kind keeping of the holy mother of their own holy trinity,

Madame Krudener.* We shall here subjoin the text of that rare piece of diplomatic hypocrisy, called by the name of the treaty of the holy alliance. Reading it as the public will now do, in connexion with the general elucidations presented in this course of enquiry, they may seize something of the purpose and the purport of a jargon otherwise entirely incomprensible.

TREATY OF THE HOLY ALLIANCE.

“In the name of the most holy and indivisible trinity.†

“Their majesties the Emperor of Austria, the King of Prussia, and the Emperor of Russia, in consequence of the great events which have signalised in Europe the course of the three last years, and yet more especially on account of the multiplied blessings which it has pleased divine providence to shower upon all states of which the governments have put their trust in it alone;—having arrived at the firm conviction that it is necessary for the powers to ground the policy followed in their mutual relations, upon the sublime truths revealed to us by the eternal religion of the Saviour God,

“Declare solemnly that this their present act has no other object than to make manifest to the whole universe their unalterable determination, to take for their single rule of conduct, whether in the administration of their respective states, or in their political relations with every other government, the precepts of this holy religion;—precepts of justice, charity, and peace which far from being singly applicable to private life, ought, on the contrary, to influence directly the resolutions of princes, and to guide all their measures, as being the only means for consolidating human institutions, and for remedying their imperfections.

* An enthusiast of the school of Swedenborgius with whom Emperor Alexander was reported to say his prayers, and to invite his court intimates to do the same.

† The old accustomed formula still preserved in all treaties to which the most apostolic power (Austria) is party.

“In consequence their majesties have agreed upon the following articles :—

“ Art. I. In conformity with the words of the Holy Scriptures, which command all men to regard themselves as brothers, the three contracting monarchs will continue united by bands of true and indissoluble confraternity, and regarding themselves as members of one family they will lend to each other, on every occasion and in every place, assistance and succour. Regarding themselves, towards their subjects and their armies, as fathers of a family, they will guide them in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are themselves animated, for the protection of the religion of peace and of justice.

“ II. In consequence, the only principle acknowledged by said governments, or by their subjects, shall be that of tendering to each other mutual service, and to evince at all times by an unalterable goodness that mutual affection with which it is their duty to be animated; considering themselves always in no other light than as members of one Christian family. The three allied princes consider themselves as appointed by providence to govern three branches of one family : to wit, Austria, Prussia, and Russia ;—confessing hereby that the Christian nation of which they and their peoples make part, has in reality no other sovereign than He to whom alone belongs in absolute property omnipotence, since in him alone are found the treasures of love, of science, and of infinite wisdom,—that is to say, God, our divine Saviour Jesus Christ, the word of the most high, the word of life. Their majesties recommend in consequence with the most tender solicitude to their peoples, and as the only means of enjoying that peace which springs from a good conscience, and which alone is lasting, to fortify themselves each day more and more in the exercise of those duties which the divine Saviour has taught to men.

“ III. All the powers who will solemnly avow the sacred principles which have dictated the present act, and

who will thus recognise how important it is for the happiness of nations, so long agitated, that these truths should exercise henceforth over the destinies of men all the influence which properly belongs to them, will be received with as much solicitude as affection into the present holy alliance.

“Made triple and signed at Paris in the year of grace 1815, $\frac{14}{26}$, September.

(L. S.)

FRANCIS.

(L. S.)

WILLIAM.

(L. S.)

ALEXANDER.”

England saw her astute, although courageous, Cromwell dash boldly and yet steer adroitly, through the howling sea of a political revolution. By fastening to his person the windy bladders of controversial theology and “prayerful seeking of the Lord,” he rode and commanded the tempest with rare appeals to the sword of power or the coercive arm of exceptionable law. In the absence of such resources, the convention, and committees of public safety in France, sent thousands to the scaffold or the massacre, gave cities to the siege and populations to the sword. Did the political heads of Europe’s civilizational system find counsellors to suggest indirect means of a similar character? Better certainly to exploit the vanity or even the cupidity of individuals, and the aberrations of the human understanding, than to subsidize whole legions of reactionary judges and legal or illegal executioners. Too many of these, counter-revolutionary Europe saw, as it was. France witnessed the murders of her Ney and Labe-doyere, the massacre of Nismes, and every variety of political and religious fanaticism. Spreading from her bosom—now transformed from a centre of light to one of reactionary darkness—the plots of Jesuits, and the schemes of antiquated politicians, forced Europe to a temporary, but fearful, recoil as towards the barbarism of her civilizational childhood. Ay! the great governmental transaction cost blood of the best, and agitated,

and yet agitates, every continental population, and every class of such population, in exact proportion with the ardour of its feelings, the tenacity of its opinions, or the disparity of local institutions with the advancement of its intelligence.

On a preceding occasion—when adverting to the darkest hour of England's conflict with the whole civilized world—we ventured to interpret the thoughts to which her premier might have given utterance within the closed doors of her privy council. Now—in expounding the new chapter in the political code and political economy of nations which arose out of the field of Waterloo—shall we permit to ourselves a similar figure? Shall we imagine the cautelous advice which a subtle, impassible, servitor of every régime—familiar with all the phases of the political body in its turn upon the governmental axis; in youth, bred to the service of the altar; though life, habituated to that of the throne—Shall we imagine, I say, the cautelous advice which some Mephistopheles of diplomacy might insinuate into august ears with a view to the special treaty we have inspected of the holy alliance? In rendering it, we must subtract that courtly phrase, and subtlety of refined wit, which would leave the thought of the speaker rather to be divined than spoken; and present, after our own blunt fashion, the pith of the matter.

“What is war but murder? Government but robbery? Policy and diplomacy but lying? Of war, the world has had enough. Of government, it must yet have much. And the only mode of tempering its robbery, is to make large promises, and then give them the go-by. Should this wound royal consciences, they will be more tender than is *legitimate*.

“As to this matter of constitutional government, it is excellent to talk about; but very troublesome to manage; because very costly to mount, and yet more costly to keep going. The price of consciences—however poor in these days the article—is dearer than that of

bayonets. An army of legislators, with all that comes in its train, devours thrice the rations of an army of Cossacks. We know well, in both cases, who pays the bargain.

“ Besides, if all Europe be drafted into the service of the calf of England, how will you protect the interests of agriculture? Or supply cheap bread to all who must eat it? The holders of scrip will bear down the holders of land. Cities will grow up at expense of the fields. Your labourers will be turning into priests, preachers, praters, lawyers, doctors, scribblers, traders, paupers, pick-pockets, and cut-throats. All such eat, and produce nothing. You are then forced into the English corn laws which will never do on the continent. The whole scheme can only work—and then only for a time—where the home thievery of petty trade is alimeted by the foreign robbery of universal commerce.

“ In fine, we come to this. No government can be kept alive without a rivalry. This good fellowship between all governments—if followed up in earnest and for long—can only eat up every thing and everybody. Even civilization itself. France has her charter, and may learn to play second to the tune of England; and thus help to feed the scheme of her rival by spawning and nursing jobbers and traders, and giving short allowance to labour and producing industry. It is what many others do already. But feodality must be sustained somewhere. It at least keeps the plough going, and leaves small room for schemers. Its strongest fortress, as its birth-place, is the German states. An extra alliance—into which may be gradually worked all the continental powers—may place it under cover. Without this, it needs not much wit to foresee that it will be run down by the counter system.

And now what is the rivalry here invoked? If we look to governments, it is that between force and fraud. If to the governed, it is that between labour and industry. If to the two systems, it is that between cunning and

ignorance; statu quo and upsetting change. Would we better understand this? We must recall the especial object held in view by the organizers of each of the civilizations now brought, by compact, into governmental good fellowship, and thus forced into populational collision.

Feodality was established—as our early historical elucidations tended to show—for the organization, surveillance, and protection of labour. In the outset, labour had to be defended from those savage hordes which were first arrested by Clovis, and, more effectually, by Charlemagne. Again, it had to be held from running back into savage life; or sinking into the irretrievable apathy and sloth towards which ignorance, left without guidance or control, ever tends. The command supplied by the feudal organization, spiritual and temporal, prevented the first. Interminable quarrels between feudal lords, and interminable wars between feudal suzerains, prevented the second.

The transitory—as we explained—arose out of the inefficiency of the feudal, to carry forward the work it had begun. After commerce had awakened enterprise, and science industry, other interests and occupations than those of war and labour were in the field. But as all is fight and scramble under the rule of government, these had to make their way at the expense of those already in possession. On the side of the new interests, and against the old, we saw protesting Europe draw the sword, and England lanch her scheme. Thus and then, the civic professions rose to dispute honour and profit with the military. Foreign commerce, home trade and industry, found facilities for development. But labour was forgotten. And ever more and more has it been forgotten; while society—under the transitory system—has been preparing for the greatest achievement of civilization. Namely, the gradual, and now rapid, transmutation of human, and brute, labour for mechanical skill and intelligent industry. This transmutation

which—in its full development—must involve and constitute the intellectual cultivation, moral elevation, and entire emancipation of the species, has, of necessity,—in the course of its progress—injured, crushed, and degraded the labourer. And this, by the simple process of ever lessening his utility. Society has been learning to do without him. While he—unable to cope with, as to comprehend, the change in his position—has been run down and forsaken by the iron engines and the iron heart of an Archimedean age. Labour, the original source of all wealth, as of all good, has been rapidly reduced to a unit in value before the sum of power represented by accumulating capital, the resources of science, and the inventions of genius.

And here, then, we are brought to distinguish a very self evident truth to all familiar with the complicated effects of the improvements in mechanics, considered in relation with those produced by the intricate machinery of modern government. It is this :

That, under any governing scheme ever contrived or contrivable, the oppression of labour, the anxiety of all human beings, and the general demoralization and consequent degradation of society, must ever keep pace with two things : The sum of collective wealth, and the sum of individuals connected with the governing power. The last of these positions may be rendered evident in a few words. To govern signifies *to rob*. It never did, and never will, because it never can, signify any thing else. From this, it needs small art logical to deduce the consequence that the more the governors the more the robbers. The larger the flock of wolves the worse for the flock of sheep. The other may need more developement, with recurrence to first principles, to make it generally evident. At the present, however, I must content myself with nearly as succinct an explanation.

Money is at the root of all the evil of society. Of its suffering, no less than its corruption, and its crime. And it is so in this way.

First; By means of the fiction: That it constitutes the public fortune, and the capital of individuals and of society. When it is, and can be—in its metallic form—but a measure of value and nothing more. And—in its form of paper—a measure of credit and nothing more. Second; and a consequent of the first; By means of the interest drawing power vested in capital, as thus fictioned to be durable gold. Let us illustrate the error with the confusion of ideas and of things involved in the same.

Like will draw its like. And for value received equivalent value should be returned.

If society loan the use of a piece of land, she may with reason demand some of the fruits of that land, for so long a period as it may be loaned. Hence the feudal dues; payable, in the origin, in fruits of the soil and in services. In either case like being given for what was received. Such form of payment being at once the most correct in principle and the easiest—for population—in practice.

But again; If society loan to an individual a ton of wheat, in its form of wheat; she may with reason ask for a benefice upon the same. But she can only ask for one benefice upon such advance. Make that benefice any thing that circumstances may warrant or rapacity exact. When the new crop is raised, and the debt is paid, with the measure in addition due for the convenience accorded in the way of advance; there is an end of the matter. But fiction that the wheat so loaned is gold. Gold is durable. You do not eat it, any more than you eat up land; and, while you keep it, you are supposed to have the power of employing it, as does your creditor. Consequently, he is entitled to demand of you what you are entitled to demand of others.

And now let it be examined, and it will be found that the whole consumeable capital, and floating credit, of

society are fictioned to be durable gold, or procreative land and labour.

Take the outstanding capital and floating credit of England at eight hundred millions sterling. The industry and enterprise of population are called to furnish interest on that sum, as figured to be money; which money, again, is figured to be gold; and which gold is figured to be the representative of all values. We do, in very truth, live under a representative system. Where everything is represented, and nothing is itself!

And herein lay the secret of the governing scheme of England. Her priests of Baal—as officiating in her Commons House, under supreme direction of the great hierophants in the temple of the money god—order the coinage of bills representative of the outstanding productions of the industry of population, and of their gatherings—more properly, pillagings—in the wide field of universal commerce. And such bills—really representative of consumeable wealth—are figured to represent durable gold, and are held to draw interest, as durable gold, to the end of time.

It is thus that, under the rule of the money god, the capital of individuals is made debt for the body politic. And that every addition made to the sum of wealth by individuals, heaps an amount of burden upon the shoulders of population.

It matters not, with regard to the principle of the thing, whether the capital of society be drawn together in the form of a great joint-stock company in the hands of government; or whether it be exploited by privileged bodies, called incorporated companies; or by individuals. It may be employed more or less usefully, or injuriously, for the public. It may be devoted to war and destruction. Or to material improvements. To the forcing upwards various branches of industry. To refinements in agriculture. To the making of railroads, canals, bridges, aqueducts, or what you please. Or it may be employed in commerce and trade; until all the

productions of the world are shuffled about from country to country, hoarded away for speculation, or rotted in warehouses or in ships, nobody knows where, and nobody knows why, or for what. Or it may be systematically drawn away from some parts of an empire by the centralization of government and trade, until some provinces and kingdoms be decimated by starvation and typhus, and others regorge. Every grade in the scale may be presented of oppression, misrule, and disorder. But, invest your wealth as you will, under the dominion of money, the capital of individuals is, and must be, the debt of the mass, and their revenue a tax—direct or indirect—upon everybody. The very wealthy may pay the tax without feeling it. Although, even they have usually so many dependents and responsibilities, that—if they fulfil with any decency the duties of their station—their task is no sinecure. All the other grades of society are, of course, pressed down more and more every day, until we arrive at those who pine in want, or—monstrous! who die of starvation.

Such being the inevitable result of the transitory order of civilization, it is but natural that the continental powers should have fought shy of its closer embrace, and held on to the feudal. During the great struggle with the French empire, they had all incurred liabilities. True of the two hundred and forty millions, the British empire supplies—by means of its pillagings in the wide field of universal commerce—over one-fifth of the whole. But each sovereign state of the continent has to furnish its quota of tribute to the great money scheme; which, after shaking all thrones, finally, as we have seen, came to their rescue. All felt, in 1815, that they had, or, in spite of everything, would soon have, enough interest-drawing capital afloat tightly to pinch their populations. And—in order to keep things tolerably quiet, and ensure something to eat, while England was conquering savage territories, bouleversing old empires, and keeping her scheme alive by ever raising

the wind at home and abroad—they determined to drop anchor, and stand—as they could and as they might—by king Log and the Jesuits.

We must take note that France, in the great European arrangement, was placed between the two systems, and pulled every which way by the past and the present. By treaties on one hand; constitutional charter on the other; her return emigrants drawing back, and her popular revolutionary pledges urging a-head. We shall glance at this more especial position of France in our next chapter; and shall now close by embracing a general view of the political state of Europe, as consecrated by the treaties of 1815.

A profound warfare in the very entrails of civilization. A conflict as between the body and soul of humanity. And this conflict—as still dividing Europe into two halves; as still crushing, under the iron weight of Germany, etherial Italy; as still laying under the ban of the empire, and inflicting the martyrdom of Spielberg and the *carcere duro* on the political heresy of Europe; as still cherishing the old spirit of the inquisition in the catechumens of the order of Jesus; as still murdering the liberties of Spain, annihilating the existence of Portugal, convulsing the peace, and insulting the independence of Switzerland; as still, under cover of all the insidious contrivances and promises of fraud, sustaining every brutal argument of force—the knout of Russia, the tyrannic rule of Prussia, the dungeons, scorching leads, and idiot statu quo of Austria; the gaol, the hangman, and the military lash of Britain—This conflict, I say—as still rife in the civilizational system, and in every political body of that system—now leaves the supreme heads of nations at peace, but only to carry on its warfare down in the bosom of populations. To pitch the interests of class against class; the mind against the body of society, and the force of coalesced governments against both. To divide the great human family into two portions—the exploiters and the exploited. Until

now, finally, the exploiters are becoming so numerous, that these, while eating up the others, are also eating up themselves.

The object of the great arrangement, or rather great patching up, of affairs in 1815, being the cessation of international war—that curse which may be said to have presented no intermission upon earth since the days of Augustus Cæsar—the principle of non-intervention between the contracting parties, each within his own limits, should seem a necessary point of agreement. But, let us observe! This principle was to be regulated in its interpretation by all the articles of the general treaties. The violation, then, of those treaties might constitute at all times ground of interference. But of interference only when the violation might be in favour of the liberty of peoples, or the independence of nations. For, observe again! These treaties themselves were to be left open to the good-pleasure interpretation of the supreme powers sitting, when it pleased them, in aulic council over all the lesser powers, and all the nations of the great European family. A veritable government, as of old Olympus; where the superior gods ruled alike the gods inferior and the mass of men. Oh—talk of written treaties! Clearly these were to be—as they have been, and as all law is—binding for the weak; worthless for the strong. The political code of nations is like to the constitutional; like to the judicial; like to the penal. A mask, a screen, behind which power plays its tricks, and acts its crimes.

And lo! not content with general treaties, the co-associate powers have recourse to special treaties, and to secret treaties, and to secret revisions and amendments of the same, according to their good pleasure, their interests, or their fears.

And now let the intelligent throw their eye over the map of Europe, as carved out by these divinities in their diplomatic congress; Vienna, 1815. All tongues and races thrown *pèle mèle* under the same sceptre! Austrian

and Venetian, Milanese and Bohemian, Suabian and Pole, Greek, Hungarian, and Dalmatian and Tyrolean. The Servian of Illyrium, the German of the Rhine, and the people of the Adriatic Isles! Ha! Think if this peace of kings could be the peace of populations! And what have we seen? Countless conspiracies, civil wars, persecutions, massacres. And every where, and ever, governments ranged against peoples. And all the wealth of Europe and credit of England brought to bear against human liberty and human progress. Such has been the inevitable result of the junction of the political and civilizational bonds of union in the hands of kings. Or let us rather say in the hands of government. For I care not under what name, or what form, that curse be administered. Under each, under all, a curse it is, a curse it must be!

In our next, we shall shortly sketch the course of France under the counter influences of a restoration and a transaction, until her actual full adhesion to the monied scheme of England under the auspices of the transitory.

CHAPTER XIX.

GENERAL HEAD.

FRANCE AND CONTINENTAL EUROPE UNDER THE COMPACT OF 1815.
SUMMARY OF HISTORY.

CONTENTS.

Extraordinary phases exhibited by France during her convulsive revolution.—Differences of position between France and England, at their epochs of restoration.—Charles the Second, James the Second, and Louis the Eighteenth.—The latter brought in under religion of the idol.—Matter understood by Louis.—Not so by his court.—Consequent confusion and trouble.—English scheme how modified in France.—Consequent addition to the Newtonian theory.—La Place.—Tricolour.—Further illustration of French history by reference to object which every government proposes.—If efficient, always attains.—Repartition of land.—How government compasses, and has to compass, its purposes.—How constitutional government does this.—How France has realized the only *governmental* programme deducible from the tricolour.—The same formulated.—French king placed in position of English sovereign, with what differences.—Inaugural promise of French king fulfilled.—Question put with regard to it.—France reaches the same point as England by different roads.—Prophecy of La Fayette fulfilled.—Proves the converse in result from what was anticipated.—Cruel delusions of the transitory in France, and on the field of Europe.—Review of these, under the French restoration.—Convulsive movements throughout Europe.—Congress of Laybach.—Pope excommunicates the Carbonari—Who are the Carbonari.—Secret treaty of Verona.—Doings of England.—Treacheries of France.—Economy, in time and money, of the feudal over the transitory.—Illustrated by comparison of the Verona instrument with the diplomacy of Foreign Office.—Text of secret treaty of

Verona.—Talleyrand's diplomatic confession practically illustrated.—Periodical press of France.—Great engine of government.—Opposition, division of.—How spirit of party keeps the public in delusion.—To understand what passes, course that should be followed.—Too reasonable for a world under government.—Revelation that must be made in France preparatory to reform.—Great evil connected with the French press, and great service which it has rendered—Contrast presented by that of England.—Its provincial character.—Consequent apathy of the popular feeling, and contraction of the popular mind.—Cities what good for, and how their better uses are neutralized.—England must waken her people by a powerful and comprehensive press.—Time for all peoples to know each other.—Those of the British Isles, of Europe, and the civilized world.—Some matters still to pass in review.—Deferred to next chapter.—Letter in Appendix from the Prince Regent (George the Fourth,) with reference to the Treaty of the Holy Alliance.

THE history of the convulsive revolutionary movement of France is the most extraordinary on record. It amazes, not only by the greatness of its events, but by the rapidity with which these follow upon each other.

France, in twenty-six years, ran through more than all the phases of old Rome, from her Tarquins to her dismemberment by the reactionary invasion of the northern hordes. In little more than thirty years, France has since run through more than all the phases presented by Great Britain since the restoration of her Stuarts. It is this latter period of French revolutionary history that we shall now hastily pass in review.

We observed, in the course of our previous developments, that, notwithstanding the general similitude discernible between the two restorations of England and France, things were by no means in a similar position in the two countries, at the two epochs.

At the first, no new civilizational system had been called into being. England had not made her transaction, nor inaugurated her idol. In consequence, her Stuarts came back on the *ostensibly* unmooted principle of divine right; and were embarrassed—Not the second Charles, indeed, who was never embarrassed with or by

anything, except when his purse was empty, or when he thought of the Puritans,—But James was embarrassed with his adherence to the old civilizational head, the church of Rome. Not seeing what else his own conscience, or that of his people, was to adhere to. What supreme court of arbitrement, in the absence of her general councils, could act as umpire between kings and their peoples at home, or between kings with each other on the civilizational field of Europe. Nor, again, what power existed, apart his own, for working along the ship of state. Something was wanting, evidently, at once to hold all things together, and to drive all things along. The secret compact which had placed his brother on the throne, if it had forced somewhat the hand and the purses of one House of Commons, was little likely to be of standing efficacy with others ; and, indeed, it had even proved with Charles so poor a staff of government, that James found it about as well to dispense with its services. Plainly and civilly to ask the public to have the kindness to tax itself might well seem—as all experience had ever shewn—a very useless operation. There was no bait before, either for him—the king—or for those who—by a figure of rhetoric—we are pleased to call *the representatives of the people*. And he was told—King James—like his father before him, not to apply the goad behind ! We know what happened to his father, who tried to apply it. And we know also what his brother did, under the circumstances. Disgraced himself and the country by taking bribes from the king of France ! The second Charles would have been delighted with the calf, if it had been invented in his days. How it might have suited James is more doubtful. Only we have no right to call him fool. Still less deceitful. Only wrong-headed. And this for dashing madly into breakers where sunken rocks were but too evident, instead of rowing easily as he could between two tides.

But the Bourbons were brought in under the religion of the idol. A matter Louis the Eighteenth understood

perfectly, but which his court did not. A position of things which bred, as of course, endless confusion, and, before the first year was out, drove the old man off to Ghent, who had every disposition to live out his time in ease and comfort without making that journey.

Apart even this confliction of views between the twice-restored monarch, his family, his court, and the nation, many other sources of difficulty will be readily distinguished. The continental position of France, together with all her political antecedents, must necessarily have rendered her transaction—as imposed upon the high-souled chivalry of a self-emancipated, self-created people—anything but an affair of quiet sailing. So do we find that, in her adhesion to the scheme of her rival, care was taken to modify considerably both its principles and its forms. This, by throwing into both a strong admixture of those retained alike from the martial habits of her feudal youth, from the violence of her convulsive epoch, and from the arbitrary dictation of her military empire. In France, force, all along has openly divided the throne with fraud. Bayonets have bristled round the shrine of the idol, and even in the very chamber of the mock popedom itself.* Nor did the mind of the nation, as ever held by the leaders of its science, fail to supply the requisite addition to the Newtonian theory of England. In farther explanation of the phenomena of our planetary system, La Place presented, with his calculated progression of distances, one also of projectile forces. Thus, as ever, keeping true to the rule expounded in our introductory developements. (Page 16.) That our interpretation of the laws of the universe have ever been, and are, and—ever will and must be, reflective of those established in our economy on earth.

* An armed guard always mounts duty both within and without the *corps legislatif*. On one memorable occasion, it was employed to tear from his seat the intrepid Manuel.

In expounding the programme of the French revolution, we sought the illustration of its opening intentions, with the earlier changes experienced by these, in its emblem—the tri-coloured flag. I will request the student to refer to the observations already made (Chapter XIII.,) and to approach them to the few I shall now present as in continuation. Since, it is my impression, that the whole history of modern France may be best followed, in the manner already employed, by a reference to her three colours.

In the heat of insurrectionary and subversive movement, we noticed how the red, for a time, usurped the whole political field. Decimating the ranks of the blue, and sweeping the white from existence, or from the country. Transformed, under the republic, from a standard of revolt to one of victory, we then saw the blue and the red, despoiled of the white, come together under the delusion of military glory. Preparatory to blending forcibly, under the empire, in the hand of military despotism.

At the restoration, the white returned; and—emblematic of its intentions—ran up itself alone on the flag-staff of the nation. But—itself unaltered, and ready to provoke, for its own advantage, the old murderous rivalry of the three colours—it found a change in the relative position of the other two. This it did not see to appreciate, and ran madly on its death. The blue and the red had made peace in the battle field, under the flag of victory, and before the altar of country. The tricolor—transformed equally from an emblem of anarchy as from a standard of liberty—was now one of union and centralized power. It recalled neither *court*, nor *mountain*, nor *plain*. Neither nobility, nor professions, nor populace. Neither land, capital, nor service renderers. It was the flag of the *great nation*.

But France had found her laurels too heavy to carry. She had wearied herself, as well as Europe, and was willing to take peace in exchange for glory. The white

flag, forgotten as a feudal emblem, might even again have been popular, had it brought with it no reactionary vengeance, or arrearing policy. Louis the Eighteenth, indeed, had some common sense—rather a rare possession among legitimate princes—and, having been driven out once by the madness of his followers, contrived to keep things together by humouring time about the white and the blue. He died quietly, in the bed of a constitutional king; but foretelling, it is said, that his brother would not do the same.

Under Charles the Tenth, the white—as in old times—looked down from the height of its grandeur, on the blue. And, worse! on those leaders of the red who had risen from the ranks under the tri-colour of *honour and country*.

In July, 1830, the red and the blue—thus outraged in common—united to expel the old white of the restless, walking ghost of feodality. The ghost was exorcised by the priests of Baal. The younger branch—from the days of Law, familiar with the idol—gradually harmonized the blue and the white in the service of the molten calf. Subdued the red by well-mingled force and corruption; and has finally realized the governing union of all the forms and modes of wealth against the poor service renderers. A class which, in France—be it noted—includes all the small holders of land. Crushed down beneath a weight of vexatious burdens, which renders their land and their labour together wholly inadequate to their comfortable support. Would we formulate any more distinct meaning, as, at this time, to be attached to the French revolutionary emblem, we might, perhaps, do it thus :—

White; the king and his placemen. Constituting a whole army of wolves. The largest, perhaps, ever, *directly and standingly*, fed by any government upon earth. *Blue*; the king, and the speculators and stock-jobbers. *Red*; the king and the traders.

In consequence of this universality and ubiquity of the royal influence—It exists, again, at the head of the landholders, in the persons of the king's sons, and other members of the royal family—In consequence of this immense absorption of individual and family wealth, in addition to all the power and influence of the crown, there has been constructed in France an inform constitutional government, with scarcely the semblance of check or rivalry. The only mock resemblance of a make-weight to the regal executive command and influence being at this time presented by the press ; in the name of suffering labour, on the one part, and the all but stifled landed interest on the other.

In no country—China, perhaps, excepted—is the soil so divided and subdivided as in France. And yet what does this either for its ease or its intelligence ? It did much in the outset, of course ; accompanied, as reparation was, by the overthrow of all the old feudal vexations, and before time was given for running up those of the new transitory. Under the empire, foreign robbery paid for foreign war. There was the whole secret of the popularity of Napoleon among the French peasantry, no less than the cordial union of all the governments, backed by all the peoples of Europe, for his overthrow. But the robbery of constitutional government is quite another thing. In the outset, it puts all the world upon its side. Presenting such subtleties of invention and contrivance as might be expected from a vast associated company of *chevaliers d'industrie*. The mass of population never surmise its tricks until they have taken effect, and until all the leading ranks of the different interests of society are pressed into its service. Under government, power, and strong power, must be somewhere. No people would submit to have all their substance sucked out of them, unless resistance were rendered impossible. The distinct business of every government is to secure this impossibility. If it succeed, both effectually and with ability : that is, *effectually*, by

subduing the great mass, through their wants or their ignorance; and, above all, by individualizing its component members; and pitching, universally, the selfish, which we denominated the male principle, against the generous, which we denominated the female principle in society; and *with ability*, by firmly attaching to the governing power all the heads of the great interests into which the commonwealth of every country is now fractioned—If it succeed in this, I say, both with effect and ability, then a *constitutional government*, so called—meaning a government which works by fraud—obtains; and—for a time at least—stands. This is what has been accomplished in France since the Parisian movement of 1830. And in and by this has been effectually realised the only *governmental* programme deducible from the revolutionary emblem of 1789. That is to say, *the union of all the forms and modes of wealth against the poor service renderers*. In this union—as a matter of course—the influence of land was made secondary to that of money. I say *as a matter of course*, since revolution in France had for its first and leading object the overthrow of feodality. And again, because a leading object of the movement of 1830 was to despoil the crown of its lands, and to render it dependent on the money power. By the French compact of 1830, the new king accepted the position of an English sovereign, in so far as he became a life rent pensioner. Securing, however, many more real influences and powers in the state. Since he was called to fill both the ceremonial of an English king, and the preponderance of an English aristocracy.

And now we may see to distinguish that the inaugural promise of the reigning French king *la charte sera une verité* has been accomplished. How far the thing realised may be worth the having is another question, and one which the intelligence of the French nation may soon find it well to consider.

We shall now observe that the modern scheme of French constitutional government, although starting

from differing points, and travelling by differing roads from the English, has finally brought things round to the same political result. This political result is: The suffering of the great mass of population, as effected by the union of all the forms and modes of wealth acting directly for the oppression of the service renderers, as employed under all and every of the multiple heads of human production, or of human occupation.

Here I cannot but recal a prophesy made by the ardent Lafayette, in the first years of the great revolution which he fathered. A prophesy which the venerable *preux chevalier* of liberty was wont to quote with the same fond enthusiasm that first inspired it. *La cocarde tricolore fera le tour du monde.** It has indeed done so. But in a manner, and for a consummation, certainly the very opposite from what the benevolent patriot envisaged. The governmental force and union of all the forms and modes of wealth now vex, crush, starve, demoralize the whole family of man. Go where you will—from Lapland to New Zealand, from Peking to Peru—humanity is tortured, vitiated, and, we may add, enslaved by government, armed with supreme command over the wealth and the credit, and, consequently, over the volitions, and the fate, of society.

But while such is the direct and rapid tendency of the delusive money-jobbing transitory, its appearances are for a season all fair and specious. Placed also as it was, under the restoration, and as it still is on the civilizational field of Europe, in active apparent rivalry with the re-actionary efforts of counter revolution, the machinations of the Jesuits and the resurrectionary notions of the dark ages, it has ever served, and yet serves, to stimulate thought and exertion, to keep alive the saving hope of nations; and—oh cruel mockery, under the stringent treaties of 1815!—to provoke insurgent resistance to the law of iron upheld by Prussia, and the ignorant *statu quo* imposed by Austria.

* The tricolored cockade will make the round of the globe.

France having been placed at that epoch under the transitory, the admitted right was, in a manner, hers to resist feudal re-actionary innovations and the assaults of the *ignorant brothers*. But the vigour of her constitutional press and eloquence of her parliament vibrates throughout the European system. The peninsula, in her two kingdoms, is convulsed to the centre. The Spanish main, in revolt, conquers independence. The old most catholic metropolitan—stronghold of the altar and the throne—imposes on her miserable Ferdinand a constitution. All the German states, north of the Carpathians, rouse to remind princes of their promises. Unhappy Poland stirs beneath the yoke. Hungary recalls her ancient independence. Greece hath spoken from her tombs. Norway, Helvetia, Italy, Spain, all are in commotion. None of these had been covered by the transitory; but they look to England, and have faith in France. Ah, let us not ask how England answered the appeal, or France the confidence!

All the arrangements of 1815—backed and counter-backed by the police of governments and machinations of Jesuits—being found insufficient; in 1821, the holy allies meet—under their special treaty—at Laybach, and proclaim their right of interference for the support of statu quo, and repression of all revolutionary movement whatsoever. Naples and Piedmont are vanquished by Austria, in league with the treachery of their own princes. The pope, summoned in person to the rescue, excommunicates the Carbonari. And who and what are the Carbonari? In regular descent from that hour to this—varying often in name, but identic in principle—In regular descent, the old political heretics of the school of the martyred Arnold. Oh marvellous! Oh glorious insistance of the human mind! The same burning thought which first woke the soul of the twelfth century yet quickens that of the nineteenth. But not as then confined to some chosen cities of some chosen states.

Now, more or less, the whole length and breadth of Europe feels its influence, and all its races respond to its inspirations. But oh! not yet, not yet, humanity! hath struck the hour of thy deliverance. Wait! Pause, ye peoples! Let there be no more victims! Alas! Alas! They do not pause. They cannot wait. The iron enters into the soul. And then, the governing principle ever urging to active rivalry, power encounters resistance; tyranny, insurgent liberty; and coercive government, rebellion.

In 1822—informed of every premeditated movement by their spies and their police—the continental powers meet, in the person of their accredited agents, at Verona. Their business now to counter-revolutionize Spain and her sister kingdom, and to fasten the odious task upon France.

At this epoch the alarm of the sovereign sustainers of law and order being raised to its highest pitch, they enter into a treaty purporting to constitute *additional articles* to that already noticed of the holy alliance.

The signature of England was not affixed to these secret specifications and amplifications of the original text; any more than it had been to that text itself. But, as heretofore observed, that mattered nothing. England's business was the police of the seas, and the mystification of populations; under cover of their universal ignorance of that political code of nations which governs all other codes. Of which some parts are secret for all but their signers, the upper heads of the civilizational system and reflecting students of the affairs of the age. And of which the whole—constituting an unbroken chain from the dark ages, but with amendments and counter amendments, ever more and more complicated and complicating—may be compared to a treatise of diplomatic logic or political black magic. Yes; the great occupation of England—abroad as at home—was to be the mystification for the more convenient robbery of po-

pulations. How ably to be aided in the work by France. France—once the frank and the chivalrous; whose boast was to love honour more than glory, and glory more than life! But thy task France was to be twofold. A part was appointed for thee to act under either standard; the feudal as the transitory. Thy signature was set to either treaty; the special as the general. And while England was more effectually to mystify the one, thou wert to entrap the other. The appointed business of the immediate representatives of the holy trinity upon earth, and of France—forcibly constituted their grand vicar—was the police of the land. Although England may have thought it decent—as the ostensible head of constitutional government, holder of the bond of civilizational union, and, consequently, *guardian of liberty, in reserve, for the nations*,—Though, I say, England may have judged it decent to formulate occasional protests against certain extreme doings of her allies, yet we are not to suppose any real dissidence in the mind of her government. If we look to her conduct we shall see there has been one. If by the voice of her Canning she could denounce the treaty called of the holy alliance, did she not, by the hand of her ostensible sovereign, cordially applaud, and promise to uphold it? * In the face of her own pledges did she not betray Parga? In the face of the whole world, did she not mystify Portugal and Spain? Has she not proved a broken reed, piercing the hand of every insurgent state, that leaned upon her? And France! Led in shackles by the holy alliance—both of whose treaties of 1815 and 1822, she signed,—Did we not see *her*, France, put down constitutional government in Spain? Mount guard for the holy inquisition? Deliver up Riego—her prisoner of war—to his murderers? And since, have we not seen her betray every cause in Europe.

* The document adverted to is given at end of the chapter.

And now let us conclude this our synopsis of governmental iniquities, by giving the secret treaty, as to amend the treaty, styled of the holy alliance. It has the merit of being short, clear, and to the purpose. The three powers, who rule by the bayonet, the Jesuits and the knout, employ none of those circumlocutions and double meanings familiar to England's foreign office. The document in question forms a curious and economical contrast in time, words, and money—for diplomacy consumes as much in each one as it does in all three.—A curious contrast, I say, to the thousand and one protocols, crowned by a treaty of twenty-four articles, concocted by the plenipotentiaries of the quadruple allies who assembled in London, 1834, to settle the affairs of the Netherlands, and to saddle a pensioner of England's civil list upon revolutionary Belgium. Thus reads the

SECRET TREATY OF VERONA.

“The undersigned, specially authorised to make some additions to the treaty of the holy alliance, having exchanged their powers, agree upon what follows:—

“Article 1.—The high contracting parties convinced that the system of representative government is equally inconsistent with monarchical principles as is the doctrine of popular sovereignty with that of divine right, pledge themselves mutually to each other, in the most solemn manner, to exert all their efforts to annihilate representative government in all countries of Europe in which it may exist, and to prevent its introduction in states where it is now unknown.

“Article 2.—As it cannot be doubted that the liberty of the press constitutes the most powerful of the means employed by the pretended defenders of the rights of nations against the rights of princes, the high contracting parties reciprocally pledge their faith to adopt all measures proper for its suppression not only in their own dominions but throughout the rest of Europe.

“Article 3.—Convinced that the principles of religion contribute most powerfully to maintain nations in that

state of passive obedience which they owe to their princes, the high contracting parties declare that it is their intention to sustain in their respective dominions such measures as the clergy may adopt for the strengthening of their interests; intimately associated as these are with the authority of princes. The high contracting parties offer, in addition, their common thanks to the pope for all that he has already done for them, and solicit his continued co-operation with their views for the subjugation of nations.

“ Article 4.—The high contracting parties, in confiding to France the charge of bringing them to order, engage to assist her in the undertaking, after the mode which appears least calculated to compromise them with their own peoples, and with the people of France. In consequence, they bind themselves to furnish a subsidy from their respective empires to the amount of twenty millions of francs. The same to date from the signature of this treaty until the close of the war.

“ Article 5.—In the view of establishing throughout the peninsula the order of things which existed prior to the revolution of Cadiz, and also to secure the full execution of the articles of this treaty, the high contracting parties exchange with each other their faith, that, until the accomplishment of the objects now expressed, and setting aside all other purposes of utility, and all other measures thereafter to be taken, they will, with the shortest possible delay, address instructions to all the constituted authorities within their own states, and to all their agents in foreign countries, so that a perfect connexity may be established for forwarding the accomplishment of the views set forth in this treaty.

“ Article 6.—This treaty shall be renewed, with such changes as altering circumstances may necessitate, either in a future congress, or at the court of some one of the contracting parties.

“ Article 7.— The present treaty shall be ratified, and

the ratifications exchanged at Paris, within the delay of six months.

“ Done at Verona, 22nd November, 1822.

“ Signed—For Austria, METTERNICH.

“ For France, CHATEAUBRIAND.

“ For Prussia, BENSTEL.

“ For Russia, NESSELRODE.”

The treaty here given, although secret for the general public, was not long so for the more special public of any country. It was, at an early period, published in the United States, in works familiar to the political mind of that country. Such a document will readily be distinguished for one of grave importance for American intelligence. Assailed, too, as the republic has been, and every day more and more is, by flocks of Jesuits and pious sisters, alighting from all parts of Europe, and bringing the mass vote of a foreign population to bear upon any question they please.

First published in London, from “Nile’s Baltimore Register,” some three or four years since, it was afterwards copied into the French opposition papers, and produced the sensation which may be supposed. The French diplomatist, whose name appears as one of the undersigned, took upon him to deny the whole affair. The treaty having a been secret one, it was, of course, his duty so to do. The student will recal the elucidations we ventured to imagine in our last chapter, as coming from the mouth of the arch negociator of all governmental mischief, Talleyrand. *What is war, but murder; policy and diplomacy, but lying?* Of course, M. de Chateaubriand having aided in getting up the mischief, had to aid in covering it with lying. To do him justice, however, he gave as small a negation as he well could; and when evidence was poured in upon him, sat down and let the wind blow past.

In France at the present time, the periodical press is the main engine of government. This is true in all

countries under the regime of the transitory. Yet is it doubly and trebly true in France. Faithful to the tri-coloured programme, it ever works three levers at one time, and often as many as the revolutionary emblem itself has presented readings. The marvellous energies and versatile talents of the nation, cramped within the narrow limits prescribed to them under the treaties of 1815, are laid at the single disposal of the home central power. This, again, has no other way of employing them, than in party wrangling and political intrigue. And farther, it has no other really effective mode of supporting itself, than by holding in its pay all those elements which otherwise would instantly compass its ruin. The most powerful division of the French periodical press, is that called of the democratic opposition. The same journal which wrote into power the government of 1830, has ever since been adroitly employed to keep it where it is. By abusing the ruling power in the wholesale, it can be employed without suspicion to assist in the detail. And being always witty at its expense, it fascinates the popular taste, wins the popular confidence through the popular passions, and keeps the popular mind in that state of turbulent tempest of all others the most opposed to right reason. As a general rule, the careless, unthinking, party-ruled readers of the age, never study more than one paper. Of course, therefore, never make out more than one-half of the plot that is enacting. Nay, perhaps, they never fairly suspicion that there is a plot at all; or that the party to which they attach themselves is not made up of sound sense and sound knowledge. In France, to understand any thing of what is passing, it is in the first place necessary to have a good memory, both for public events and individual antecedents. And again, it is indispensable to follow the views of the government organ, together with those of the leading parties opposed to it. But, as of course, so rational a mode of procedure would be quite inconsistent with party politics. Ah!

and let us add, quite inconsistent with the sustained existence of government itself. To none, however, would it be so immediately fatal as to that now outstanding in France. Ah! whenever the intelligence of that country shall really ambition the reform of society, and consequently decide to put an end to popular delusion, it will and must plainly expose the real state of the case with regard to the press. It will and must simply show, that both the pro and the anti are equal agents in the governing business. It will and must reveal the fact, that the virulent, violent organ of resistance and rebellion, is a subsidized tool, no less than the specious, special pleading organ of order and submission. Oh! never was a revelation more needed, more absolutely called for, than this in France. For certainly nowhere has the unprincipled virulence of journalism more bitterly envenomed human feeling or blinded human perceptions. Nowhere are men more unconscious of the real source of evil, the nature of the governing principle, or more madly bent on envenoming its poison, by having recourse to the violence of reactionary parties, and those changes of men and measures good only to increase intrigue and multiply intriguers. And yet, surely, no country should be more fitted than France to detect the real source of evil. France, who has tried every possible form of government, and proved each and all for worthless; and who, at this hour, is submitted to one more corrupting and demoralizing than, perhaps, any other just now existing in Europe. And this, its character, is a matter of necessity. Since, absorbed singly in a man—striving against the spirit of the age and the programme of the nation, to make himself the founder of a dynasty—it has with it neither principle, nor prejudice, nor established usage, nor illusion of any kind. It is a government subsisting by means of party strife; itself without a party. Commanding, however, and employing absolutely, all parties for its purposes, by holding in its

hands all the resources of the state. The King of the French is, in France, what the idol god is in England. One, like the other, however, may find at any moment a supreme arbiter. That which, when it speaks, will be decisive—public opinion. The difficulty is, to bring public opinion to bear, or to raise a voice, or to have, indeed, a distinct existence. Borne down, overwhelmed, and flooded, as all honest opinion is, by universal corruption and rampant individual selfishness.

Let us not fail, however, to recognise one supreme service which has been rendered to France by her periodical press. The versatility of its talent, and comprehensiveness of its historical and political knowledge, has worked into the mind of the nation a familiarity with the general state of Europe, and supreme policy of the globe, possessed by none other unless by the native mind of America. The general political knowledge of England is but too much monopolized by her statesmen, and a limited class of travelled and lettered individuals. Her people, confined within their island, and occupied with local questions, or, in the broad field of universal commerce, absorbed in the sordid service of the idol god—stand apart from the great republic of Europe. Quite unconscious of the highest character filled by their country as an integral part of a great civilizational system. Little versed in history, even in their own. Which, indeed, if understood, would give the clue to that of the world. Unconscious of the existence of that supreme political code of nations which governs every other. Absorbed in the every-day business of their trade, the doctrinal or the moneyed squabbles of their sect, or in some isolated interest of their class—Thus have they no sympathies with, because no knowledge of, that great family of nations for the ultimate good of which, however, they have been now, for better than a century and a half, sacrificed in their ease, their liberties, and their morals. We see, then, what, in the youth of their country, was a popular blessing—the constituting, within

the boundaries of their own territory, a political system apart from the continental world—has become for them, and for the people of Europe generally, the first of evils. Of latter years, the very globe itself has been arriving at the perception of its existence as a collective unit. The policy of the English government has been directed to the inducing of this. Everywhere, one would think, saving only at home. Within Great Britain, it fosters mere provincial feeling, spreads mere provincial knowledge, and that too darkened and narrowed by all the superadded prejudices and predilections of party, sect, and class. General European knowledge, or universal cosmopolitan knowledge, it eschews for its own people, as the God of the Jews did for Adam the tree of life. Under this head, at least, the press of France may be said to have achieved a high duty. Not always in the best spirit, as we have said. This, however, has been a matter of necessity. Seeing that the only rivalry existent in the French political body is what journalism keeps alive or galvanises. Since the death, by moral and political marasmus, of the French legislative assembly, the part so ably filled under the restoration, by the tribune of the French Chamber, has been shouldered by the periodical press. Much light has it served to spread. Many illusions destroyed. If, with these, old French honour has disappeared also, and love of country has given place to love of gold, we must bear in mind the system which rules us, and the object of that transitory civilization which has supplanted the feudal. As in counterpoise to the press of France, the press of England has narrowed down its views to the most selfish policy of “a nation of shopkeepers.” If it does not exactly labour to keep its readers in *outer* darkness, it certainly takes small pains to illuminate the horizon, or to furnish any telescopic view of things. As a consequent, the English people, in this nineteenth century, have their heads close wrapt in the fogs of their own island, and cannot be roused to look out of them, even by the

death-shrieks of Poland, the convulsions of Switzerland, or the resurrectionary movements of Italy. Those huge plague-spots on our earth's bosom, presented by overgrown cities, have been deemed excusable, and even useful—in a universally false state of society—as quickeners of human intelligence. But what sort of intelligence is that which, in England's sea-ports, confines its view to the mere ups and downs in the high sea piracy of foreign commerce; and, in her more land-locked towns, to the better or worse cash incomings from the paltry cheateries of domestic trade. England! England! hunt after the souls of thy people! Rouse them! enlighten them! kindle them, with a new press! One that shall expound the broad interests of the British isles, the yet broader of the great European system, the more vast still of the civilized globe! Oh—it is time, it is time—for all the peoples of the earth to know themselves for brethren. But, first, those of Europe must be drawn together. For this, indispensable it is that the three peoples of the British isles set about knowing themselves and each other, and ascertaining the position of things throughout the European continent. The revelations already presented in the current treatise may, perhaps, suffice to awaken curiosity and kindle sympathy.

Our rapid synopsis draws to a close. There is yet, however, something more to pass in review, before the character of that compact of 1815, in which the whole civilized world is more or less enveloped, may be duly appreciated. But let us here pause, and defer to another chapter the consideration of where we all now are; in this year 1847; with the whole nobiliary intelligence of Galicia given to the sword; with Cracow stricken from the map of Europe; and the flag of Poland swept from the earth.

Cracow was a small city, in a small district, of a once great kingdom. But her independent existence had been secured by general treaty of 1815. Threatened,

however, as it seems, in the same, along with every state in Europe, by secret treaty, or by secret machinations, or by sudden onslaught. Whatever institutions, or whatever circumstance, might, or may, chance to give umbrage to high contracting parties, speaking in the name of the most holy and indivisible trinity, and upheld by the credit of England, have evidently been, and are liable to be, the subject of a *coup d'état*, or the object of a holy crusade. This is a matter which seems finally to challenge attention.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XIX.

LETTER REFERRED TO AT PAGE 347.

The Prince Regent of Great Britain (afterwards George the Fourth) to the Sovereigns of Austria, Prussia, and Russia respectively,

Carlton House, 6th Oct. 1815.

SIR, MY BROTHER AND COUSIN,

I have had the honour of receiving your Imperial Majesty's letter, together with the copy of the treaty, (*given in the last chapter*,) signed by your Majesties and your august allies at Paris, on the 26th of September.

As the forms of the British constitution which I am called upon to administer in the name and on the behalf of the king my father, preclude me from acceding formally to this treaty, in the shape in which it has been presented to me, I adopt this course of conveying to the august sovereigns who have signed it my entire concurrence in the principles they have laid down, and making the divine precepts of the Christian religion the invariable rule of their conduct in all their relations, social and political, and of cementing the union which ought ever to subsist between all Christian nations, and it will be always my earnest endeavour to regulate my conduct in the station in which divine Providence has vouchsafed to place me, by these sacred maxims, and to co-operate with my august allies in all measures which may be likely to contribute to the peace and happiness of mankind. With the most unalterable sentiments of friendship and affection,

I am, Sir, my brother and cousin,

Your Imperial Majesty's good brother and cousin,

GEORGE P. R.

To his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Austria, &c.

CHAPTER XX.

GENERAL HEAD.

FEUDAL AND TRANSITORY GOVERNMENTS.—DEPRAVITIES CHARACTERISTIC OF EACH.—WHAT POWER IS RESPONSIBLE FOR ALL.

CONTENTS.

Monarchs of what appropriately expressive in the early stages of civilization.—How even, they may be useful at a later date.—What, in the latter case, they can only be.—Those of modern Europe, circumstances or ceremonies.—The three circumstances considered.—A word addressed to them.—How each of the two categories of government has filled up the full measure of its own iniquity, and of the suffering of humanity.—How not one power appertaining to either may absolve itself from solidarity with any one act, nor with the whole scheme of policy.—Good omen.—England ceases to play hypocrite.—Frank confession of one of her magnates.—Appeal to constitutional Europe.—Poland.—Her position in Europe expounded.—The same with regard to Austria expounded.—Plain reading of the Galicia massacre.—Parts taken in the brutal tragedy by each of the three holy powers.—Question that humanity may ask.—Answer to the same.—Government a bloodhound.—Peoples should make it the scape-goat of all the crimes of earth.—No other way of putting an end to violence and vengeance.—How it sacrifices its own tools in Switzerland.—How it ever fills the measure of its iniquity before humanity rises to judgment.—No governing scheme such as that which has prevailed under the compact of 1815.—Every power in the system party to every act.—On the European continent all sacrificed to the peace of thrones.—The two maritime powers of the globe in league to sacrifice all interests to those of trade.—Solidarity with crime embraces all governments and all governing classes.—In sum, responsibility rests with England.—Her own words to be brought in witness against her.

Up to a certain point of civilizational developement and human progress, sovereign princes, or monarchs—meaning government by the *monos*, one—may be suitably representative of important principles. These principles are union for the world within, independence for the world without. But let the reign of monarchy be prolonged beyond the state of things which renders it appropriate, union degenerates into oppression, and independence into violent aggression.

Still, even after this earlier period of the growth of nations, certain anormal conditions of things in the political body, as in the civilizational system, may render the prolongation of the official existence of the monarch convenient and advisable. But, at and from such a period, princes can only be circumstances or ceremonies. They are circumstances when they exercise personal responsibility. Ceremonies when they cover the power placed elsewhere. There is one absolute circumstance in Christian Europe. The barbarian head of barbarian Russia. One permitted circumstance. The despotic head of military Prussia. And one tolerated circumstance. The arbitrary head of the Austrian dominions, and usurping dictator of the Germanic confederation.

Sovereign princes, exercising personal responsibility, may present the character, variously, of useful circumstances, troublesome circumstances, or intolerable circumstances. When kings are the last, in Russia there is something after the fashion of the Turkish bow-string. In civilized countries, there is a learned academy, provincial states, constitutions in perspective, a diet, a chamber, however long suffering, a press, or an opinion, however trammelled, barricades, or a land-storm, in last resort. Some sort of an imperfect piece of machinery, or a power in reserve, by which society is delivered of the incumbrance which cramps its energies, or disturbs its peace. We may presume that it is not the intention of the three despotic powers who constitute the

holy and indivisible trinity upon earth, to force the nations of Europe to rouse in mass for the purpose of applying a strait jacket to their divine right. Imperial majesties must learn a lesson, and they will do well to learn it in time. In time, say I? Alas! if it should be in time to turn re-actionary visitations from their own persons, it must be too late to save the nations they have trampled on, the innocent victims they have sacrificed, the hopes and aspirations they have crushed! Yet learn the lesson they must. And what is the lesson? Simply that no human being can be, or ought to count for, more than a unit in the great collective sum of civilized society. To some, position and circumstance may still lend that weight of value which ought only to belong to individual merit as substantiated by useful service. But, even now, if the duties of position be forgotten, if the advantage of circumstance be abused, then the unit must, and will, be shifted from right to left, and pass from rank of high, to that of lowest value. Let the three eagles—three vultures rather!—of despotic Europe learn this, and spare their peoples, the nations, and the age, recurrence to that last argument which it has ever been their pretension to banish from the world!

We need not follow out, in its details, the history of latter years. After the developements given, we may sufficiently appreciate the price at which have been purchased civilizational unity and governmental good-fellowship since the compact of 1815. We conceive accurately, I imagine, the affairs of France. Distinguish how—her transaction being completed in 1830—she was brought definitively under the transitory. And how, at this hour, she may be said to have worked out her political apprenticeship by familiar acquaintance with the evils incident to every possible form of government. Until, of late, we have seen her, like the British islands, translated into the supreme beatitude of apprehended starvation, under universal scheming, universal trading, universal professional and monied ascendancy, at ex-

pense of all who employ either the hand or the head for any useful purpose.

While these two leading nations evince more and more every day the worthlessness of the transitory, we see the three more especial defenders of the statu quo feudal, exhibiting, in all its nakedness, the insufferable atrocity of the old counter system. Of these two orders of civilization, we may now surely say that they have served their time. Nor is it given to one, at this hour, to play the pharisee at expense of the other. Both are abominations on the face of the earth. Both are chargeable with that full complement of crime which, from every land, cries up to heaven. Both aid to fill that overflowing cup of misery which tortured humanity is now made to quaff throughout the whole breadth of her dominions. Neither—No! not even one power appertaining to either or to both, may disclaim horrid solidarity with that policy which, in Spain, holds unkennelled the dogs of civil war. In Italy, slays the soul with hope delayed. In Switzerland, arms union against liberty, liberty against union, and the Jesuits against both. Makes of those provinces that once were Poland, a desert and a charnel house. Decimates Ireland with famine. Vexes, harasses, demoralizes society. Holds Europe through all her realms, submitted to law and order by bayonets, spies, police superposed upon police. Presents, for the guardians of civilization, the Cossack, the Austrian, the iron-heeled Prussian. And, for the sureties of peace, the secret correspondence of the king of the French, and the treacherous post-office of England!

Ha, England! Thou! even thou! who so long hast played the Jesuit among Protestants, and the Tartuffe among Jesuits—Even thou art content to veil the head in silence now.

On a recent occasion, and one, too, that presented pretext for diplomatic chicane, no less than ground for political rupture, I have hailed as a good omen the ab-

sence of thy wonted scene of hypocrisy. There hath been found, indeed, a voice within the walls of thy Parliament to extol the most odious power in Europe—the most odious because especially pledged to the prevention of progress by the support of populational ignorance—To extol, I say, the most odious power in Europe, at the very moment that her murderous hand had torn from its last staff that flag of Sobieski which erst brought salvation to Vienna.

We may hope, and believe, the sentiments of a certain honourable lord to be without an echo in Europe, unless within the darkest Circles of Austria's own hereditary dominions. But, England! I will thank thee for that thou hast foreborne to play the part of hypocrite before scenes too horrible for fiends to trifle with, or aught but political insanity to excuse. I will believe thee to have felt, England! that the wicked governmental compact which enslaves Europe, outrages humanity, and blasphemes her law of progress, hath done all and more—far more, great God!—than it could have been instituted to effect; and that the moment arrives for its dissolution. Not to recur again to old governmental strife, national warfare, and civilizational chaos. No! But to frame a new compact, founded upon, and cemented by, new civilizational principles. Principles, in their nature, and consequently in their effects, the direct opposite to those which have gone to form the rule of government.

But at this hour, when—as I conceive—the great governmental compact is broken; *in its letter*, by the brutal subjection of Cracow to the law of Austria; and, *in the possibility of its farther sufferance*, by the whole horrific course of craft, and cruelty, and crime, it has inspired and sanctioned—At this hour, I say, when the monstrous league of governments against peoples, and of centralized power against the liberties of man and the independence of states, gives way beneath the weight of its own enormity—At this hour, none of the

parties to its formulation, or to its support, may, without cowardice, disclaim their share of guilt, or absolve themselves from solidarity with the whole.

On occasion of the most horrid governmental tragedy ever placed on the records of our globe, what said a personage long time cabinet minister of Britain ?

As in reply to one who, from his place in Parliament, called down vengeance on the head of Austria: *Had the honourable lord been there, he would have done the same.* Lord Aberdeen! I thank thee. I call upon the whole intelligence of constitutional Europe to take down the confession. What was this to which a member of the British Parliament would have been consenting under the circumstances ?

The cutting down of all the tall poppies in the population of Austrian Poland. As in keeping with the advice of Tarquin to his son with regard to the population of Rome. Government fears neither ignorance nor immorality. It fosters as it lives by both. The mind of Galicia was all in her nobility. The defective feodality of Poland—without the hierarchal grades between the labouring serf and the landholders—knew no middle class. Without a fixed and responsible head also to command the volitions of its nobility, it was offensive to the autocratic Moscovite, and equally removed from the catholic lead of Austria and Rome. Thus—under the heartless selfishness of that male governing principle which rules the universal world—has Poland ever found persecutors and no friends. Neither system—the catholic feudal, nor the protesting transitory—has felt itself pledged for her protection. Austria therefore has joined with Prussia and with Russia for the quartering of her territory and slaughter of her children ; nor felt one qualm of conscience. While England has stood a cold and silent, and manacled France a powerless, witness of her martyrdom. Without defence of natural frontiers, or of solidarity with any of her neighbours, unfortunate Poland has thus stood alone in the field of Europe.

Her only resources, the energy of her own mighty heart, and the chivalrous valour of her nobiliary leaders. Experiencing all the disadvantages of feodality without any of the strength inherent in its organic unity and catholic universality, her institutions have been inefficient for their own protection. Framed too—in common with those of feodality in general—for the developement of primitive agricultural labour, they have been foreign to progressive industry, and unfavourable to the growth of popular intelligence. Austria found in this what suited her views. But not so in the ever growing intellectual developement of the Polish leaders. Posted in guard—as we have seen—from the beginning over the feodality of catholic Europe, Austria has never had but one idea. To keep things as they were and as they are. In the days of Charlemagne, so in ours. The feudal landholders in the provinces of Austrian Poland—convinced that to redeem their country they must make a people—undertook to abolish the more vexatious charges which held labour in bondage. Austrian authority denied their right to do so; and, deluding a peasantry, brutified by ignorance, arrested revolutionary movement by provoking the slaughter of Galicia's nobiliary leaders. But observe how population was led blindly by the infernal arts of a foreign government! And fail not, reader! to distinguish how the hireling press of universal government has disguised or falsified the truth for the neutralizing of popular sympathies, and paralyzing of popular indignation. In no one case was the peasantry of Galicia *excited against their own superiors; or against landholders in their own vicinity.* The unknown heads of distant estates were pointed out as oppressors of their tenantry; and bands of labourers suddenly excited and led from a distance by wretches in the pay of Austria's police to avenge imaginary cruelties upon unknown families. While, simultaneously, the territorial dependents of these same families, and who would have defended them with their lives, had been led off on a similar

Quixotic errand elsewhere. Thus, simultaneously, was the whole class pointed out for butchery; and a piece of silver counted to each murderer for every carcase—of man, woman, child, and infant at the breast—brought to Austrian head-quarters.

Nor is this all. Prussia—the neighbouring power—offers safe refuge, or safe conduct through his dominions, to such fugitives as had escaped the knife. Received on the frontiers by Prussian governmental agents, the wretched children of Poland are passed into the Russian provinces; and, by the myrmidons of Nicholas, marched to slavery in the frozen wastes of Siberia!

People of France and England, look at this! Look at this, and say if the compact which could cover such enormities may longer be held binding on the nations?

And now the common sense, not to say the common feeling, of collective humanity may well enquire how such a scene of atrocity could be enacted, in cold blood and in a time of peace, upon the bosom of our globe? A time of peace! Nay! have we not explained the peace to have been, and to be, for governments between governments? And, if so, then of war to the knife between all governments and every population *not responded for by government*. Poland has no more a government, and never had a fixed responsible head on the floor of Europe. And this is why all governments have been in league to take away her place from among the nations. And could not this be explained will you say? Could not the powers of Europe speak intelligibly for population? Speak intelligibly! Government for population never speaks but in acts. And alas! its acts, for upwards of seventy years, have spoken but too plainly to Poland. Government is in its nature a brute thing. A dumb dog. A blood-hound, that never barks till it springs and it bites.

Could peoples but see this! Ah then, instead of making men the scapegoats of government, they would definitely make government the scapegoat of men! Ay!

heaping on it—on it alone—all the vice of the age, and the crimes of the earth, they would offer up the Moloch in holocaust for all that has been—for all that is. No other expiatory sacrifice may suffice. No other may quench, in very deed, the strife of party, the torch of discord, and the flames of war. No other may arrest the course of wrong, of vengeance, and of never ending retroactive crime. See! see! at this hour the scenes of death and horror acting in Switzerland. See coalesced government sacrificing the tools for which it foresees no further use! See it leaving those Jesuits it has so long employed to be hunted down by the adverse party, and, with them, helpless population!

Truly it would appear that all governing schemes have to reach their highest apogee of iniquity, before the human mind will rouse to make their appreciation. Never was such a governing scheme upon the face of the earth as that which has coerced, deceived, and corrupted the nations since the year 1815.

Every political body throughout the two categories of civilization—the transitory with its error, its vice, its confusion, its uneasiness, and its demoralization; the feudal with its ignorance, its routine, its oppression, and its brutality — held in horrid alliance for sustaining the peace and security of thrones without any the smallest regard to the assent or the well-being of peoples. Thus at least on the European continent. And in England, ay! and now too in America —those two maritime powers who hold in divided monopoly the seas, and who delude our reason with never ending prate touching popular rights and popular sovereignty—Oh they, whatever now their paltry rivalries in the markets of the world—They too are in right holy alliance for submitting the industry and the possessions of all humanity to the cheateries of trade, and financierings and exactions of exchequers! Yea! to the poorest, meanest, most ignorant, most sordid, most soulless, shameless moneycracy that ever aped the airs of aristo-

cracy, or claimed to do the dirty work of government ! Oh ! well may such an universal alliance of governors and governments against peoples have fathered every abomination possible for fraud to conceive, or violence to dare. And—let us note again, and note well !—that no crime, more especially generated by either system, that has not been consummated under the joint sanction of both. If, on the one hand, the organs of British policy, as speaking in the British parliament, disclaim not solidarity with the atrocious violence and unblushing iniquity of the three more especial heads of the continental holy alliance ; neither will, nor can, these deny complicity with that scheme of subtle fraud in which England—as the head of the transitory—has enveloped the globe.

But we have yet farther to note how this solidarity with crime extends itself, down from the five contracting heads of the five great nations, through all the outstanding ascendant interests of an erroneously constituted society. Thus not only every power assenting to the great compact of 1815 is responsible, each and all, for the course of policy which that compact has covered, and for every crime which its policy has fathered ; but every ascendant interest—in feudal states—that, more especially, of land. In the transitory—that, more especially, of capital. And of credit the exploiter of capital. And, at this hour, most and worst of all !—that of trade, the exploiter of both ; nay, the exploiter of everything and of everybody—Trade ! free trade ! universal trade ! Trade through all its grades—up and down through all the hierarchy of the transitory system—From the great piracy of high sea commerce, down to the petty cheaterly of city, village, and itinerant pedlar traffic—Every ascendant interest—that is to say, every interest that has a voice, direct or indirect, in governing parliaments—a mass of population now embracing all, saving the children of labour and of poverty, together with every service renderer of society, whether with the unaided hand

or the unaided head; and saving always that first and foremost, universal service renderer of humanity—the whole sex of woman—Ay! every ascendant interest throughout the whole ascendant male sex, is fully implicated in the vast dove-tailed scheme of governmental violence, fraud, and extortion, as finally mounted throughout the whole field of human civilization, spread throughout the globe, and soldered and held together by and under the supreme civilizational influences of England.

We have stated this solidarity with crime to cover the whole field of civilization. It does. Not excepting, as we have said, America. Oh! but the puritan can keep her secrets, and feign blindness and deafness, or look another way. She, too, can play every trick learned from her step-mother, and not a few of her own, learned in her forests, from their silent and stealthy Indian. America! we could find the lash, too, for thee, were it not our rule to speak evil of folks to their face, and not behind backs, nor in the ears of a rival.

But while all and every ascendant nation, and every ascendant interest in such nation, are parties to the weight of guilt, and to the weight of misery incident to the outstanding governmental and civilizational compact, upon thy head, England! rests in sum the responsibility of the whole.

Wilt thou deny this, England? Wilt thou deny that thou art mistress of the world? Or that thy god is its master? Nay, such is thy boast, and thy own words shall be witness in the matter.

Let us speak to this, and to thee, in another chapter.

CHAPTER XXI.

GENERAL HEAD.

ENGLAND'S SCHEME TRIUMPHANT THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

CONTENTS.

Central temple of modern idolatry.—Its precincts depicted.—Contrast between it and those of the ancient world.—Palace temple of Mammon and Moloch.—Vestibule temple of Baal.—What it shews and what conceals.—Old calf of Aaron.—Idolatry of Baal that of the eastern cities of transit trade.—Jews true to it instead of the God of Moses.—How they have converted Christians.—All entering as priests of Baal.—Enigma and symbols of the religion expounded.—The world conquered to the god of England.—Heresy, scepticism, infidelity, at an end.—The governing machinery worn out.—Impending consequence.—Money king.—Position of the popedom and the temple.—Warning sign of the existing dilemma.—The Cæsar and the Cræsus.—No peoples left to work salvation.—In last extremity, woman will speak to England.—What has served its purpose must be laid aside.—Thus with the scheme.—Into what it is turning the world and its creatures.—England will transmute her scheme from source of evil into source of good.—What its transmutation involves.—In what mode England undertook to work the world into progress.—How, in succeeding, she has used up the governing principle.—No possibility of good government.—The three categories of government.—How of these the best is the worst, and the worst is the best.—Nature of government considered *in se*.—Exemplified in a page of American history.—Nothing to be done until government finds its substitute.—No delusion must remain in this matter.—Deadly warfare under government between the four cardinal principles of political science.—How exemplified by America.—Her scheme triumphant aims to subdue the western hemisphere.—Portraiture of England at the zenith of her power.—

What the interest of England herself now demands.—And of all nations.—And of society.—What civilization is not.—What in its true nature it is.—Danger which ever impended over that of antiquity has disappeared.—That which now impends over ours.—Governing principle in conquering one evil has prepared its opposite.—Human kind losing all strength, physical, mental, and moral.—What the feudal order of civilisation did.—What the transitory has done.—Neither have really enfranchised humanity.—Time to aspire after something better, and to realise all the great programmes of nations.

ENGLAND! wilt thou deny that thou art mistress of the world, or that thy god is its master?

Governments and peoples! Know ye that temple in the mighty heart of modern Babylon, where Moloch rules the world, with aid of Mammon? Not as of yore, in proud Assyria, in majestic Egypt, or in classic Greece, are—now and here—the precincts of idolatry. In scented grove, by crystal stream, or in the midst of gorgeous palaces, of porphyry and jasper, with tessellated pavements washed by sparkling fountains, and adorned with wondrous works of art. Fair images of nature's loveliest forms, or genius' bright conceptions. Priests of command and dignity, with priestesses of beauty and majestic mien. Sweet sounds of music, and fair sights of show. Or twilight woods of deep repose, with sacred bay and laurel, inspiring poetry, and calm delight, or rapturous joy, or solemn awe. No; in the midst of darkness and of smoke, stench, noise, bustle, horrid din of all discordant sounds, with sights of misery and folly, penury and pride, vice, crime, and vulgar show. Dense, anxious crowds of care-worn faces, like phantoms from old Styx, dim seen through clouds of fog, and atmosphere thick charged with noxious exhalations: Amid such purlieus stands the holiest shrine of England's god!

Walled in from vulgar scrutiny, with double doors, soft lined, to deafen the infernal din raging without. There! in the secret books of Moloch's and of Mammon's mysteries, has every nation, weak or strong, inscribed her name in testimony of fealty.

And now look at that outer temple, free for the multitude to gaze, and wonder, and to bow the knee! It is the vulgar shrine of Baal and his molten calf. The open vestibule of Mammon's palace. Where every recreant child of labour and of industry turns idler, to invoke the cheating, lying god of trade. Ah! there is the faro table, the great lottery stake, where nations and peoples barter away their bread for empty air, and are sucked dry by government. Peoples of all the earth! Come here! Look up! And read the vaunt of England, as scored in triumph over the ever open portal.

*The earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.**

And see! Read! Learn to understand, ye peoples! Learn to interpret the symbolic language in which all government veils, while it reveals, its thought. Veils for the mass at all times. Reveals to those alone who bring to its signs and seemings reflecting observation.

Enter that ever open temple of our deluded world's religion. What find we here? Schemers, traffickers, gamblers in the funds, railroad contractors, speculators, raisers and fallers of the price of stock. Sellers and buyers of credit bills on that which should be now milked dry—the labour of the tortured millions. Merchant princes, barons of the order of the calf, or their attorneys, from every groaning land. Priests of Baal all! And in the midst—look well! consider and reflect! Alone, a female figure, crowned and sceptred. Is it the majesty of England? Ay; emblem of union. Political, religious. Of the British empire, of Europe, and the globe. Also, of union populational. Of the effectual blending of those two races—the conquering and the conquered—which went to make the English nation. The royal house of Britain shewing, in its genealogy, descent from Saxon Egbert and from Norman William. Of universal union thus that female figure stands the emblem. Not the coercer. Not the holder

* Inscription over the London Exchange.

of that iron chain gilded to image gold. No; an emblem only. Innocent, powerless. Oppressed with all the empty mockeries of state, and panting for release. Like to the tortured millions, of whom she holds, not they of her. All things are now reversed from feudal times. No longer master of the state, by ownership of the soil, the sovereign is a pensioner of the state, and service renderer of the public. In this, *the People's Queen*. And, in her service, too, tasked like the people. All power, all free volition, absent. Like them held to her task. From day to day; from January to December. A name, a sign, a seal, a pageant, the mikado of Japan.*

Ay, she is here. The people's queen. A mockery to hide the real idol. Hidden he, in secret chapel, but not hard to find. A molten calf. Semblance of that by Aaron reared to still the clamour of the tribes of Israel in their long passage through Arabia's sandy ocean [and Assyria's fields. That region of the old world's transit trade. Baal its god of trade. A senseless calf, the all appropriate emblem of the soulless occupation denounced by Moses. Ah! but the stiff-necked Jews have ever proved more true to Baal than Jehovah. In Europe as in Asia, in England as in Egypt, still is the calf their idol. And see how they have passed their faith upon the world! Converting christendom, through all its length and breadth. Psha! Christians! You convert the Jews? 'Tis they who have converted Christians. And who—at this hour, as we shall see—aspire to pass a king on christendom. Why not? You worship the same god. Not him of Sinai, but of Babylon. Of Ninevah. Of Sodom and Gomorrah. Of all those trading cities of the east, who died, smothered in the stench of their corruption; or,

* See, for the best account of Japan, a little work published some years since, by Murray. It is rendered from the accurate reports of the Hollanders, who alone have a trading station on the island.

unresisting, fell beneath the yoke of barbarous conquerors. Oh, but thou art ripe, old London! to die of plague, or rot, or canker of the bones. See all, all would enter the base priesthood. All would be traders now. And are. Even the pale faced beggar in the street. The child that just can run alone. All sell, and trick, and chaffer. But none work. Not one. This, too, is deemed nobility. To raise the wind; or play the fool, or sycophant, or run the street to vend quack nostrums; or clamour for a vote, that he may find some favour in the popedom.

But let us look again! Before the open portal of the senseless god, and full in the thronged thoroughfare of men, mounted—on no war charger, but a tame and quiet steed, good, do-your-bidding animal—stands the great captain, called the iron duke. He who won the game at Waterloo, in preparation for the great governmental compact of 1815. Submiss and humble, like the creature he bestrides. Unhelmed, unbonneted; holding his baton of command half-hid under the saddle. He waits the orders of the unseen power whose temples stretch on every hand. Whose spirit fills, inspires, and animates the restless crowd, whose toil is like the Danaides, ceaseless and worthless. Of which the hideous image—like to those blood-stained and jewelled idols of old Hindostan—is hid from view. Far, far within the secret precincts of the great central temple of Mammon and of Moloch, which stands hard by. A temple open only to those governing classes represented by pope parliament. Shut always for the governed people. Yes! there stands the mighty duke. Meek, serving vassal of the hierophants who rule the world. Strange hierophants! made up of seeming. Like the plaistered idols whom they serve. Dealing in gold and credit; and themselves oftentimes insolvent. Lo! even at this hour, the supreme head of the whole complex pontificate of England and the globe, is in default to all his creditors. In this, again, resemblant of the old

pontificate of Rome ; of which the majesty was imposing, in inverse proportion to the proximity of the point of view from which it was considered. And, in this again, truly symbolic of the system which insolvent rulers thus overrule and regulate.*

But say, what does he, thus and here, the iron duke ?

He shadows forth, that force is now under control of fraud. The power held in reserve. Ready to move at its command ; and, as of course, to shield it from too close inspection by earth's cheated multitudes.

Leaving the central heart of the great Babylon—all holy ground, devoted to the secret mysteries of the temple and of its faith—let us now take our stand before its western gate. What find we here ? The duke again. Ha ! now indeed of iron. Whom, what does he threaten with that outstretched hand and air of fierce command ? The people, or the palace of their queen ? Both. All. Even pope parliament. Ay, look to it ! Soon may'st thou find a master, Popedom ! in thy own lieutenant. Here, then, he stands, to image forth that argument in last resort no government forgets.

Strangely symbolic all ! Behold the sceptre and the sword ; the city and the realm ; the governing and the governed—all, submitted to the only god, now worshipped upon earth ! Nor here alone ; but thus throughout the globe. The work then is accomplished. Every knee is bent in homage to the idol. From the king to the beggar, there is no sceptic, England, in thy creed, no stiff-necked challenger of thy god. Ha ! cease from your strife of tongues, ye angry disputants ! Believers, orthodox or heterodox ! Jews, Christians, Musselmen, Theists, Polytheists, Pantheists, or Atheists ! Where is your quarrel ? Apart your doctrines and your counter doctrines,—babel confusion of arguments and words !—

* See summary of report of proceedings of the directors of the Bank of England, at close of the current chapter.

idolators ye are all of ye, and worshippers of the same hideous idol. Come! come! let us have done with foolery! And let each sect and anti-sect confess the truth! Oh! each hath its religion. Each its bond of union, or strives to have. And that, what is it? Where? Its common fund. Its stock in land, in interest-yielding scrip. In church and chapel, with their leased out seats, as hired per hour or year. Its donating patrons, subscribers, and subscriptions. Here is its bond of union. Here is its religion. And its fund of faith is ever equal to its fund in bank. Bear friendly witness then unto each other! Admit that ye are all most catholic. As much in lead, and better held, within the shapeless shifty transitory, than ever were the vassals of the feudal within its iron framework. The day is past for fighting with opinions. Thus martyrs disappear with martyrdom; and zealots with persecution. Honour be to thy memory, Carlile! The battle was well fought and nobly won. There is no honour now in fighting shadows. Government, by corruption, is supreme. Resistance is extinct. The moloch money-god hath slain and swallowed every rival. Look to it England! Thou art an adept with the governing machine. Can trim its scales; work its see-saw; shift its buckets. Oh! none so well. Unless, indeed, thy young disciple in the western world. But—look to it! The foolish thing grows rusty. Is off the hinge. Is out of fixings all together. Plump! both pails are at the bottom. England! you will not fish them up? They are rotten, and may never again hold water.

Ay! true indeed. The governing machinery is gone. All gone. Worn out. And, as ever—when the round is made of all the forms a governing scheme can wear, and all the rivalries it can generate or sustain,—As ever it tends to concentration of all forces on one point, to centralization of all powers in one hand. Analyze English government. Apart its forms and pretexts, how many powers does it present? Two. That exercised

by pope parliament, of authorising wholesale drafts, in the form of money bills, on the productions of industry and the credit of the globe. And that, again, exercised in the palace temple of Mammon and Moloch, with aid of the priests of Baal, and their molten calf, for effecting the sale, circulation, and discounting of the same. Admit the representative of the latter power into the popedom, and, it is clear, the two powers are reduced to one. Needs it to say more? The revolution is then complete; and, from the anarchy of trade, we pass to its despotic coercion by a single hand. Exemplifying the rule, as thus ever followed by the governing principle, behold the money king—flanked by more followers and worshippers than ten thousand times ten thousand of his own ten tribes of Israel—knocks at the door of parliament. Ha, popedom of heresy! ye know your master. Refuse him if ye dare!

And did no sign foreshadow what at this hour we see? Yea; a most portentous one. At opening of the present conclave, the lieutenant of the money power was seen to take his seat with threatening air. And—before the throne, and during reading of the royal speech—to wear the hat upon his brows. Had he too found his master? and his allegiance passed from a board of bankrupt hierophants to one money king? Oh! in the world we live in, who holds the purse is sure to hold the power. How was it in the festering corruption of old Rome, where, not a mockery, but a real throne, was passed to the highest bidder? Easy to see, that when each tries to rob his neighbour and the public, and all aim to live by trade instead of industry, begging, and shuffling, and scheming, instead of work,—Easy to see that anarchy is rife and the despot at the door. The Cæsar and the Cræsus may arrange their terms together.

England! where is thy anchor now? Thy people? or the peoples of the earth? Thy scheme hath slain their souls. They who have crouched and crawled

before the chariot wheels of Juggernaut's base idol, will raise full pæans to the idol's king? Mammon and Moloch both arrayed against thee, say! say! to what false god wilt thou address thyself? Come! in this last extremity let woman's voice obtain a hearing. Woman! who never asked, nor asks for self. Who never bowed, in any land, the knee to Baal. Who never felt, nor feels, saving for others and for collective human kind. First; let her remind thee, England! of thy pledges. Of all those she has attempted to expound. Next; let her remind thee of a truth to which, in every antecedent, thy career bears testimony.

Whenever any thing resorted to for an especial purpose, has fully achieved that purpose, it has to be laid aside under penalty of working all and more mischief than it ever did good.

Will any deny that this has now been long the case with the scheme of England? Will any deny that—pushed to the utmost limit of endurance, grown huger than the world we live in—it has now, through a course of years, been mining civilization itself? Destroying humanity, in her body as in her soul? Starving—absolutely starving population? Eating it up with vice and disease? Turning earth into a vast lazar house? Into a hell of torment, and its inhabitants into lost souls and demons? Torturing and tortured; inflicting and enduring; scheming, anxious, quarrelsome, sordid, wretched, creatures? None will deny this who have not absolutely lost all moral sense, and clear intellectual perception. A predicament into which many unhappily have fallen, under the perverting paralyzing influences of the monied scheme which rules us.

But, this being so, England! thou wilt thyself lay aside thy scheme, or make it the means of passage to a new state of being. Let us distinguish, however, what the laying aside, or the transmutation, of the moneyed scheme of England involves for the world.

It involves preparation for discarding the governing principle. In sum what has been the scheme of England? Universal government by corruption. Civilizational, political, industrial, and social. Let us recal what we distinguished in the outset of our enquiry. That the mode by which England had undertaken to throw the world into progress had been by the substitution of government by fraud, for government by force. This substitution of one wrong for another wrong, as a means of passage to a right, we saw to have been necessitated by the position of things at, during and after, the period of what is called the reformation. The feudal power of Europe had then to be conquered; and while fighting is in question, order and reason are evidently out of question. But government presents small variety in its mode of proceeding. There is force and deception. Corruption and deception. Or there are corruption, deception, and force. Under this last blessed compound we all live. Corruption being now finally, the main agent. Deception being transparent for all but the grossly ignorant, or where corruption blinds both eyes and understanding. And force being held as the power in reserve.

But will any still plead that there is good, and bad, government. I beg pardon; there is only bad. Through all the conjugation of bad, worse, and worst. And I beg farther to observe, that, in the case of a thing in its nature bad, the worst should be the best. Since you have it then as in its essential oil. True that we have seen a standing paradox, in the device of a paper, some while the governmental organ of a young but powerful empire—the American. It was a paradox that went to favour the idea that government, as administered in certain proportion, might be a tolerable article. We shall elucidate the matter as being admirably calculated to elucidate the nature of government itself, as considered *in se*.

When President Jackson took in hand to play dictator in the great modern republic, this was the device that appeared in standing type, at the head of his cabinet organ. *The world is governed too much.* Those knowing in the art of politics understood, of course, full well, that the old republican commander-in-chief was about to govern with a vengeance. The student will recal the observation presented in chapter II. page 31. *Government never talks of liberty but when it has in more especial object the taking of it away.* So we may equally assert, that government never calls in question its own inherent excellence and infallibility, but when it intends to lead population into the having implicit faith in both. It is not intended to cast any censure upon the career of President Jackson. It was what was called for by the epoch, and by the work. Like Cromwell, he knew his country and his country knew him. He was clean-handed, and therefore, might dare to take in charge the nation's treasure and the nation's sword. But, in doing this, he somewhat singularly enforced the truth of his motto : *The world is governed too much.* Ay ; and the truth has not failed rapidly to become flagrant. American government having since grown, spread, and strengthened, in ever accelerating ratio until, at this hour, it threatens to submit all things to the baton of military command, from the arctic snows to the land of fire. And such is the nature of government. To be good for any thing it must be something ; and make it something, it is soon every thing. Talk of ruling it ! Its business is to rule. Weak government is a fool ; and strong government is a desperate villain. A philosopher called it a necessary evil. It has been so under all the complications of the past. But if we mean to mend the future, we must make preparation for giving it a substitute. Let there be no popular delusion in this matter. Alas ! there has been too much. Let no nation, and no class of any nation, imagine that they can ever make better of it

than has been made by others. The government of England has been called the best contrivable. We admitted that it was so ; and we explained why. (Page 64.) But will any undertake to say otherwise than that bad is the best ? And that for the ease, no less than for the morality, of population, the best is the worst ? But to remove all doubt on this head, let us, with a pencil dipped boldly in the colours of truth, draw the portrait of that received as the best. We shall take it in a singular moment, yet present to the memories of all political observers. A moment when it stood in the full flush at once of power and conquest, and of antagonistic strife. When its civilizational supremacy was in full plenitude throughout the globe, save in one realm alone. And that a realm which closed with it in dire rivalry. Its object to dilate a counter bladder of governmental credit, capable of holding in check that which threatened to bear off the world. We know what that strife brought. The pressure, as it is called, of the year 1837.

We shall here pause to note again, the deadly warfare between the cardinal principles of political science, ever rife under the rule of government. America, at that epoch, vindicated, for a third time, the principle of independence. And, while doing so, she felled to the earth popular liberty. From that hour, government, in her bosom, has reigned without rivalry. Her domestic scheme has grown and swelled until it aims to fill the western hemisphere. And, filling, to subdue it. It will ; it has perchance. Corruption makes no noise ; but swallows like the quicksand, or like the inning tide when the wind sleeps.

England ! sit for thy picture. It shall serve to show what civilizational supremacy does for its wielder. America ! thine is not yet so great ; not yet so strong. It never may, perchance, show half the majesty of that of England. But oh ! be sure of this ! It will show all the vice, the violence and crime. England ! thus

wert thou at thy culminating point of greatness. May the world ponder it, and profit by the lesson !

A starving people, shivering in hunger and nakedness ; houseless, defenceless, hopeless. And a body of all possessing, all devouring governors, who say to the earth, the air, the light, the sea, and who *would* say to the ocean, and the globe—all is mine. And see ! in the modern Babylon of a small sea-girt island, all the products and all she treasures of either Indies. Alas ! one has no more of either to yield. The Indies of the West—dead to industry, to art, to commerce—lie on their lovely Charibean sea, like the wreck of their ocean weed !

But mark the sack, and the ravage of southern Asia, and the fragrant islands of the Indian ocean ! Ay ; and onward, through all that Archipelago fair and vast, which spans an arc of the globe from Australia to Peru. And again ! The desolation of desolations, which covers that hapless continent—the servant of servants ! Despoiled of her spices, and her ivory, and her rich gums, and her sands of gold ! Yea ; and of her very children. Stolen from her bosom, and dragged across the ocean, once as slaves for life, but now only till the life's strength is worked out of them ; and then thrown to rot, to starve and to die, like the free workers of Britain.

Yet lo ! we have but skimmed over the horrors of our ravaged globe. Ravaged by the model empire of omnipotent government, in the heighth and fulness of civilizational supremacy.

Shall we look where it holds the red hot iron of its tyranny plunged in the entrails of Ireland ? Where it vexes and robs the hardy peasant of Wales ? Cripples the industry and trade of Scotland, and banishes her people from her bosom. Or again ; where it fleeces Belgium. Weighs like an incubus upon France. Stifles Portugal, and the once called happy isles in its embrace. Scowls from sea-girt Malta, and Gibraltar's Herculean pillar. Convulses Spain from her centre to her circum-

ference—cheering on the dogs of civil war, invading her coasts with armed smugglers, and laughing over the crippled industry and ruined fortunes of Barcelona. Or shall we look to where it strangles Syria in its grasp? Civilizes Caboul and Affganistan with the rape and the massacre. China with Christianity, with blood, and with poison. Jamaica with amalgamation, wrong, ruin, and robbery. Shakes over Cuba the same torch with which it fired St. Domingo, and heaped in promiscuous carnage, colours, sexes, ages, and conditions. Stretches its arms from the Thames to the St. Lawrence, and chains the Canadas in unnatural wedlock; first cemented by the murder of their sons, the violation of their daughters, the slaughter of their innocents, the arson of their villages.

And while thus presenting the sum of all conceivable iniquity ever prating of its virtue! While crushing the weak, robbing the poor, strengthening the strong, enriching the rich, courting and flattering the fraudulent, boasting of its justice! While ever promoting the enslavement and working out the utter degradation of humanity—pharisaically proclaiming its wisdom, its greatness, and—save the mark!—its philanthropy!

And lo! here is government. Government in its broadest, fullest developement and sublimest expression! Here is government as armed with an acknowledged capital of eight hundred millions of pounds sterling, and with the command and credit of the globe!

Yes! This is government. This amassing of treasure and consolidating of power. This dragging into collision opposing elements. This forcing into contact every condition of man and of things. This confounding every exigency, every necessity of time and of place. This violation of every interest of population, of every requisition of territory, of climate, race, soil, and position—This! this is government! And oh!—would we follow out this governing business—through all time and in every land—it would lead us to every vice in every

grade of society. To all the violence, the wrong, the misery, and the suffering of the civilized world. It misplaces and misuses all capital. Robs and squanders all revenue. Makes barter, and traffic, and unhallowed individual monopoly of the generous bosom of humanity's common mother—earth. It drags every interest from its centre; every energy from its sphere; and all but every man, woman, and child from their place. It disturbs all order. Subverts all reason. Violates the self-evident designs of nature herself. Separates effects from their causes, causes from their natural effects. It is a standing hurricane; sweeping over the earth from year's end to year's end; blowing every passion into flame, and all human affairs into confusion.

Ay! this is government. Not one but all. Rome was the same within the limit of the means supplied by Europe's youth; when she trod down Italia's states and all the continental crowns. But now, England! admitting thee to have had in view when launching thy scheme, that command of the civilizational field, without which the realization of any programme of reform must have been an impossibility; thou should'st seem called upon—now that thy scheme is triumphant—to make some change in thy tactics. Thy interest, England! demands this. Under government, and in these days, we shall not speak of honour. But thy interest demands a complete change of policy and a complete change of system. The compact of 1815 is now worthless for thee, England! and worthless for everybody. Not a power in Europe or the globe, blessed with more intelligence than Austria, but must distinguish this.

After all, what is the interest of nations? Precisely that which is the interest of their component individual members. They want peace. They want security. They want freedom, to be their own, to earn their own, to hold their own, and to exchange their own in its surplus, value for value, with the positive well ascertained surplus of others.

The compact of 1815, while it has secured intergovernmental peace, has set at defiance all other peace by securing none of these things; and threatens, in consequence, the ultimate rupture of intergovernmental peace itself.

There is no peace for nations with five great powers holding down all the weak, and breaking all their engagements to their own people. There is no peace for populations with the whole continent carved out to facilitate their command by the sword. With every natural demarcation of territory violated, and every habit and sentiment of its varied inhabitants outraged. There is no peace for society with every thing ordered for the purposes of governmental robbery, and for the encouragement of individual dishonesty. There is no security, while weakness is the prey of strength, poverty of wealth, honesty of fraud, woman of man. While industry is not sure of its reward. A good will of good employment. Exertion, genius of fair appreciation. Nay! we might almost say while all these are sure of the opposite. There is no popular freedom where there is no popular sovereignty and well secured territorial independence. And without popular freedom and popular sovereignty, and well secured territorial independence, there is no human dignity, and no room for human happiness upon earth. And oh! time is it to distinguish that, without human dignity and without human happiness, there is no human civilization really worthy the name.

Civilization is not made up—as some suppose—of wealth and want, luxury and misery, excess and starvation. Nor yet of railroads, steam power, electric telegraphs, fine houses, household furniture, huge cities, gaols, judges, gibbets, churches, law, physic, trade, traders, trinkets, and trumpery, tax gatherers, and taxation. Oh! civilization, true civilization, is made up of all that is beautiful and all that is glorious. Beaming faces, joyous hearts, intelligent minds, polished manners, affection, confidence, well developed, well directed ener-

gies, industry, skill, art, taste, genius, and—the guide, the stay, the light, the soul of all—science!

That terrific primitive danger which threatened, and ever, sooner or later, submerged, the successive empires of antiquity—the overflowing deluge of irruptive barbarism—is quelled for ever. Danger has now assumed another form, and—as ever—the opposing one. The governing principle, in its conquest of the first evil, now threatens ruin to our collective race from the second. Fraud, in supplanting force, has prepared, nay! is rapidly effecting, deterioration of the species by physical weakness, mental aberration, moral apathy, and social disorganization. Men and women are dwindling down in compass of soul as in stature of body. Universal helplessness, and nothingness, and silliness, and sordidness are changing the very shape and complexion of humanity. Attenuating all her faculties, corroding and palsying her energies, defacing her beauty and destroying her affections. To the rescue! To the rescue! three saviours of our race! Oh! quick to the rescue, science, industry, and woman!

We have seen that of the two civilizations which have been, with a certain degree of success, developed, and which still hold conjointly the field in modern Europe; the first subjugated man the barbarian; the second has loosened the chains of his servitude by substituting the stimulus of monied gain for the coercion of force. Neither, however, have effectually enfranchised either the mind or the body of the masses. The last may have exchanged error for ignorance, demoralization for stupidity, the fear of starvation for the awe of the priest, or the fear of the stick. Or may have taught men to ambition the defrauding of others in reprisal for being defrauded themselves. Time surely it is to aspire after a nobler destiny. To develop a higher order of civilization. To give a voice to all the nobler aspirations of the human soul. To realise some, nay! all, of those generous programmes which every nation has scored

successively on the page of history, only to deplore their failure, or to forsake their principles.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXI.

SUMMARY REFERRED TO IN NOTE OF PAGE 373.

It appears by the recently published report of the proceedings of the half-yearly general meeting of the proprietors of the Bank of England, who also expressly meet for the purpose of considering and declaring a dividend in their own favour; that the governor of the institution, under the charter, and by vote of his brethren proprietors, is—to the knowledge of the board, and of the public at large—insolvent. It appears, also, from the same, that out of the nine governors selected, during the last eighteen years, to preside over the affairs of the bank, six had been in the same predicament. It appears, farther, that—upon proposal being made for the taking of measures calculated to prevent the repetition of circumstances so notoriously discreditable—the board are of opinion, that there is no room for enquiry, or for precautionary measures. And, moreover, it appears, that the board are unanimously of opinion that all composing it are men whose integrity and ability are above suspicion. The result of the whole being, that the proprietors divide among themselves—with loud cheers—“a handsome dividend,” and “a bonus” in addition; and separate with mutual felicitations touching the rising profits of banking considered as a general business. The same being more especially felicitous at a time when all other business is declared to be sinking under accumulating embarrassments.

CHAPTER XXII.

GENERAL HEAD.

WHAT HAS BEEN EXPOUNDED AND WHAT REMAINS TO EXPOUND.

CONTENTS.

The great work ambitioned by every great empire throughout the past now achieved.—What it is.—Historical synopsis of current treatise closed.—What it will have rendered apparent touching the nature and uses of all history.—Accurately to conceive of any portion, the whole must be conceived as a whole.—The two portions which remain to be considered.—Ancient past and future.—What each will embrace and what especial truths expound.—To what civilizational authority, and to what history and political system the modern, past, and present, have attached themselves.—To what the future will more especially attach itself.—Changes which it is hoped the present treatise may induce in human judgments.—Sole criterions of patriotism and virtue.—Truth to be transferred from men to principles.—How the world is still in gross idolatry.—The same to be more forcibly demonstrated in the next treatise.—Historical elucidations of the present closed.—Something yet called for to point their application.—As the past engendered the present so both past and present will create, and must inaugurate the future.—How, to be seen in another chapter.

THE work, then, is achieved. The work which Egypt tried. Which Rome thought to have mastered. Which every potent empire has, by turns, instinctively ambitioned. Our world is conquered from the errant savage, and civilization saved from irruptive barbarism. This dire calamity will never more afflict our globe.

But also the first rude education of our collective race, by government no less than by conquest has been brought to bear. Man has passed through all the modes of violence, and next of fraud which are inherent in his untamed nature.

In order correctly to conceive of the road which has been traversed, and of the point now occupied by our collective race, we have in the current treatise embraced a synopsis of history from the rise of our modern civilization out of the bosom of barbarism to the passing hour. The mode followed—of developing the subject as a continuous whole, and of considering it in its principles, rather than its events—will, it is conceived, have rendered evident to the student that civilization, is not only a conquest but a science. Or—if we please—that it is the great practical result of all science as laboriously elaborated by the experience of ages. And, again ;—That history—correctly viewed and lucidly interpreted—presents us with that science in the course of its elaboration.

At this point also we should be farther brought to distinguish ;—That the future can never be anything but the result of the past, as ever wisely turned to account by the best science of the present. A truth that should involve the perception of the primary importance of attaining a correct view of that past. A thing utterly unattainable by the mere study of history in its events. More especially while those events are—as they have ever been to this hour—distorted, ignorantly by prejudice, violently by passion, or designedly by government.

In the current treatise we have confined ourselves to the period of modern history as having more immediate reference to existing exigencies and pressing evils. But satisfactorily to attain the desirable object of seizing an accurate general conception of the course followed, and yet to be followed, by man species during the whole course of ever progressive civilization, two additional

essays on the plan followed in the present are—it is conceived—indispensable.

The one will expound the birth of civilization in its generating causes, and embrace a view of the ancient world in the principles which rule its successive empires, until the final corrosion by corruption, and destruction by barbarism, of imperial Rome. The other will present a view of the future considered also in its principles. Expound that definitive order of civilization which—in the progress of its extension and development—is to embrace the globe; and read the exposition of those triune principles which constitute the god of the universe. Principles, of which Egyptian science conceived a general, however imperfect, an idea, and of which the triple crown of Rome's pontificate exhibited the emblem.

In preparing the essays here enounced, we shall—as of necessity, regard being had to the more urgent demands of the epoch—invert the order their subjects will occupy in time. Thus we shall present the future, first; and the ancient past, second.

In keeping with the position that the present is but the result of the past, and that the future can never be other than the result of the present as ever turned to profit by the best knowledge of the world,—In keeping with this position, we have seen modern history attach itself, in its principles, to catholic Rome—that phoenix born from the commingled ashes of sacerdotal Egypt and her classic successors—and, again; to the political acts, and political history of Anglo-Norman England. In keeping again with the same position, we shall see in the next treatise,—the future attach itself, in its principles, more especially to the history of England's convulsive revolutionary movement, and to the political acts and political system of Anglo-Norman America. The prefatory elucidations it is intended to present in connexion with these, will—it is conceived—somewhat curiously assist the farther elucidation of the subject matter em-

braced in the present work, no less than facilitate our conception of the general course of the future.

Until the great whole of history shall be thus embraced in those principles which will be found to supply the keys of the past, the present, and the future, we can but indistinctly appreciate any of its epochs. Yet is it hoped that the expositions now offered will induce no small change in human perceptions and judgments. Tend to throw new light on the political career of nations, classes, parties, and individuals; of all, in fine, who mark in the annals of humanity either as coercers or expanders of her liberty, while urging forward the great work of her civilizational emancipation. Induce the conviction that men, the most opposed, may have had equal reason in their views; and present, for the sole criterions of patriotism, as of all virtue, absence of a selfish purpose, and even the suspicion of monied gain. How few among the many pretenders to divine honours have left these sureties to posterity, the annals of the past, and the experience of the present, unfortunately attest. But if many should be retrenched from our list of heroes, so will others from our list of criminals. While we ourselves may learn to sit down in humility; and—musing over our own misjudgments—see, in definitive, to transfer our faith from men to principles. Distinguishing—as most certainly we shall—that the world is even yet in gross idolatry. Worshipping ever, in all things, the idol in lieu of the god; the material engine, or blind agent, in lieu of the motive power and creative energy. The important truth here shadowed out will stand forth in bold relief, when, in our next treatise, we enter on the exposition of the future, considered in the principles of its religion, its theory, and its framework. The whole tending to resolve all the more vital questions which divide nations and society; and to lanch human thought and human practice in a new direction, removed from every danger, and

ever advancing humanity, rapidly yet peacefully, towards her ultimate destiny of justice and felicity.

We should seem, then, here to have brought our immediate subject to a close : *The history of England the Civilizer, considered in its principles, with reference to the civilizational history of modern Europe, America inclusive.* Something farther, however, may be called for in the way of pointing the application of the whole, with *a view to the denouement of the difficulties of the hour.*

We have seen how the past, by the necessities it ever entails, and the pledges it ever bequeaths, is the engenderer of the present. And we, in consequence, distinguish how the future, by the experience it will inherit, and the science it by that experience must create, can be but the result of both. This being so, it should seem that the past and the present are called to preside over the approaching, because the necessitated, inauguration of the future.

We shall enquire in another chapter how this may be suitably effected.

CHAPTER XXIII.

GENERAL HEAD.

THE PAST AND THE PRESENT MUST INAUGURATE THE FUTURE.

CONTENTS.

New civilizational phenomenon in preparation.—Transactions no more possible.—Definition of a transaction.—Definition of a transition.—Time to prepare for transition.—How it has been impossible through the past.—Similitude between political and celestial bodies.—How perturbation in one is felt by all.—Phenomena attendant on convulsive revolutions expounded.—Illustrated by that of France.—Civilization a conquest till peace is conquered.—Consummation attained.—Transition imperative.—To prevent convulsion, past and present must inaugurate the future.—Necessitated by progressive instincts of humanity.—Constitutional head of the past.—Pontifical Rome.—Constitutional head of the present financial England.—With these rest the duty and the means of preparing a peaceful passage from an old to a new world.—Appeal to Pius the Ninth.—Jesuits.—Destructive as an order.—May render service as individuals.—Appeal to England.—Appeal to Rome and England.—Holy Alliance.—Religion, bond of union.—What that is, and what it does, which now holds men together.—World in strife cannot be reformed.—Sects must be approached.—Parties dissolved.—Hearts cheered.—Minds enlightened.—Who will lead the way.—Two programmes of Rome.—What they were.—First, is that of England.—Second, is that of France.—Will return to both.—Old pontificate of Rome invoked.—Old pontificate of England invoked.—Jesuits in protestant churches.—Both pontificates invoked.—France invoked.—Her pontificate of science invoked.—The three leaders of the faith of nations.—America will produce the principles of the future held in heirloom from her founders.—Extraordinary epoch.—Two poles of system drawing into harmony.—What this foreshows.

ALL things, to be done well, must be done *in* and *with* order. And when so done, they are done in peace. We have attempted to embrace a general, but comprehensible and comprehensive, view of the rise and development of the two civilizations which have, more or less, enveloped Europe and the world since their birth in the bosom of the dark ages. The desperate and protracted conflict which took place between them. The political transaction by which England first mastered their hostility in her own bosom. The general civilizational transaction which was finally induced between the same. With the consequences—so cruel in time, however promising for the futurity of our collective race—which have arisen out of the whole. We now touch an epoch which promises to present a civilizational phenomenon of a character entirely new. And this is *a transition*. Of *transactions* the world has seen many. Such has been the never-failing end of every revolution. That is to say ; wherever the political body, subjected to political convulsion, has escaped absolute subjugation by conquest, foreign or domestic. But *a transition* the world has never yet seen. Unless in the far-back nights of time in Hindostan. So far back, indeed, that we know nothing of its history. Still, we may distinguish, I think, such an event to have had place in that primitive empire. This is a matter, however, altogether foreign to our present subject.

And now, *what is a transition?*

To arrive at this better, let us recal the nature of a transaction.

We have seen a transaction to constitute *a compact, by which a political body or a civilizational system compounds between two orders of things, and modifies without renouncing its governing principle.*

A transaction then presents the epoch ; when a political body, without any convulsive acceleration of movement in its turn on the governmental axis, makes silent, and—for careless eyes—imperceptible, but—for reflect-

ing observation—very important, advance in political experience; and—up to a certain point of time—in industrial progress. But also, a simultaneous, and ever-accelerating deterioration in the physical well-being and moral habits of the great mass of population. All this has been super-eminently the case under the transactions of England, America, and France. And the whole for one simple reason. The rapid and ever-increasing absorption of population into the governing power. Government being the art of organized robbery on a large scale; it follows that all who meddle with government cease from honest occupation to take to raising the wind, trading, swindling, or stealing. A fact which must inevitably induce the suffering of the great mass, and the corruption and uneasiness of the whole, of society.

And now, *what is a transition?*

A transition, as the word implies, *presents the act of passing from one state of being to another state of being.* We distinguish it—in the physical world—in the exit of the bird from the egg, in the passage of the worm to the butterfly, in all the natural phenomena of the universe, and in those, artificially induced, in chemistry and physics. As applied to a political body, or a civilizational system, it involves an entire change, and not a mere modification, of its motive principle. The world has been and is under the governing principle. We have seen, and we see, all forms of it. From the most odious—that of Austria, by means of the statu quo of ignorance—to the most impracticable, that of America since her great financial revolution; that of Britain since her reform bill; and that of France since the complete realization of her tricolored programme. In all these great nations, bribery and deception—in a differing mode in each, but equally costly and equally destructive in all—supply the chief means for driving along the ship of state. It is unnecessary to explain that bribery must have a limit. And we should seem to touch that limit.

Since all society is plunged in demoralization and harassed with uneasiness; since the mass find it hard to live; since many are threatened with starvation; and since, in some countries, no small number are starving outright.

We may distinguish, then, that it is time to prepare for a transition. That is to say; for a passage, out of governing and being governed, robbing and being robbed, into something better. This *something better* is what all the best intelligence of nations have been aiming at since the beginning of civilization. They could never get at it because they were exposed to war. And once take to fighting, there is, of course, an end to all useful thinking, as to all useful working.

And here—let us observe—we see the cause why no single political body, in the crisis of revolution, has ever been able to arrive at a transition; and why it is ever forced or drawn into a transaction. No sooner does it set to work to mend its affairs than, either its own people get to fighting, as was the case in England, 1640; or all neighbouring governments fall upon it, as was the case with France, 1792; and has been the case with every people who have tried a similar experiment. This proceeding on the part of governments is most unconscionable; and yet for which there is a natural cause that it may be instructive to distinguish.

A political body, in a civilizational system, corresponds exactly to a celestial body in a celestial system. Let anything unusual happen to one planet, and perturbation is impressed upon others. Thus it was that France, in the convulsion of revolution, presented—as a matter of necessity, and without any fault of hers—hostile poles to every outstanding political body in Europe. These, as a matter of course, attempted to arrest her movements. Not succeeding—again as a matter of course—they quickened the energy they aspired to arrest. When, bursting from their grasp, she dashed like a comet without a determined orbit, right

and left through the civilizational system. Threatening universal destruction. Until the never-failing laws of nature, and re-acting consequences of things, brought her—on the one part—to order; and modified—on the other—the position and the movements of every member of the European family. Thus, then, we distinguish how civilization is necessarily a conquest, until such time as peace itself is conquered. A time at which we are finally arrived. Consequently, transaction is no longer a necessity, and preparation for transition becomes imperative.

But, now, with a view to conducting things in order, and, consequently, with success; the past and the present should inaugurate the future.

They *must* do so under penalty of again convulsing the world. And this; because the present is untenable; and because being untenable, humanity must move forwards, since she cannot turn backwards upon the past. When the river, in recoil, flows upwards to its mountain tarn. When nature ruptures her interminable chain of necessitated cause and effect. Then shall Jesuits drive back the progressive creature man into the cavern of primeval ignorance, from whence he started. And a holy alliance of kings, under the auspices of a molten calf; and paper kites, fastened to railroads on earth or in the moon, bind the nations for ever to their car of Juggernaut, and crush out the immortal soul of humanity!

The past and the present must inaugurate the future; under penalty of convulsion throughout the whole length and breadth of civilization.

The appropriate, or—if we please—the *constitutional* heads of the past and the present are:

Of the past; The old spiritual pontificate of Christian catholic Rome. Holder of the religious bond which, during a course of ages, cemented the governing landed interests, and protected the governed populational interests, of feudal Europe. But which, at the present,

leaves the first at the mercy of a triune despotism of kings ; and abandons the last to the benighted domination of the society of Jesus.

Of the present; The new financial pontificate of protesting England. Holder of that now universal bond of union, which has usurped catholic supremacy over that of Rome. And which cements, albeit with poor protection, the multifarious governing interests of all the property-holding, trading, speculating, and money-fingering classes of the whole complex civilizational system. But which leaves the governed interests of the great proletariat mass, and those of the whole sex of woman, to shift for themselves. The first enumerated, however, being delusively placed—in the transitory division—under the nominal protection of, what are called, *representatives of the people*. The same being always representative : First ; Of their own personal interests. Second ; Of the governing interests of their property-holding, trading, or speculating, nominators or employers. The second ; that is, the universal interests of the female sex—the true parent sex of all humanity—being left without promise, or even thought, of rescue, to all the natural, and all the legally organised, rapacity of unchallenged unassailable male supremacy.

Self evidently with the two constitutional holders of the old and the new religious bond of union—Rome and England—rests the duty, as rest the means, of preparing a peaceful transition from a confused, uneasy, contentious, often violent, and always iniquitous, present, to a wise, beneficent, and ever acceleratingly progressive future.

Mastai Ferretti ! Pope Pius the Ninth ! mount in very deed the old apostolic throne of Roman Christendom ! Pronounce the irrevocable dissolution of the society of Jesus. Call to order that brotherhood of priests, who make of the chains of ignorance a religious bond for the mass, and of craft and of cunning, one for themselves. Throw them loose from their society ; and among them,

shall be found those who will receive, from thee, the law of progress, and guide ignorance, gently and wisely, by the paths of labour, and industry, and sobriety, into the common fold of nations and of humanity. Various the point of advancement now occupied by races, classes, and individuals. Various the modes by which they may be won, and the teachers by which they may be led. Jesuit as Presbyter, Anglican as Roman, may further the good cause, so that the law of progress be made catholic for all, and a new and righteous bond of universal union be supplied by a righteous organization of universal society. Father of old Christendom! speak to the shepherds and to the flock! Dissolve the bond of Loyola! Annul the Jesuits as an order! If they resist, let the old thunders of the church break once again over the zenith, and wake all the echoes of the civilizational heaven! Excommunicate the heretics! And all the peoples of the earth shall give strength to thine arm, and wing the bolt to its aim.

Stand forth, as in the origin, sage and benign pontificate of resuscitating Rome! Stand forth once more, the protector of civilization against barbarism; weakness against strength; nature against law; law against violence; mind against brute matter; woman against man; peoples against kings; and humanity against government. Speak once again, in the voice of authority, to those who affect thy law and delude ignorance with thy name! Lay thy commands upon thine ancient liegeman—most apostolic Austria! Remind Prussia of his pledge to Europe! Tell the self-crowned despot that his bird of prey hath set his talons in the very entrails of that great and ancient empire, first conquered by thy apostle Charlemagne to peaceful agriculture. Tell him to cage his eagle, and make place for the bee! * To march home his fierce cohorts! Nor wait until the people rouse

* The bee was the appropriate emblem of the great and wise apostle of modern civilization, Charlemagne.

to read to him his own device : *Suum cuique*.* Bid Germany expound her golden bull in keeping with the sovereign good of her electorates, instead of her electors ! Challenge for the weak an equal voice with the strong ! † Call to order the political heads of nations, now usurping social and civilizational authority as thyself of yore did the political !

To do this with power, call to thy aid a church once part of thy own ; but which brake from it to represent independence and liberty, while thine stood fast upon union and order.

England ! Constitutional head of all the heresy of chrisendom ! thou wilt answer the appeal. England ! whom we have seen in protest by the voice of her Norman William at the conquest. By the united voices of all the three powers of her feudal system in the civil constitutions of Clarendon. By the voice of her domestic hierarch in the national compact of Runnymede. By the voice of her furious Henry at the opening of religious revolution. By the conflicting voices, and valiant swords, of her whole people ; as raised, in protest and counter protest, against every form and mode of oppression, spiritual or temporal, during the course of political revolution. By the voice of her Commons, and the more energetic voice of her bishops, against the dispensing and suspending prerogatives of James. By the bill of rights and all the arrangements of her transaction. By the whole course of her history which it has been our attempt, rapidly indeed, yet faithfully to illustrate.

* See in all place and all time, the lying pretexts and hypocritical sayings and doings of government ! Prussia starts with the device *Suum cuique*. *To each his own*. Then puts a crown on his own head, quarters Poland with the sword, and now belts with iron the whole Germanic confederacy !

† Under the governmental compact of 1815, each of the great powers exercise in the German Diet four votes, the smaller one. Thus effectually submitting all things to the rule of iron Prussia and leaden Austria.

England! Thou must unite thy pontificate to that of Rome for a greater blow of civilizational authority than that we have invoked against the Jesuits. And without which, in fact, the constitutional suppression, by the voice of Rome, of the society of Jesus, might, and would, prove as void as all other constitutional enactments when judged incommodious for the designs of government.

The master blow to be struck at this hour by Rome and England, acting in conjunction, is the suppression of the holy alliance. The holy brotherhood of kings will ever sustain the holy brotherhood of priests; as we are candidly told in that treaty of the holy alliance, which we have noted to have been ultimately signed by every crowned head of Christendom, saving only by the two civilizational crowns of Rome and England. Both thus standing apart, as umpires in last resort for the nations, and as sureties for humanity. The one, umpire all puissant over the consciences of catholic christendom, and the volitions of the masses in arrearated countries. The other—as holding the common purse of the whole system, and commanding the credit of the globe—all puissant over the volitions of every government, the fortunes of every nation, the movements of every party in every nation, and the energies of every man in every party.

Here then are the facilities for commanding the world for the good of the world. But in what sense that good?

Religion is the bond of union. One, only one—the just and true—must hold the world in confraternity. But to discover and apply that true, and therefore, when applied, eternal bond, strife, and disputation must cease. Sects and parties must disappear from the earth, and knowledge must be poured upon the mind of population. Industry is the source of wealth; but for industry to find followers, it must be sure of its reward. Happiness is the end of existence, but to know happiness, man

must be at ease; and to be at ease, there must be an end to robbery and taxation.

Religion is the bond of union. The poor mockery of it which now holds men together, by their fraud and by their vice, has turned society into a den of thieves. While the disputatious theology, irksome observances, and gossipping censoriousness, employed to disguise the real state of the case, add idiocy, or lunacy, or hypocrisy, to complicate its evils. And now how to proceed?

A world in strife through all its component elements, and ignorant with respect to all its vital interests and duties, however ripe for convulsion, is in no condition for *re-formation*.

Religion is the bond of union; but how and by whom may preparation be made for discovery and application of the just and the true?

They who took the lead must keep the lead, or fail to honour, valour, and the world's expectancy. Civilization, like the flame, points upwards. The hand of government, ever compressing it, hath heaped upon it for ages Pelion upon Ossa. Remove the burden, and the reviving world dilates her form; and—through all her realms, her empires, continents, and hemispheres—feels the electric current perforate, pervade, and renovate her being.

Since the universal ascendancy of the money-jobbing transitory, the lead reign of all European government—that is, of national coercion and populational vexation and taxation—has been in the hand of England. But—her scheme having done its work; having subdued the globe—even now, the civilizational reign abroad, and the political at home, slacken within her grasp. Signs and symptoms of this are everywhere. The voice of her own governed people speaks through the press; is heard even within the palace of pope parliament. Beyond, throughout the whole European system, humanity begins to breathe. And, see! instanter at the counter pole, are signs of life. Italy stirs throughout her states.

And—hosanna! hosanna! Victory! victory!—It is her pontiff now who takes the lead; and gives expression to the ancient thought of Arnold. Hosanna! hosanna! Victory! victory! The hour of thy redemption, Europe! strikes. England returns to Italy the programme that she snatched from the devouring flames of Arnold's martyrdom in Europe's unripe infancy. And she returns it now that the world—approaching to one homogeneous state—is ready for attempting its exhibit. Assimilated in their evils, sufferings, wants, hopes, and aspirations, a universal solidarity reigns throughout the nations. They pant to be enveloped in one vast according system. In principle, the same for all, yet ever yielding in its forms, so as to suit the point of advancement occupied in time by each; and, equally, to aid its best and wisest progress towards the goal of universal knowledge, ease, and joy.

But the work of the hour is not yet one of organization, but of preparation. The mind of humanity must be enlightened. Its heart must be warmed and gladdened with fresh and active currents of new blood. Her soul must be expanded, elevated, purified with kindly emotions, generous sympathies, lofty aspirations. And yet other work of preparation there is which we shall distinguish presently.

Successfully, and universally, to bring to a close the long and deadly rivalities:—First; between catholic and protesting Europe. And then between all the protests and counter-protests of the latter. Will not the pontiff of Rome lead the way; taking himself definitively from under cover by the suppression of the order of Jesus, and inviting catholic christendom to universal love and universal progress? And, let us recal:—

In the outset, pontifical Rome, in resistance of barbarism, had a programme of civilization, of order and of beneficence. To coerce the puissance of kings, she forsook her programme for a scheme of universal dominion. Exploiting the ignorance of the masses, and neutralizing

the power of the sword by the terrors of superstition. Again—at the great epoch of the revival of letters and artistal genius—she inaugurated over the destinies of the Lateran the patron deity of Athens. Behold, then, Rome hath two programmes! two glorious programmes! The first is one and the same with that of England, as we saw it formulated in magna charta. The second is one and the same with that of France; as we find it illustrated by France in her political code; in her general course of foreign policy; and in the place ever occupied by her in the system as a bright sun of humanizing science, art, letters, and liberal philosophy. As an impartial umpire also, and generous sympathizer with the whole family of humankind. Rome will return to her programmes; and, joining in her own, the hands of England and France, she will bring to a close the long rivalry of nations. Neutralize all heresy, by justifying all its martyrs. Silence the discord of sects by removing all ground of scism. Conquer superstition by kindling the torch of knowledge. Recal to Austria her ancient pledges. Suggest to sovereign princes their duties. Invoke for population an interest in the soil it fertilizes and in the wealth it creates. Assert for Italy independence of transalpine suzerainship. For Switzerland political sovereignty. Remind peoples of their common interests. Humanity of her common nature. Invoke—as best she may who, in her mind did first conceive, and, in her policy, prepare it,—Invoke the universal confraternity of the species. And—instituting a jubilee in honour of universal peace, civilizational, political, and social—invite preparation for the exhibit of a new order of things upon earth.

Following the initiative of Rome, wilt not thou, England! take thy old constitutional pontificate from under cover also, and speak to all protestant christendom in the words of reason, union, and peace. Not church Roman only has its Jesuits. Look to thy own England! And let Scotland look to hers! And every sect in every

land, in number uncountable, in name and doctrine unpronounceable, and inconceivable. Pro and anti, negative, and affirmative, but all positive and argumentative, or pharisaical and hypocritical. Lovers of lucre and not lovers of truth! Grinders of the poor and deceivers of the simple! Ever prating of the lowly Jesus, while worshipping the molten calf! Have not all their Jesuits? Even thy church of science, France! with all our schools of learning and philosophy. See, then! 'tis in the universal principle the error lies, not in the men, nor even in the sect. Ah! time to raise a universal protest against all sects, all creeds, and all religions of opinion! Religions of opinion? Confounders of reason, fomentors of strife, and panders to the money god—a truce to all!

Old church of Becket and of Langton! Rouse from the sloth of ages. They who are the emblem of all power—the people, and she who is the emblem of all union—the people's queen, shall give the signal. And, at their voice, wilt thou not recal the zeal of thy patriots, the blood of thy martyrs, the indulgent charity of thy ancient days? And, say! shalt thou find no statesman-prelate as of yore to take the field with protest and with tocsin? Protest against intolerance and anarchy; tocsin to liberty and peace? To propound in behalf of the masses the law of justice? In behalf of humanity the law of progress? To smite with his pastoral staff the gilded calf on the forehead, and to lay it prostrate on the floor of the temple? To overturn the tables of the money changers, and to drive the buyers and sellers out of the sanctuary? To invoke the exchange of a religion of lies and of thievery for one of truth and of righteousness? The dreamings of faith for the realities of knowledge. Contradictory dogmas and conflicting opinions for right training in science, and in art, and in all the creations of industry? To transmute, what is now a chain of bondage and a yoke of servitude, into a bond of populational, civilizational, and cosmopolitan confraternity? To bring forth from the archives the long forgotten charter of freedom, and

to open the great epoch, so long ambitioned and so long deferred, of peaceful revolution; by instituting a solemn festival in honour of that 15th of June, 1215, now left for six hundred and thirty-two years without commemoration.

Old pontificates of Europe! First creative and protective parents of her civilization! The one original holder *in capite* of the soil of earth, but only as in trust for her children. The other vindicator of the rights of the collective people, and inaugurator of the principle of human progress! To you belongs, at this hour, to claim for states and for population their own. To invoke the universal acknowledgment of collective human kind as sovereign pontiff of the globe! As holder *in capite* of its earth, and its waters, and its atmosphere! The same to be removed from all absolute individual appropriation, as from all profanation from sale or barter, evermore and for ever. And farther, to invoke the acknowledgment of each collective people as sovereign for the administration of its own affairs, within the territory it occupies and fructifies by its labour and its industry.

Following the lead of the civilizational crowns, wilt not thou, France! fulfil thy pledges to the nations? Shall not thy pontificate of science speak aloud to the world? Smite, on the forehead, superstition, and hereditary station, with every form of exceptional prejudice, whether of race or of creed? Vindicate the cause of nations without the pale.* Lead by the hand the sacred relics of Kosciusko's Poland, and claim for them a flag, a country, and a name? Make them the quickeners of Slavonian states, and their own state the cynosure of all? Bring into the field the crescent with the cross, and, over both—brighter and higher—raise the sun of science? Noble thy place among the nations, France! Pointing aright the mind of either pole, Europe's whole

* Note of exposition given at close of chapter.

system shall be gently drawn from darkness into light, from strife to concord.

Owning the influence of one or all of these three leaders of the faith of nations, shall not each political body in the system give a voice to some generous programme long silent in its annals? Justify some initiative taken by its fathers; celebrate some day of glorious recollections for its people; and—instituting enquiry into the condition of its whole population, and into the amount and the nature of its responsibilities and its resources—prepare for a complete re-organization of society, and for a new order of civilization upon earth?

Joining in the glorious work of renovation, and facilitating its extension and execution throughout the globe, wilt not thou, America! then take from under cover of thy governing scheme those principles of the future which are held in heirloom from thy colonial fathers, and expound to us the enigma on the frontal of thy temple.

Speak we in dreaming here, or do we prophesy? Breathless with awe, and in expectancy, we pause. Where are we in the tide of time, and course of wonderful events? Lo! we approach an epoch such as our globe hath never seen. Such as should change, as by art magic, its whole economy. Rome and England! From the beginning those dissentient poles of Europe's inform system, draw—at the very passing instant—into frank accordance! What should this foreshow? Nay! What should this necessitate?

It necessitates the taking of all things from under cover; the securing to each state its sovereignty, and the placing each collective sum of population, and each individual unit of such sum, upon its own merits, and its own feet.

Under these governing schemes, everything has been other than it seemed, and nothing has been itself. We have lived in a world of fictions, nightmares, and waking dreams. To unravel the whole of it would demand

a lifetime of more profitless study than the hieroglyphics of ancient Egypt. Let us throw but a glance on it. Sufficient to distinguish the nature of the system which is about to pass away, and of that which must be called into being.

All the energies of man, of nature, and of the universe, put under cover of mythology and theology, or the fog of metaphysics. These, again, put under cover of old scriptures, and talmuds, and epistles, and gospels, transcendental expositions and expositors, interpretations and interpreters. All the cardinal principles of political science put, and crushed, under government. This again put under cover of worm-eaten heir-looms, or subtle contrivances and verbal constructions, called established usage and sacred constitutions. All darker than enigmas, variable as the cameleon, and shifty as the quicksand. These again put under cover of statute enactments, exceptional legislation, tropes and figures, symbols, images, and signs. All the principles of political economy put under cover of law, and law put under cover of lawyers. All the wealth of society put under cover of debt. All the soil and treasures of earth put under cover of mortgage. And this debt and this mortgage put under cover of bills of promise and of credit beyond the power of human labour to redeem. The value of all things put under cover of money. Money put under cover of gold, and gold put under cover of legal protection. Woman put under cover of man. States and nations put under cover of metropolitans. All the peoples of Europe's continent put under cover of three despots. Our earth itself, with all that it contains and carries, put under cover of a religion of Juggernaut, to which every other, that of India inclusive, is held in subservient obedience, and pays annual tribute.* And to close the circle of the interminable

* The regular tribute paid by the Indian temple of Juggernaut to the English temple of Juggernaut has been 60,000 rupees. Reduced somewhat of late, from the exhausted state of the country.

mystification, the whole put under cover of representatives, so called, of the British people sitting in the Commons House, St. Stephen's, Westminster. Which—as we see—brings us round to the point whence we started, of the molten calf and pope parliament.

And now a word here, as in final elucidation of this most wonderful scheme of universal delusion. All rests upon one fiction, presented in the word and the thing *representation of the people*. I beseech the common sense of the deluded millions of all countries to look at it. Representatives of the people! Can such exist? Can such, by any manner of means, be contrived or conceived of? What are the people? The people are, or ought to be, and would be but for the scheme of iniquity which depraves all hearts, confuses all heads, and transforms everything, from what it is, to seem what it is not—The people are, or ought to be, all energy, all production, all intelligence. The heart's core of humanity! The people are all the service-renderers of society, either with hand or with head. They are all, of either sex, who think, feel, act, with a view to the improvement and the happiness of earth. And now see! Who can represent this? Nothing short of God Almighty. And when God Almighty—that is, the energies inherent in all the modes of truth—shall appear in human forms, and give evidence that they do so, then, and not till then, may the people find representatives meet for them. And, be it observed, that this was a matter perfectly understood by the contrivers and carvers of things at the epoch of the transaction. Those wily politicians saw well enough that, to carry all before them, and over the heads of the people, they must make a sham god almighty. And so they did. They decreed parliament for omnipotent; and, with aid of the calf, they made it so. And, being omnipotent, it was of course infallible. Since no one blessed with common sense was likely to call in question the decrees of omnipotence. But now that the calf is brought to extremity. Absolutely used

up with the worship of its votaries. Like those images and relics worn away by the kisses of their adorers—Now, perhaps, it may be ventured, without provoking suspension of habeas corpus, to put and answer a plain question. What is a representative of the people, as now so called? He who may talk loudest and promise best? He is—we mean no offence to any—But he is—in the nature of things, he is—a humbug, and a father of humbugs. Since, as we see, he and his brotherhood have been, and are, the main creators and sustainers of the gigantic house that Jack built, in which poor humanity hath so long found her uneasy habitation.

Who, then, it will be asked, is to do the governing? Nobody. Or, if you please, everybody. Which clearly brings to a close the whole governing business, by leaving nobody to be governed. When—as of course and as of necessity—the people will manage their own affairs. What! Everybody manage everything? No. That is precisely what everybody at this time tries to do. The consequence of which is, that the affairs of everybody are in the worst possible condition.

And now, seeing that, with the overthrow of the calf of Baal and the temple of Mammon, all things must, of necessity, come from under cover, shall we exhibit what the general uncovering will both disclose and constitute?

NOTE referred to page 404 of present Chapter.

It has been explained (pages 49 and 368,) that Poland was neither in the lead of the catholic hierarchal, feudal, nor of the protesting transitory. Nor yet again of the autocratic Moscovite. Nor of the military, despotic Prussian. Hence the source of all her unpitied woes and unavenged wrongs. Ireland has experienced all the misery of a similar position, with the addition of being divided, from the beginning, against herself by the arts of her conqueror. These are now matters that should be distinguished with a view to the comprehension of history. Let the student, also, observe how France—as general sympathiser with the injured and the outcast—has held intimate relations both with Ireland and with Poland.

CHAPTER XXIV.

GENERAL HEAD.

UNCOVERING OF ALL THINGS.

CONTENTS.

Bursting of the bubble scheme involves general uncovering of all things.—Reference to introductory expositions touching the five modes of truth, and the biune principles regulative of the same.—Return to question there left unanswered.—America apostrophised.—Question answered in the word.—How uncomprehended by the human mind, in the phenomenon, because still unexhibited in practice.—Federation the correspondent in human economy to polarity in that of the universe.—What it is, and what it does.—What it destroys, and what it creates.—Administration its direct expression.—Also the result of the principles of order and liberty.—The four cardinal principles of political science brought into harmony.—Induces the biune action of the principles of industrial truth. Again those of intellectual truth. Again those of moral truth.—The dominion of human kind, in her two sexes, established over nature and the globe.—Difference between government and administration precised.—The course followed by humanity during the process of education.—Under monarchy, aristocracy, democracy, until reaching panocracy, government resolves itself into administration.—What administration will immediately generate.—Existing society, as composed of landowners, capitalists, and service renderers, vanishes.—What appears in its place.—Political science changes into civilizational science.—Political economy into human economy.—Both defined.—With government disappears governing weapons and governing tool.—What is found in their place.—The four sisters who will succeed the four brothers.—Before entering into office, the deity the four sisters will consult.

THE general uncovering of all things involved in the fall of the molten calf, and final bursting of the colossal bubble scheme of England, will disclose all the biune principles appertaining to the five modes of truth.

The student is here requested to turn to our preliminary expositions, presented Chap. I., page 9; and to read with reflection the whole intermediate text from the paragraph beginning "Reflecting observation," to the end of the chapter. The student will then distinguish what the demolition of the gigantic mystification we have sketched in outline, will constitute. Considering the same with reference to the science of our subject, he will see it to present:

First: The taking the principles of physical truth from under cover of superstition.

Second: The taking the principles of moral truth from under cover of the supremacy of the male sex.

Third: The taking the principles of intellectual truth from under cover of university logic and scholastic formulas of the middle ages.

Fourth: The taking the principles of political truth from under cover of ~~money.~~ *government.*

Fifth: The taking the principles of industrial truth from under cover of ~~government.~~ *money.*

All which looks like preparation for drawing poor truth up, from the bottom of the well where she hath lain through all time, to the light of day and the sight of men.

To refer, again, to our prefatory expositions. We have there seen that, under government, all the biune principles of truth are violently torn asunder. Forced into antagonistic action, or destructive isolation the one from the other. And we showed that—shaping our theories in keeping with our practice—we figured every thing at war in the heavens as on the earth. We expounded the error. Explaining the energies in the physical world to be. not contentious, but harmonious,

in their action ; and to constitute, not two phenomena, attraction and repulsion, but one phenomenon—polarity.

Farther, and in like manner ; We distinguished the principles of moral and intellectual truth for equally biune in their nature. Tending, in each duality, to one according result of benignity and wisdom. The intellectual to the fulness of knowledge. The moral to the perfection of justice.

Following out the perfect analogy that reigns throughout all the modes of truth, we precised the biune principles also existing in the political and in the industrial. And enquired if their results should not, in the nature of things, and would not, in the fulness of time, present a parallel in the economy of earth to that of the universe. We return to our question.

What answers to polarity in the dynamics of empires ? What is the result natural to the two principles, union and independence, when considered as biune instead of antagonistic ? Under government we have seen and see them waging unceasing and deadly war. This of necessity, since government throws them forcibly into opposition. But left to that harmonious play which we distinguish for appropriate to all the principles of truth, what will they generate ?

Answer across the deep America ! Sound forth the word until it wake the echoes of the globe ! Yet no. First must thou rouse the Nestors of thy own people. So that they may see to give thee of it something more than the poorest shadow of a shade. So that they may see to expound it, and apply it, and quell with it, as a talisman, the noise of ignorance, worked into tempest by the strife of party. The war of words, and thirst for petty honours and for sordid pelf, which put in hazard all for which so much was done. What say I, war of words ? Far more and worse must thou be saved from at this hour. The sword of conquest is in thy hand. America ! hast thou to learn that they who use the

sword shall perish by the sword? Hast thou to learn that

“ Nations, like men, who others' rights invade,
 Shall doubly rue the havoc they have made;
 And in a brother's liberties o'erthrown,
 Shall weep to find that they have wrecked their own.”

—*Thoughts of a Recluse.*

Oh, last and fairest born among the nations; but now so deeply tainted with the worst pollutions of the age! Pause, pause in time! Throw down the sword, and seize the wand of science! Hold forth to Mexico the hand of generous aid! Proclaim to her that law which must now be practically thine, and Europe's, and the globe's, or all is lost, for thee, for man, for liberty, on earth!

Proclaim that law! Expound, develope it! And then prepare to offer up in holocaust, to justice, reason, and the world's, and thy own peace, thy whole outstanding written code—constitutional, statute, penal, political, and civil. Then, when thou shalt justify the faith of thy founders, the blood of thy fathers, the wisdom of thy Franklin, the virtue of thy Washington, and the hope of all the patriots of earth—Then shall Europe approving reflect thy image, the rod be broken for ever in the hand of oppression, and the civilization of enlightened freedom encompass the globe!

And now must we speak a word which conveys, indeed, a sound to the ear, but, as yet, no true conception to the human mind. No conception; none; of the beautiful civilizational phenomena of which it will be found to be expressive. The word exists; but the state of being which that word outshadows yet sleeps in the womb of things. What may infuse, we asked, into the economy of earth that harmony which reigns throughout the spheres?

It is federation.

And now what is federation?

Federation is the result of the two principles of union and independence acting in unison, like the attraction and repulsion of polarity.

It thus shares the nature of its two engendering principles. It is as far removed from consolidation as it is from disjunctive division. It is union without restraint, and independence in security. It preserves to each realm its place. To every demarcation of territory, jurisdiction, and population, their place. To each man and woman in society his and her place. It breaks every chain. Leaves each volition free. Yet holds all things and persons in intimate relation. It disarms the rage of faction. Dissolves each sect and party. Annihilates the tyrant and the demagogue. Kills government, and establishes administration.

We here distinguish administration for the direct expression of federation. Its effect. Its consequence. But what is it more? It is the natural result of the biune principles of order and liberty, when thrown into harmony. Even as government is the necessitated result of the same principles when forcibly disjointed from their biune state, and held in antagonistic opposition.

With federation and administration we thus find all the cardinal principles of political science brought into accord. What must be the consequence of this?

Evidently the immediate harmonizing of the two energies procreative of the wealth arising out of industrial science. Namely; that existing in the unit, or individual member of society. Of which the expression is human service. And that existing in the collective sum of society. Of which the expression is public capital.

But again. Simultaneously with the developement of federation, and consequent engendering of administration, the principles of intellectual truth come into cooperative action. Things and persons being definitively removed from under cover—each of the other, and all

of a governing scheme—they appear what they are, and are estimated according to their uses and effects. Analysis and synthesis become familiar—through the eye, and by aid of the whole economy of society—to the mind. And humanity acquires more real knowledge in a day, than, through the past, she has ever done in a life time. Superstition disappears, quietly and naturally, with ignorance; and error, with confusion. Since all are interested in promoting the intelligence and enjoyment of each, and each in enhancing the wealth, and knowledge, and felicity of all.

In like manner, the principles of moral truth draw into harmonious play. The generous rise to active existence with the female sex; and draw into felicitous biune action that male instinct, which now depraves society, tramples down nations, and distracts the globe. Man, relieved of all sordid motives by the disappearance of the governing tool—money, will recover the soul that he has lost. Recognize his duties, instead of struggle for rights. Devote to industry his energies; to the collective species his service, and improve and beautify that world he has ransacked and convulsed throughout the whole reign of his supremacy. Woman—assuming her natural place, as parent and providence of the universal family, source of love, guardian of justice, and bond of universal union,—man will ever more and more acknowledge her inspirations, and wield, with her, the sceptre of peaceful and benignant dominion, not over his own race, but over nature and the globe.

And now shall we lay the finger on the difference between government and administration?

Government acts upon human beings; and employs things—the lash, the knout, the sword, the gibbet, hell-fire, or *money*—for its agents.

Administration acts upon things, and employs women, men, science, and truth, for its agents.

Viewing government, from the beginning, as the school-master of nations, let us now distinguish the

course it has impressed on humanity during the process of education.

First; She has passed under monarchy. (*Monos krateo.*) The government of one. Second; Under aristocracy, (*aristoi krateo,*) the government of a select few. Third; Under democracy. (*Demos krateo.*) Professedly the government of the male people. In reality what we have expounded. Government by male leaders of favoured classes; as figured to be leaders of the male people. Until now finally—from her utter inability to support the ever increasing number of her male governors, she seems constrained, as by necessity to take government into her own collective hands; and thus to present a panocracy, (*pan krateo,*) the government of all. In this, as all will govern, and, consequently, none remain to be governed; government must change its object, its subject, its principles, and its nature. Or—to speak more correctly—government will cease to be; and the human family, in its state of a panocracy, will exhibit the world in federation, and all human affairs under administration.

Leaving for another treatise the expounding of the motive energies of that new world, let us ask what benign creation it must, on the instant, call into being.

A whole system of correct human economy. The division of society into landowners, capitalists, and service renderers—as ever necessary to the subsistence of the governing principle under whatever form applied—disappears on the instant. And—in place of this standing source, of oppression on the one part, and servile dependence on the other; of provocation to convulsive movement in each and every political body, and to cataclysmal perturbation in the whole system,—In place of this, we find that bright existence, of which we have heard, and read, and dreamed it may be, but never seen, nor ever clearly, rightly, and righteously conceived of—a commonwealth.

And what is a commonwealth?

A state of things where—on the one part—all the modes of wealth stand in the name and under the protection of the collective sum of population. And where—on the other part—the individual units of population have each its own duly acknowledged claims—as apportioned to his or her services—upon that commonwealth.

New things require, and generate, new names. Political science now—as we see—disappears from the field, to be applicable only to the history of the past. Which is to say, to the history of humanity's youth, while under the ferule of the hard taskmaster, and cruel schoolmaster—government. In place of political science, the history of our race will present, throughout the future, the gradual and beautiful developements of civilizational science. So also the study of its interests and its affairs will be embraced under the head, not of political, but of human, economy. Let us here again develope the difference between the new and the old words, and the new and the old things.

Political economy expresses distinctly, in its Greek etymology, *the order of the household of the many*. The better lessons taught under this name have presented, or rather, have attempted to present,—for they have never accomplished the pretension—“the greatest good of the greatest number.” Thus pre-supposing always a sacrifice of the good of some ; that is of a minority. But, it being impossible—as any well constituted mind, by reflection, may discover—to secure the absolute good of any without, impartially and sagaciously, consulting the good of all, every effort made under the rules supplied by political economy, has utterly and necessarily failed of its object. It has been a fact, and a necessary fact, that while theorizing, touching the greatest good of the greatest number, we have never really proposed, much less practically attempted any thing but some greater good of the few. While we have, yet more certainly, secured the ever increasing suffering of the many, and the ever growing uneasiness and demoralization of

all. And it has thus been a fact, that no people, even when professedly marshalled under the standard of democracy; have ever really moved, but as under the standard of aristocracy, towards the ultimatum of consolidated power. This power, indeed, may assume varying names and varying forms. It may concentrate itself in a military commander-in-chief, under cover of an army. In a committee of public safety, under cover of revolutionary clubs, and an excited population. In a trinity of despots, under cover of treaties, armies, spies, Jesuits, and a consolidated financial system. In a money-god, under cover of an omnipotent parliament, and a maritime supremacy. But in these, as in yet other cases, the governing principle being always one and the same, the practical result is soon, of necessity, the same also. We distinguish, then, political economy for the fallacious theory of representative government. Both, indeed, are false lures; as every fair promise, where government is concerned, ever proves to be.

Human economy—as the words proclaim—presents *the order of the household of humanity*. It is the expression of administration. The practical result of its arrangements. And that result will, and must be, naturally and necessarily, the greatest good of all.

With government disappears, as of course, the governing weapon—the sword, and the governing tool, money. In lieu of either we find, in the hands of administration, the wand of science and the scales of justice. And in her company, three bright-eyed sisters: production, distribution, and education.

Such are the characters who will have the ordering of human economy throughout the future. In place of that crafty and violent brotherhood—known by the name of law, trade, superstition, and government,—who have kept all things in a state of standing warfare and confusion throughout the past. But who seem finally brought to the admission of their own inefficiency to prevent the ark of civilization from being utterly swamped

in the slough of corruption, as by themselves generated, if longer left in their charge at the present. Before, however, the bright-eyed handmaidens of human economy—production, distribution, administration, and education—may take in hand the bringing to order the affairs of our globe, they will have to consult—by the elder of the four, administration—a greater than themselves. She who is to reign throughout all the future, as the presiding deity of earth—justice.

CHAPTER XXV.

GENERAL HEAD.

*NATURE OF THE COMPACT AND COMPROMISE WHICH MUST EFFEC-
TUATE TRANSITION, AND PREPARE THE ANSWER TO ALL THE
DIFFICULTIES OF THE HOUR.*

CONTENTS.

Justice, the organizing principle to be considered under two points of view.—The absolute having reference to all time.—The relative to the present with what is entailed from the past.—Rule that must never be lost sight of in epochs of reformation.—In a first organization and under given circumstances, rule of rectitude that might be consulted.—Vague ideas in such cases which entail confusion or tyranny.—Second rule indispensable for the support of the first.—Character of civilizational organization which can alone secure either.—No colony ever started under circumstances favourable for its adoption.—War always threatening, and therefore government a necessity.—Evidence that the founders of America distinguished truths which they could not put in practice.—Enigmatic language of government.—How the principles of the future were put under cover by America, and those of the present by England.—Instinct of collective society seldom wrong.—Every where seeks to guard the true in place and time.—How federation has been an impossibility.—Universal peace indispensable for the inauguration of truth.—Thirteen rules dictated by justice absolute.—Sufficient were things in order.—Even as it is, the four sisters will help justice through.—Position of the affairs of the collective globe.—Fortunate impossibility.—No claims out of our world upon its soil or industry.—What the claims are, and who the claimants.—What other claims and claimants should exist.—Who is to assert the one and give right to the other, and who and what can do no-

thing in the matter.—Necessity of a settlement.—Under a compromise and a compact.—Varied characters of the compact.—What it will embrace and what secure.—Who will set the seal to it.—Compromise which must secure its acceptance.—Nature of every compromise through the past.—Nature of that now to be made.—Elucidations respecting.—Twofold object of the compact.—What it will necessitate in every nation.—What the powers of the earth must recal to life.—Great Britain to lead the way.—Decree with which pope parliament is to close his existence.—What the decree will involve and what entail.—With regard to Europe.—With regard to the two hemispheres.—With regard to the globe.—For what Europe must prepare.—Sovereign princes.—Their farther utility in some ways not discussed.—From whence the potentates of 1815 must eclipse themselves.—Inconsistency of their past functions with those in demand at the present.—Who must give a voice to the epoch.—Between the two hemispheres two points for decision.—The one involving the honour of both and the security of one.—The other the peace of the world.—Every vital question open between America and England.—On the solution depends that of all the difficulties of the globe.—This impossible between them by quackeries of diplomacy.—The master question which divides them formulated.—Unless properly answered two events which threaten.—England ready to do right because against her interest to commit farther wrong.—Is the same to be said for America?—Answer without the compass of present treatise.—The globe becomes sentient of her unity and her destiny.—Questions vital to all her empires.—On the solution presented to them depends futurity.—Critical character of the epoch.—Only salvation the drawing into harmony all the principles of truth.—How the scheme of England is to effect transition.—National debts from curses to become blessings.—Gold the confuser of value, and defrauder of the owners of wealth.—How weak nations cannot meet their obligations, and why strong ones refuse.—Establish a rule of rectitude all will be honest, and Japan open her ports.—Elucidation respecting gold as measure of value, representative of all values, and regulator of trade.—Value not susceptible of measure like weight or size.—What may decide it.—Axioms of philosophers become facts.—Real measure of value.—Sect of the iconoclasts alone to be invoked.—Churches called to consult their decalogue and obey its commands.—Consequence proceeding from the incongruous characters attributed to gold.—Alarm of London merchants.—Answer to the same.—Administration destroys fictitious value of gold.—Federation kills trade.—The idol falls.—End of the world.—England to open dooms-day book.

IN considering the principle of justice as that which has henceforth to inspire the decisions of humanity, it

must be borne in mind that, at the time present, justice has to be considered under two points of view. Under the one, we find justice absolute. Under the other, justice relative. Justice absolute regards all time through all the future. Justice relative regards the present; with what is entailed on the present from the past.

It is indispensable that all public measures, in order to be just, should bear in mind these two orders of justice. Every act must have a tendency direct, ultimately to attain an order of things presenting absolute justice. And this, but this only, in as short a time as may be consistent with the views, habits, and outstanding engagements of existing generations. This rule is universal. It can never be violated without causing public disorder and much individual suffering.

Supposing a colony to start fair. With a sufficiency of territory and outfit, generally equal in morality, industry, and intelligence, unthreatened by all hazardous contingencies from without, unembarrassed within, master of the future no less than the present, and with the whole field of its economy a blank—Nothing should seem requisite but the sagacity practically to fill the blank with a rule of absolute rectitude. Thus:

The soil is held in corporate right by all. The instruments of labour and supplies on hand are the joint stock capital of the body politic of the colony to be improved through all its generations by the labour, industry, and intelligence of all its available members. For the fairly apportioned individual service of each, and for the corporate advantage of all. The practical exhibit of such a rule would of course necessitate an organization of society calculated to ensure to each individual member reward proportioned to the rate of his or her service, and a voice in the estimation of that rate. Without which the cunning would soon outwit the simple, the lazy live at expense of the industrious, the selfish take advantage of the generous, and the colony quickly fall a prey to that violence, vice, and disorder,

which—in the absence of correct motive, organic and administrative principles—society never has failed, and never can fail, to exhibit. When—the moment of crisis arriving—organized coercion, systematized fraud, indirect influences, manœuvring, and intrigue, take in hand to control anarchy; and—behold your colony under government! They who conceit that things may be left to the dictates of impulse and good feeling, distinguish not the sources of good feeling nor of human energy. There is a being who will toil for others without reward. It is woman. Man never. Unless in the most urgent extremity of collective danger. With a view to the future, it is well that man has been constituted as he is. Otherwise things would never have approached towards a correct position.

Corporate property is one thing, and individual claims are another. Here it is that society must lay down the rule distinctly. Otherwise all is immediate confusion; and the whole disperses in anarchy, or collapses under government.

In the case of the colony we have supposed, the practical exhibit of this second rule would be indispensable with a view to that of the first. *What we sow that shall we reap. The reward of each sane or sound member of society shall be apportioned to his and to her works.* And the organization of all things throughout the colony should be such as, naturally and inevitably, to make the maxim a fact. The organization that alone can do this, is federation. Federation then is a civilizational framework cast by science with a view to justice.

We might here observe that no colony has ever started under a combination of circumstances favourable for the developement of such an order of things. America, in her infancy, had a savage world to conquer, on the one hand, and a jealous metropolitan to manage, humour keep at bay, and, finally, to defeat on the other. The world has ever been at war; and, therefore, submitted

to the governing principle ; which is, in itself, standing warfare.

Had this been otherwise, America's colonial fathers would have seen well enough what to do. In evidence of which we find that, when her revolutionary fathers—under pressure of those exigencies we have in part expounded—had recourse to a governing scheme, they put under its cover all the principles of the future. From the beginning, government has been enigmatic and symbolic throughout the globe. It was so in India, in Egypt, in Greece, in Rome. We have exhibited how the same has been the case under the governing scheme of England. She, charging herself with defeat of a worthless past, put under cover the vicious present with which she had to fight down that past. America, taking in guardianship the principles of the future, put under cover what would have defeated the purposes of the present. Oh ! let us not think that humanity has groped like a mole without seeing a ray of day-light.

The instinct indeed of the guiding mind of a body politic is seldom at fault. If it follow not the true in principle, it fails not to the true in place and time. Everywhere it aims to hold fast that which, in surrounding circumstances, is indispensable for existence. Hence all our wars during the past. Since every point, in place, throughout the globe, has occupied, as it were, a differing point in time. That is ; in progress. Hence too the strife between governments and populations. The one holding to what had been judged true under given circumstances. The other striving after the true in the absolute. Under all this conflict of principles and things, the developement of federation's beautiful, elastic net-work has been, impossible. In its absence, government has sought, with iron hand, to grasp and crush our globe's discordant realms with their tormented peoples into consolidated masses. Order and union feared chaotic disrupture, while independence and liberty loathed condensing power. But peace, universal

peace, now bids them harmonize. Justice then is possible. Justice both in the absolute and in the relative. Absolute as regards the principle. Relative as regards the more immediate mode of its application.

Thus then speaks justice to the principle :

1. Earth is the common mother.
2. Collective humanity is the sovereign of the globe.
3. All her populations have right to a place upon it.
4. The globe is a unit. But its path in the heavens stamps it with zones of climate ; and with varying races of men, and diversity of soils and products, more especially suited to its zones. Nature, too, intersects it with seas, and mountains, and rivers. Marking demarcations of territory, and populational jurisdictions.

5. Independence is the life of states, and liberty is the soul of peoples. Both are only to be secured by suitable sectionment of territory and occupation, and by the administrative sovereignty of population.

6. But, for such sovereignty to be exercised with power, order, and intelligence, each individual member of society must exert a voice *in that, and in that only*, which regards him.

7. The individual's amount of claim on the commonwealth corresponds to the individual's amount of service.

8. Each must be free to make his or her own place in society. To earn his or her own grade of wealth and honour.

9. All should assist each in securing the same ; and each should assist all in improving the public fortune.

10. Man should possess all knowledge ; that he may ever improve his world and his race through all his generations.

11. Man should be free in his movements ; for he is lord of the globe, and should know his dominions.

12. To facilitate that freedom, the interests of all countries must be in relation ; and individual claims, earned in one, must be recognizable and payable in all.

13. Fair exchange of positive surplus, value for value, must hold the world in confraternity of feeling, and solidarity of interests.

Such general heads from the mouth of justice would be amply sufficient for intelligent administration, were the affairs of our world, in any tolerable order. But take them in disorder; in any possible degree of complexity; with such aids as stand around her, the task of bringing order out of chaos must be readily accomplished. After all what is the state of the case?

Our world is in debt. Mortgaged every inch and foot of it. Badly managed. That is evident. In the hands of spendthrifts, boxers, gamblers, conjurers. Who have made away with its returns, past, present, and to come, for years and generations. Who are its claimants, or its holders? Some prodigal children. To whom have they jeopardized their rights of possession? To others of the same character. Under the governing schemes which have harassed our globe, all its populations have been fighting, and trading, stock-jobbing, speculating, and scrambling. What has been here to-day, has been there to-morrow; and nothing has presented much fixity, unless the vicious excess, or burdensome wealth, of a few; the suffering of the many, and the uneasiness of everybody. But one thing is clear. However strangely confused, and ill proportioned in their apportionment—However thrown to right and left in one vast entanglement, may be the outstanding claims under law and government—as either acknowledged or disputed—upon the soil and wealth of the world; one thing is clear. They—the claims, as also the soil and the wealth claimed, and, farther, the claimants—All *are in the family*. They are all here upon this earth. The claimants are human creatures, and the claims are things within our atmosphere. Had it been possible to blow the scheme to the moon, or to the planet Saturn, or to the Dog-star, pope, parliament, and the priests of Baal would have done so. No doubt of that. And the whole would have been

carried on, through infinity and eternity, without thought of change, or hope of respite. Such is the nature of government. It never stops till it can get no further. And what is more curious still. Human patience never comes to a stand under its vexations until the same impass of impossibility be attained. We might, however, and should, generalize here still farther. Such is—in final analysis—the nature of man and the nature of things. All moves, and ever will move, and ever must move, under the impetus received, until positive obstruction be encountered, or some other, and stronger, impetus be imparted. This is as true in the world of mind as in the world of matter. Analogy is perfect throughout all the modes of truth.

But now, at this impass of impossibility we have arrived under the governing scheme mounted in 1688. The balloon of inflammable gas then devised and ever inflated, larger and larger, and blown higher and higher, by the tricks of trade and politics, and the force of government, finally refuses to obey the volitions of the political aeronauts who have so long dragged the nations and society at their heels. Happily the colossal air bubble cannot swell beyond the limit of earth and its atmosphere. In consequence it stops; and all the claims and the claimants it has generated are here. All in the family then. And no fear of our world being clutched, and carried off, out of our orbit, or of our solar system, by claimants in Saturn or the Dog-star. But, let us look into this!

It is the holders of land—in most countries a small number—and the holders of capital, and of promissory notes, as issued in the origin by pope parliament, who, in this manner lay claim to the globe, with all of wealth that it holds and it carries. It is the service renderers of society, however, who feed, clothe, shelter, produce, invent, and fetch and carry, for all of them and for every body. These should have claims also on this land and this capital. Right to a place on the globe. To drink its water, and eat its fruits, and have some enjoyment of

the varied comforts and wealth of which they have aided the creation. Claims which are not recognized in law, nor scored down by lawyers. But which justice recognises within the human breast. Ay! and which the collective people must assert; throughout England, Scotland, Ireland, Europe, America, and the globe. Assert how? Not with the sword. Nor by aid of pope parliament's legislation. Nor any governing machinery after that or any other fashion. Since—as we have seen—it is precisely fighting and legislating which have put us where we are. To appeal to them farther then could evidently only make matters worse instead of better.

We have clearly to come to a settlement. To a compromise. To a new start upon new principles. To a compact greater than that of Runnymede. Greater than was ever made upon earth. All others, and the best, have been political; embracing single bodies corporate. This will embrace, in its immediate results, the whole civilized globe; and be echoed, by its occupying populations, until all shall be drawn into one universally comprehensive system of peace, and justice, order, and love. This, then, will be a compact at once civilizational, national, and social. Civilizational! Since it will be sealed by all the states and peoples of Europe; preparing them to confederate as one family. Civilizational in a yet grander sense! Since it must embrace the two hemispheres; and thus, in its consequences, the globe. National! Since it will restore to each ancient realm its forfeited individuality. Secure to each distinct demarcation of territory and jurisdiction, independent sovereignty; and, while holding all in the intimate relation of component parts of one homogeneous system, leave its own place, and well assured rights of jurisdiction, to each. Social! Since woman will be party to the contract; and set to the religious bond of human confraternity, her seal of love and justice.

Such is the nature of the compact. Let us now examine that of the compromise, by which universal ac-

ceptance of, with faithful adherence to, the compact may be effectually secured.

Through the past all governmental compacts have covered a compromise between justice and expediency; and entailed an ever increasing sacrifice of the interests of the millions. This will present a compromise between the two orders of justice,—the absolute and the relative; and secure the ever increasing ease and happiness of all.

We have shown the simple rules of justice, supposing the whole field of our economy a blank; and all human beings standing, at this hour, on the common ground of natural right and reciprocity. But we distinguished that, even then, although the claims to the advantages of credit, as to be derived from the common stock would be equal for all, yet those upon the usufruct of revenue—as always and only to be drawn, under any system of natural and common sense economy, from the current productions of the industry of society—must be estimated according to the rate of value of each individual's service. Without which, no stimulus to exertion, and no sustained satisfaction in the mind of population. We seize here the rule never to be lost sight of, but yet which has to be modified during—at the present—an undetermined space of time. It has to be modified, in the outset, for the indispensable purpose and propriety of consulting all existing interests, habits, and circumstances. The term of its modification has to be left indefinite, for the equally indispensable purpose, and propriety, of leaving the sovereignty of collective society unattainted and untrammelled. The truly divine right of that sovereignty once established is never thereafter to vacate its throne. The day once past is to return no more, for laying down decisions for future generations. The motive principle of justice fairly breathed into human economy, it will work its own way; prepare its own modes of progressive application, and find its own

ultimatum with the ever improving mind, encreasing wealth, and advancing practice of human kind.

The twofold object then being to restore to collective humanity her own, by taking out of the hands of their actual holders—managers or mismanagers as it may be—the land and wealth of her globe; and, simultaneously, to secure an appropriate revenue of credit to those dispossessed of the capital stock; it is evident that each sovereign nation will have to enter, forthwith and actively, upon the operation of taking an accurate inventory of all its possessions, and substantiating all its liabilities with all its available resources. To facilitate the same, each and every of the great powers of the earth must solemnly recal to life, by governmental acts of enfranchisement, those ancient realms, sovereign states, or integral but independent provinces, of which they have absorbed the existence. Leading the way, the British parliament will revoke its acts of consolidating union, and close its outstanding scheme of omnipotence by declaring each of the three kingdoms—England, Scotland, and Ireland—individually sovereign in its collective population for the direction of its own affairs; and all co-associately sovereign in the same, for the gestion of the interests common to all. Such a decree evidently involves a complete reorganization of the whole political system of the British isles. And yet farther of the British empire. All which entails again—from the universality of British relations—a more or less complete reorganization upon correct principles, of Europe, of the new hemisphere, and of the globe.

With respect to Europe. She is now evidently called to prepare for the exhibit of a great federative republic. As to whether, in some of her varied states or realms, exigency or expediency may demand that, for an indefinite period, the bond of political union be left ostensibly in the hand of established hereditary holders, she who speaks ventures not to form an opinion. It has been already premised that sovereign princes can be but

ceremonies or circumstances. How long either may be necessary or useful must be for the political intelligence of each country to decide. But one thing admits of no question. The potentates who, under the treaties of 1815, have held the civilizational reins, must eclipse themselves from the broad field of Europe. She who speaks neither knows, nor cares to know, anything of such exigences as governing kings and diplomatists may have been pleased to imagine, for the sanction of crime. But even as she is of the people, and with the people, and presumes to speak for the people, so will she say that justice, ay! and very decency, demand that human interests should find other and more suitable interpreters than they. Characters who have represented the Moloch government, and bathed his odious altars with human gore, may never presume to take in hand the fair arbitrement of the interests of humanity. No! let them withdraw from the open field, and play Mikado in the palace, while the real sponsors for population give a voice to the greatest epoch the world ever saw.

With regard to the two hemispheres, two points are of pressing importance. The one to facilitate the colonization of the new by means of the surplus population of the old. And to do this in a mode equally advantageous, and not as now, equally disgraceful, to both. Absolutely endangering, for one, the longer subsistence of anything like public order or free institutions; and casting upon the other the opprobrium of being party to the act. While both—in the eyes of reason as of humanity—stand chargeable with failure to all the expectations and demands of the age, and equally to all the pledges of honour entailed from the past. The second point involved in the outstanding relations between the two hemispheres, is nothing less than the absence of all security for the peace of the world. Every fundamental question at this hour stands open between them. Nor is it given to the two long heads of Anglo-Norman England and puritan America—both equal adepts in the

tricks of the game—to read an answer to any one of them by the subtleties of diplomacy. America claims to hold the civilizational rein of her hemisphere. England grasps ever at that of the globe. And unless the universal answer to every difficulty be read by supreme civilizational science, nothing can prevent: First, the establishment by America of despotic military rule throughout her section of the globe. Second, a conflict for mastery between her and England. This is a matter of necessity involved in the very nature of the governing principle, which is always to concentrate force on one point. England feels well enough that she can fight and govern no longer by means of her scheme. Its power is gone. Its elastic spring is broken. She is ready—in honest truth we believe it—and this because such is her positive interest—to return to her programme of Runnymede, and to give to it the full breadth of interpretation, and of extension, arising out of her varied and her universal responsibilities. Shall we not say the same for America? We shall not believe—unless by her own act she force upon us the conviction—We shall not believe that the wings of her eagle now cover the old empire of Montezuma, and stretch from the central isthmus to Canadian snows, for a purpose no higher and nobler than may appear in the instructions, open or secret, of her commander-in-chief. We here leave this matter as without the compass of our present treatise, but upon which hangs the fate of more than two nations, and more than one hemisphere.

Lastly, with regard to the globe. She is now becoming conscious of her existence as a great entity. And of her destiny; which is to constitute, in her races, one family; in her economy, one civilizational system. As preparatory to this great ultimatum, every question important to every empire, vital for the peace and happiness, and dignity, of humanity, is at issue. And let us distinguish that, upon the solution given at the epoch of final crisis, to the great problem presented by all the

conflicting views and interests of men and nations, depends the character we are to impress upon all futurity. There is a tendency at this hour to consolidating unity in all things. And—let us have a care! The governing principle, longer persevered in, we shall get into a stagnant, shapeless, soulless mass, before we have time to draw breath, or recognise the danger. Everything depends upon our calling—and that speedily—out of death into life, out of discord into harmony, all the principles of truth. None must be forgotten. None left in torpor, and none placed in antagonistic strife.

It is now, then, that the scheme of England, by transmutation from one of debt and credit, based on money, to one of debt and credit based on wealth, must effect the civilizational phenomenon of transition.

Under the action of the scheme, all nations have been drawn into solidarity of interests; and into that mutual dependence one upon the other, which, for corporate bodies politic of population, as for individual human beings, makes the distinction between civilized and savage existence. Now, then, may we prove that national debts are national blessings. National curses have they truly been under the reign of money, and of traffic conducted under cover of money. In which foul game of sharpers against producers, and of government against peoples, gold has been made not the measure, but the confuser, of all values. Not the regulator of fair exchange between owners of equal wealth, but the defrauder at all times of the owners of wealth by the wielders of power. All nations have now claims one upon the other. Of the weak, some cannot meet their outstanding obligations. Of the strong, some refuse. Why? Because that is asked of the one which they have not; and of the other, what would be more than fair exchange to give. Does any nation refuse to render, of their positive surplus, value for value, for other positive surplus received? No. But all who can, will refuse to give *more* than value for what has been re-

ceived. Or does any nation refuse to exchange positive surplus for other positive surplus—also value for value? No. For such nation would be insane. In good faith and very deed, establish the rule of simple rectitude, and every delinquent state will pay her debt, and Japan will open her ports to the world.

But will it be urged that gold is the measure of value, and must make up at all times the balance of trade? Is it in truth the measure of value? Then make it so in fact. But how, then? Not by carrying it about in the pocket, or promenading it in rail-car, or ship. A barbarism only by some degrees removed from the wag-goning of iron, as made law by Lycurgus. Nor by hiding it in coffers, and sending forth its counterfeit to the world. Nor yet by making of it a double and treble counterfeit. A lie to father a lie. Itself not even the value of that of which it bears the name. And yet which is employed to give value to all that is valueless, and to measure the value of all that is valuable! If for a measure ye take it, make it so. Let it be itself, and refer to it in the ounce and the drachm, and the grain. But to know its value, we must restore its uses; namely, those of a metal serviceable in a thousand ways, and of which the value will rise or fall, like that of all other things. Ha! but where, then, is your *measure*? Ye have a conventional measure of weight and of length, differing now, it is true, in all countries, but which—when judiciously selected and established by collective humanity, speaking throughout her supreme bodies corporate of populations—may be universal and lasting. But a measure of all value, pretending to be arbitrarily fixed for all time and for all place, or for any time and for any place! Why, in very deed, nothing but omnipotence, and omnipotence exerting itself for the oppression of humanity—in her labour, and her industry, and her genius—could undertake to supply such. Oh, notable popedom of heresy! Oh, notable hierophants of the temple of Mammon! And oh, notable compact of Moloch

government throughout the world! Truly ye had taken in hand to play the omniscient, and the omnipotent and the infallible, as never did the much abused father of old christendom. Oh, see now, if ye have not been the veritable antichrist! Ye who have essayed to compass the impossible, for the ruin of everything and the defrauding of everybody! Establish a measure of value, as of weight or of length! Why, these are properties of brute bodies; which are to-day as they were yesterday, and will be to-morrow as they are to-day. For these it is given to contrive a standard which may be changed at pleasure, or made durable through all time. But value! What may decide that, other than the demands of humanity, and the resources of her globe, and of her own creative industry to meet those demands? See! now that we are about to draw all the biune principles of truth into harmony, the axioms of philosophers may square with fact and with justice! The measure of value, what is it? What alone can it be? Clearly this only: *The demand of the hour inverse the supply*. Oh! if a sect we must invoke, while as yet there are only sects in existence—mere shreds and patches of reason, as of humanity—If sects we must invoke, I say, let it be that of the iconoclasts.* Down with idolatry! Let us abjure all graven images! Speak out, ye churches! Look to your decalogue, and denounce alike the *golden*, as the *gilded*, calf!

It is, then, self-evident that gold cannot supply a measure of value, since it is itself a value, and a value fluctuating like all other values. Still less can it supply such, while you make it the governing representative of all values. Out of which does, and must, proceed this

* *Iconoclasts*; idol breakers: sect employed by the eastern or lower empire to sever the religious bond of Eypcto-christian Rome. The growing influences and rising power of the popes were felt, to threaten those of the imperial throne. See the developement touching the two orders of feodality—the oriental and occidental—presented in Chapter III.

consequent : That it absorbs all values, and confuses all values, and defrauds all values.

Gold, then, having, like all other things, to take the place its uses may make for it, what—I hear London's merchants exclaim—What is to settle the balance of trade ?

Under administration, things will balance each other. And in federation, there is neither money nor trade.

All the echoes of earth seem to take up the sound. The idol falls prostrate. Its priests take to their heels. And all its bewildered votaries pass round the globe this shout of dismay : *There is the end of the world.*

Yes, in very deed, there is the end of that world in which we have all had the calamity to live.

But the end of the world being come, perhaps, England, you will open your Domesday-book.

CHAPTER XXVI.

GENERAL HEAD.

NEW CIVILIZATIONAL FRAMEWORK CONSIDERED IN ITS STATICS.

CONTENTS.

Survey of William the Conqueror.—What it showed.—How the feudal framework was suited to develop a first programme of progress.—Suggestions regarding the name of Doomsday-book.—Should not the records of feudal Germany or of the Roman pontificate contain a corresponding document?—All such should be now published.—What every political framework must present in order to hold society together.—How the scaffolding of that of old England was preserved under the transaction.—How, becoming rotten, all power has centred elsewhere, leaving emptiness.—How man stands where he is by joint action of the dead feudal system and the dying transitory.—What must be the nature of that now to be created?—Its cosmopolitan character necessitates universal collation and publication of the records of empires.—Information respecting India expected from England.—Lost books of China, perhaps from Japan.—Universality of England's relations demand of her in all things to lead the way, and prepare acceptance of universal social compact.—Globe ripe for adoption of the federative motto of union.—Wanting that of federative independence.—By what power to be inaugurated.—The two indispensable for harmonizing the civilizational elements.—Also for comprehension of the triune god of the universe.—England restored to independent existence to inaugurate just tenure of land and capital.—The same will constitute doomsday for the old world.—What wealth was at epoch of the conquest.—Inventory of 1079 classed land and population together.—What results from their separation.—New inventory.—Two leading heads, with subdivisions of the same.—Collective people holder *in capite*.—To make new Doomsday-book.—

To lay out their kingdom.—Powers inherent in sectionment.—Outline sketch of new territorial framework.—Its uses to decide its character.—America and France inspire its statics.—England and America its dynamics.—Hints with respect to its nomenclature.

WHEN William the Norman mounted in his newly conquered kingdom the hierarchal feudal system of the continent, he caused to be made a general survey of Saxon England. The survey shewed his repartition of the soil and the population. The same constituting the two divisions of his political framework. It recorded the names, quality, character of tenure, and value to the state—in the dues rendered payable—of his great feudatories. These—constituting the heads of the two hierarchies, spiritual and temporal—held directly of himself as owner *in capite* of all the lands of the kingdom. Apart the nobiliary estates, thus held by the prelates and the barons, were those attached to the crown as the personal domain of the sovereign. Upon the estates thus repartitioned, stood—under modes of tenure varying from the independent tenant to the serf—the whole of population. The inventory of the Conqueror is understood farther to detail the quantity of pasture, wood, and arable field presented by each estate. Also, the number of tenants, with the character of their tenure, and the services attached to it. And again, the number of slaves and occupants of all kind who lived thereon. The work was entrusted to commissioners specially appointed by the Conqueror. It occupied a space of six years in its execution, was attested by juries, and registered. The counties north of the Humber, occupied by the Danes, and which were subjugated and devastated by the sword—in a vast extent absolutely turned into a hunting field, the noted royal forest or Sherwood*—were not included in this national register.

* Robin Hood and his green-wood chivalry of robbers were doubtless forced into being by this cruel policy of the Conqueror; as provoked, in the Danish counties, by the resistance of population.

It will be readily seen how such a political framework as that here sketched—when once placed under the securities supplied by the independence of the church, and the great charter of the barons—was favourable for the first developement of a programme of progress. In proportion as the ruder habits of barbarism disappeared—an object ever especially held in view by the church—and as the intelligence and the affections of population were developed by ever-growing intimacy of relation with their leaders, the position of the serf was elevated with his character, until nothing of the feudal bondsman remained in England. And be it understood—that once raised to the position of the tenant, his station corresponded in character to that of his own feudal superior. While, if he stood lower in the scale of importance, he was shielded from those supreme cares and dangers which were the lot of all the responsible heads of old English society.

If we look to the established character of the Normans, as universal civiliziers, and to the political resistance they immediately inaugurated in England against the great tyranny of the epoch, as concentrated in the pope, it is impossible to regard the singular title affixed to the survey of the Conqueror as accidental. The Normans were a race of warrior statesmen and organized politicians. As such, what had they in view in giving to their general inventory of the outstanding possessions of the kingdom, the name of Domesday-book; and farther, in storing it away from all eyes? Was the entire civilization of the world—whatever might be its extent—fixedly envisaged and systematically undertaken and pursued, although in a counter sense, alike by the founders of England as by pontifical Rome? And was it said—Then, when the work shall be achieved, may the secrets of government be disclosed, and a new order of things, whatever its nature—impossible then to predicate—be established for men and nations? All things, as we have said, under government, are enigmatic.

Doomsday-book seems to envisage the opening of that millenium vaguely held out as a reign of peace in the futurity of heaven or of earth, of which the few far-seeing and guiding minds of society have ever conceived as the universal conquest of man to civilization, but have propounded to the masses as the mere catholic extension of the Christian creed. The text of Doomsday-book has never been made public, but extracts only. Sufficient to convey, to generally informed and reflecting intelligence, a comprehension of the nature of the work, of the state of things found by the Normans in Saxon England, and of the civilizing changes by them subsequently induced.

But it is not England alone that should possess a Doomsday-book. The old records of the empire of Charlemagne, or of the Roman pontificate, should be able, in like manner, to furnish some portraiture of the first infancy of that continental system for which was so fondly ambitioned catholic extension and supremacy. Doubtless a compendium was prepared, by those founders of our modern civilization—similar in purport if differing in title—to that subsequently drawn up by the counter power in England. From such—the author is disposed to think—Saxon Alfred would conceive the design of the survey he is said to have executed; and which the Normans again are reported to have turned to profit. Though, if the conjecture prove correct, that the original feudal document existed on the continent, and was communicated to Alfred, Norman William would, in like manner, be familiar with it. It is desirable, at this time, that all records tending to elucidate the course of modern civilization, should be published. If regarded only as tide-marks by which to judge the rate of human progress, they must be of intense interest and immense historical value. But with regard to the feudal system—that first cradle in which the surviving science of the ancient world rocked the rude infancy of ours—With regard to it, everything tending to exhibit

its original design, early history, and progress of extension, must, at the present epoch, assume peculiar importance.

Let us now distinguish in definitive:—

First; That every political system, really worthy of the name, has ever presented and must ever present—a religion, a theory, and a framework.

Second; That every framework of such system must consist of some definite mode of land tenure. Some general sectionment of territory. Some organization, or strong governmental command, of population. And—either in connexion with, or in lieu of, the two last-named—some effective regulation of human interests. The last is evidently the point at once the most important, and the most difficult to attain.

In the outset, the yet inform political system of Norman England subsisted less by the organization, than by the governmental command, of population. And soon, in the absence of all efficient protection of human interests, the political system itself was in danger of falling to pieces. Such was, or became, the state of things while the monarch held the lead rein of the two feudal hierarchies in the undisputed absolute. Subsequent to the defeat of the crown, populational organization, aided by the benign influences of the church, sufficed—with barely any governmental command, other than that supplied by the local magistracy—to hold together the religious bond. This, until the whole system wore itself out in the manner we have attempted to exhibit. And thus it was that the mass of the English people lived without knowledge of government—lived in fact in ease and freedom—until they were deluded into the nominal government of themselves, and the practical government of each other, by the subterfuge of pope parliament and his molten calf.

We saw that in preparing by transaction the transitory order of civilization, care was taken—by means of the fixity of the landed estate—to preserve the outer

scaffolding of the original feudal framework. Without which—as, of course, in the absence of any other—all would have fallen to pieces. Thus we still find the shadows of the old spiritual and temporal divisions, despoiled, however, of all their original realities and uses. Presenting either of them, for long time past, little more than empty lanterns, with barely farthing rushlights standing therein, to make evident the emptiness; and now wholly inadequate to master, or even to hide, the ruinous confusion towards which all things tend. Under the compact of 1688, the whole power of the political system was soon, as of course, absorbed by the Bank of England. And in like manner, as we have requested the publication of all facts and all documents, tending to exhibit the birth and character of the feudal system, so shall we also urge the propriety of giving full publicity to every thing tending to elucidate the preparation, formulation, growth, and management, of the transitory.

The utility and propriety of this will appear from the fact we conceive to have rendered evident. That man species stands, as he is, and where he is, equally by aid of the two systems. No longer a wandering savage, nor a fighting barbarian. Nor yet an apathetic bondsman, nor brute peasant. But a creature capable of reason, and sentient of ambition. A being fraught with energies; locomotive, progressive, creative. Henceforth no framework must hold him, that cramps his growth, or perverts his faculties. None that is not elastic as thought, mobile as the electric fluid.

But, as we have seen, the transitory system of England has arrived at that catholicism of extension, after which the feudal aspired. Consequently, it renders obligatory upon every nation to prepare for entrance into one and the same compact, by means of one and the same compromise. The work then, at this hour, incumbent upon the peoples of catholic and protestant christendom, becomes imperative for those of the globe. Everywhere skilful and faithful digests of the records of

the past—elucidating from the earliest known epoch of civilization, the tenure of landed estate, the acknowledged character of property, and the leading governmental regulations, bearing upon the vital interests of population—should be prepared and given to the world.

England—it is conceived—may supply, if not exactly in the form of records, yet very important information under these heads with regard to India. That necessitated first parent, (as we shall expound in a future essay,) in common with China, of the agriculture, art, science, and civilizational developement of the old hemisphere. Even as somewhat corresponding territorial seats were, in the western hemisphere, the natural birth places of its primeval empires of power and splendour.

It appears probable that Japan may be in possession of the lost books of China. Undoubtedly the most ancient, and therefore, the most interesting that could be given to the world. May not Spain also be able to furnish some important information, touching the pristine civilization of that new hemispherere, conquered by her arms and ravaged by her cupidity ?

As the first quickener of the soul of modern nations, and as holder of the bond of union of the catholic transitory, it should be for England to take the initiative in this outpouring of universal political knowledge upon the mind of humanity. If none require it more than her own people, so do we hope and believe that none will receive it more readily.

During the course of our historical developements, we expounded the general and ultimate, no less than the local and immediate, consequences of the scheme of England. If the student will turn back to Chapter XI, he will see the fundamental character of these consequences, and how they have become universal for the globe. With the single exception of Japan—for whom Holland is the sponsor—every empire has been drawn—either by England, or by her existing co-partner in

maritime supremacy, America ; or yet again by the civilizational territorial power of continental Europe, France—Every empire has been drawn into the meshes of the commercial and financiering diplomacy of the transitory. At this hour, whether for nations or for individuals, there is no way—for any one of them singly—out of the web, so artfully spun and powerfully sustained by the force of united governments, and the combined influences of the outstanding selfish interests of society. Nothing can be done but to rot and perish, all together *as a species* ; or to effect salvation, all together *as a species*, by acceptance of one universal social compact, under the seal of one universal social compromise.

Behold then our globe really forced to the recognition of its character as a unit. Behold it ripe for adoption of America's own motto of federative union : *E pluribus unum*. But this motto of federative union—before our globe may receive ; ay, America ! and before thou thyself mayest hope to retain, or in verity, to exhibit it, thy programme of the future must proclaim, and propound, and apply this device of civilization's counter respondent principle : *In unum plures*. Wanting this device of federative independence, thy boasted *E pluribus unum*, America ! will speedily shiver thee to pieces, or consolidate, together with thee, the whole fair world of Columbus, under the stagnant despotism of concentrative unity. Oh ! then alone, when the four cardinal principles of civilizational science, union and order, liberty and independence, meeting in accord, shall impart to the dynamics of our globe, the analogous phenomenon to that which the positive and negative currents impress on its statics,—Then, then alone, may earth through all her empires and her populations, draw into harmony. Then, then alone, may she present, in her economy, that of the starry heaven in which she moves. And then alone may the human mind—reflecting, as in a mirror, all the truths of the universe—see to recognize,

and to comprehend those triune principles, which constitute the trinity in unity, and unity in trinity of the omniscient, omnipresent, omnipotent God. Here we leave this matter as without our immediate subject.

Seeing that the object to be envisaged at this hour is preparation, by the entity of our world, for a definitive order of civilization ; it is evident, from all our previous developements, that we have to establish an unalterable, because a just, tenure of land and capital, and a sectionment of territory and organization of human interests, which shall be just also. England as the holder of the outstanding civilizational rein of the world should, in this matter also, take the initiative.

We have already supposed her political system restored to that independent existence impressed on it by its fathers and founders, at Clarendon and Rrunnymede. Relieved of its embarrassing consolidation by annulment of the two acts of union, and restored, in common with the two sister realms—Scotland and Ireland—to independence of volition. (Chapter 25, page 429.)

Waking to life through all their parishes, towns, cities, and counties, her people will now prepare for a general survey of their own emancipated realm. A work that will be both solemnly and appropriately opened by the publication of that made by order of William the Conqueror—year 1079. Ay! time will now be ripe for opening Doomsday-book. Doomsday is come for England when her collective people, entering on majority, shall declare themselves holders in capite of the lands so held by the conquering founder of the nation and the realm. Ay! and for Europe and for earth, Doomsday is come when the sceptres of kings shall pass to the hand of collective peoples ; and when, at their voice, the ferule of government shall change into the wand of providential administration.

At the epoch of the conquest, the wealth of England, as indeed of all transalpine Europe generally, was singly

in land, slaves, cattle, and hogs.* The houses and tenements, with exception of monastic edifices, were poor constructions. Ships and public edifices the same. Whatever of moveable wealth, or industrial products trade might have amassed, or handicraft skill created, was confined to London and some minor towns and sea ports. Consequently in making his summary of territorial possessions, inclusive of the labour and effective service upon them, the Conqueror made an inventory of the whole standard wealth of his kingdom.

But again. The inventory, compiled in 1079, associated population with the soil. And justly so, since the one appertained to the other. From the holder in fief under the crown to the lowest vassal who found on the estate food and shelter. But we noted the gradual, and soon rapid and violent, separation of the English people from the homes of their fathers. How the land was drawn from under their feet, and ease and liberty from their souls. Happily, with this sacrifice of the well being of successive generations, has been purchased for the species, an immense step in progress. A step constituting passage from the reign of labour to that of industry.

During the passage from the feudal through the transitory, the wealth of every country has assumed an endless diversity of forms. So that at this hour the soil, and equally the emancipated human producer, will be reckoned for what they are. Not wealth, but only the two great sources of it. Out of which admission proceeds another as a consequent. Namely, the impossibility of sustaining any individual right of appropriation to either; and equally any right of exploiting either for mere individual advantage. The inventories then to be made at this hour by every nation, or—to speak the

* With the single exception of France. Where—more or less—remains of the old classic civilization still survived, amid the general ruin, to inspire the genius of Charlemagne, and to aid the Roman priesthood in forming the mind and habits of the conquering Franks.

more appropriate language of the future—*by every sovereign body corporate of population*, will present a first division under two great heads. That of things and that of persons. The first presenting the landed estate and the capital of the body politic. The second its industrial force, disposable service, claimants upon its care by reason of infirmity or helpless childhood, or upon its honour as under settlement by compact and compromise.

With a view to preparation for this, the collective English people, or nation—recovering that existence which we observed them to have forfeited (Chap. XI.) in the day that they took to governing and being governed—will put themselves in the place of the founder of the English realm. They will constitute themselves holders in capite of its whole soil, as embraced within its natural frontiers; and of its whole wealth as standing upon that soil. And in this character of undisputed sovereignty, they will institute a general survey of their kingdom. Make a new Domesday-book. Otherwise voluminous and complex in the improved estates and varied riches and industries of which it will present the inventory, than that compiled in the eleventh year of the conquest. However vast in appearance this undertaking, it must be of facile execution. England is not, we believe, possessed of a cadastrum in the style of that of France. But the entailed tenure of her landed estate, and, it is presumed, the general legal order of her affairs, together with her national and municipal records, and the familiarity with the whole wealth of the realm necessarily possessed by her exchequer, can leave few facilities to be desired. Her outstanding sectionment of territory also—however inefficient with a view to the future—yet, as being that in use through the past, may be appropriate for the object of resuming a correct portraiture of things as they are, and of approaching them in curious comparison with what they were at the conquest. Her business lawyers—an otherwise useful class from her

talking ones, mere special pleaders against time, sense, and honesty—will find here suitable occupation. A general census, marking the actual condition and occupations of population, we may suppose to be prepared simultaneously.

Apart from this compilation of the new Domesday-book—presenting a portraiture of things as they are; indispensable with a view to all the demands of the hour, and invaluable as an historical record for all time—Apart from this, the following operations would seem to challenge immediate attention:—

1. Sectionment of territory with a view to the civilizational framework of the future.

2. Classification of occupations in keeping with the various divisions presented under the four great heads of the economy of the future.

3. Repartition of population according to the demands of locality.

4. Estimate of all supplies on hand, and their suitable repartition in keeping with the same.

It is only by sectionment—that practical exhibit of analysis and synthesis—that we arrive, in any thing, at dynamic power or static precision. By it indeed humanity achieves the miraculous, and compasses all but the impossible. Sectionment in the framework of the future has to be in the first place—as of course—territorial (static.) And in the next place, occupational and administrative (dynamic.) To conceive of it territorially, let us throw a glance over the map of England.

We perceive her territory to divide itself readily into five provinces. The east-south-east, south-west, central, west, and north. Referring to the historical reminiscences of the country, we find the eastern and central divisions to present the seat of old Saxon dominion. The south-west, the land of refuge of the country's Celtic aborigines. The north, the land of the hardy Dane. The west, the old mountain fastness of Llewellyn and the Celtic bard.

Here let us admit, and let us *feel*, that all countries have to be true to their illustrations, and to cherish reminiscence of the past in their arrangement of the future. This being indeed a simple corollary from the now—as we conceive—substantiated position. That the future can never be other than the result of the past as ever turned to account by the best progressive science of the present.

It is conceived that the nomenclature of the new territorial framework should be in keeping with this rule. In consequence, the eastern province of England may seem to claim—from the great Alfred, father of the political and commercial developement of London, and of the old learning of Oxford—the name of *Alfreda*. The south-west—rich in druidical remains, scene of the long and unequal struggle of the chivalrous Arthur and his Britons, and lasting abode of a remnant of the aboriginal race—as naturally suggests the appellative of *Britannia*. The central province may appropriately recall the founder of Saxon England, under the name of *Egberta*. The west wears ever her own interesting name, endeared by every ancestral remembrance. In the form of an integral province of the realm, but in the character of a sovereign body politic, Wales bursts the searments of the grave, resumes better than her pristine independence, and justifies the resistance of *Rebecca* and her daughters. The north may appropriately wear the name under which its valour resisted the Norman conqueror, and forced its reduction by fire and sword: *Northumberland*.

We have here what perhaps might suitably constitute the provincial system of England.

Within this we shall suppose the system of her counties or cantons.

Within this, again, a departmental system, or congeries of departments.

Again, within this a communal system, or congeries of communes.

Sectioning these again, we suppose a circular system, or congeries of circles. In which—their number being proportioned to the less or greater density of population—we arrive at the stirring, breathing haunts of human life, industry, occupation, and enjoyment. Here, in the workshops, farms, and all the varied seats of production, artistal creation, public service of all descriptions, we find ourselves at the fountain source of wealth and civilization, and, as of course, in the appropriate seats of human suffrage. Each individual exercising, as of course, a voice in those affairs, and in those only, which regard him. Abstaining from all minutiae of details touching the size of territorial copartments, which, in the larger divisions, must be usually more or less influenced by the geographical limits and other characteristics of territory; and, in the smallest, by the occupations, and consequent less or greater density, of population—Abstaining from all undue and unnecessary particularizations, we may distinguish the whole face of a country, when duly repartitioned according to the requisitions of civilizational science, to present—to the mind—a vast encasement (*emboetement*, the French would say,) of administrative systems; and—to the eye—a territorial chequer-board. Such is now imperfectly exhibited in any map of the American New England states, shewing their sectionment into counties and townships; and again, farther, in that of the great American republic itself, shewing its repartition into states. But, as of course, sectionment of territory must be far otherwise minute, and the hierarchy of its systems far otherwise multiple, in a really civilizational framework as constructed for administrative purposes, and as holding in view adaptation to the whole field of the globe, than can, or could possibly be either desirable, or feasible, in a mere political framework, as constructed for governmental purposes, and limited to a given territory.

On the field of the civilized globe, England and America must be regarded as the great inaugurators

and fearless champions of the dynamic political principle of progress. America and France, as the practical exhibitors and sustainers of the static political principle of sectionment. As a consequent, it is in the territorial sectionment of the two last quoted—America and France—and, again, in the repartitionment by one of them—America—of governing power in keeping with the division of territory, that we find an embryo sample, or faint outshadowing, of the framework of the future.*

The territorial appellatives employed in our preceding suggestions, are for the most part selected with reference to the outstanding arrangement of France; who by throwing into clusters her departments, will find her cantons; and, by assembling these again, her provinces.† And who, on the other part, by sectioning her communes, will make her circles. The term circle is chosen both as being a good one in itself, and as having existence in the ancient economy of Germany. The suggestion of appropriating it for the communal sections only supposing its transfer from the entity of a state to a primary division of its territory. A change expressive of that demanded by the wants of the present epoch as compared with those of the age of Charlemagne. Then it was ignorant, laborious masses who required command, organization, and protection. Now it is the multiplied and ever multiplying occupations of science, art, and industry, which ask room for development, self regulation, and full freedom of extension and

* America—be it understood—is ever more and more concentrating her governing power. Approaching—like England, though by another road—to the invariable governing ultimatum, single-handed despotism. Now only to be averted, in either case, by transition.

† A cluster of five departments will be found to present, in many cases, the old provincial sectionment of France. As this, however, is not universal, there appears no motive for aiming at an imperfect restoration. The French provinces, gathering together a nucleus of cantons, will find their constructive rules in the line of mountains, flow of rivers, and line of seaports. In countries where these are wanting or unsuited, lines of latitude and longitude supply the place.

perfectionment in place and in time. Human production no longer exacts imprisonment as within the mountain ramparts of Suabia, Austria, Moravia, and the iron framework of a hierarchal system of hereditary, or arbitrarily nominative grades. It demands a territorial sectionment calculated in accordance with the diverse powers of intelligent production, the extended duties of providential distribution, and the universal functions of beneficent administration. It demands a framework of which the ethereal links, as cast by the hands of science, shall give ingress and egress to every aspirant in the public service. Of which the primary seats of human occupation shall be multifarious as human wants, and the conceptions of well directed human genius. And of which the hierarchal grades shall be accessible to merit, as evinced by positive service, and decided by the voices of those exercised in service of the same character.

The higher integral division of province presents a name sanctified, as it were, to liberty in the glorious annals of Holland. By substituting the term canton for county, we have one also rendered glorious in the annals of Switzerland.*

Let us now suppose America to gift the three realms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with her appellative of states. One hallowed for all time by the achievements of a virtuous revolution, and by a course of civilizational developement without a parallel in history. The three states, with their contiguous islets—the whole drawn together by federative links—will supply the *confederacy of the British isles*.

Farther still, to picture out the organization of the future, let us suppose the whole of Europe similarly repartitioned into states and clustered into confederacies.

* In the repartitionment of cities, might they not suitably receive from Rome the characteristic name, region? Both as one universally applicable to their highest integral division, and as sanctified by the use of the great mother of our civilization.

Each and all of these—appointing, by voice of their supreme administrative boards, agents conversant with the resources and interests of territory and population—the same assembled in civilizational council, will present the collective majesty of the great European republic. Thus may we realize the living dream and dying faith of every patriot, from the martyred Arnold to the martyred De Witts; and from them again to Kosciusko and Riego; and to all who, in every land and every age, have died in thy faith, liberty, and in thy service, human kind!

We conceive enough said to convey a general conception of the new civilizational framework considered in its statics. Let us now direct our attention to the corresponding division of its dynamics. That is to say, to the general character of that human economy which—as inspired by science and justice—is to throw a soul of energy and ever progressive intelligence into the whole hierarchy of its systems, and into all the tribes and generations of the species it is to envelope in its organization.

CHAPTER XXVII.

GENERAL HEAD.

CIVILIZATIONAL FRAMEWORK CONSIDERED IN ITS DYNAMICS.

CONTENTS.

How credit to be secured to actual holders of public estate.—What we all want.—How the same may be attained.—New division of society.—Those who will be seen to first.—The two characters appertaining to all.—The duties and claims inseparable therefrom.—Advantages owed by society to its members.—Obligations of members counterpart of the same.—Review of the programmes of the three nations which are to inspire new order of things.—That of England analyzed.—Leaders of population its creditors. Classification of creditors and of society.—Expositions respecting.—Minimum and maximum.—Expectations to be moderated in the outset.—How the people may manage their own affairs.—Rules of justice and common sense respecting.—New order of economy elucidated.—System of education in keeping with the same.—Organization of the press ditto.—Adaptation of civilizational framework and of its order of economy to the globe.—Transformations effected by transition.—Realization of all programmes.—France and America give each an emblem of truth and justice to the world.

WE have supposed the passage of a social compact, Chapter XXV., by which collective humanity, as speaking through all her sovereign body corporates of population, will assume investiture of the soil and wealth of her globe. And, simultaneously, while taking posses-

sion of her own, will secure an appropriate revenue of credit to those dispossessed of the capital stock. But credit in what form? Not in the sign of wealth, nor in the sign of its sign. Idolatry is destroyed with the idol. Money is gone. Wealth—wealth itself, stands revealed to our sight, and restored to our use. After all, what do we want? To be happy and comfortable. For this, what ought each to possess? Facilities for ever improving her or his physical, moral, and mental condition, and for attaining that position in society which his or her positive services may entitle him to command. And yet again, by being secured in the free use—not abuse—of such claims upon the public wealth as shall be acknowledged at the time of compact.

How may all this be effected? Simply by substituting for the outstanding division of society into land-owners, capitalists and service-renderers, one into creditors, day labourers and debtors. And the creditors, again, into first class, second class, and third class. Apart the infirm and the helpless, these five categories will—it is conceived—cover all the varied claims and claimants of society, whether upon its absolute or relative justice.

As of course, and in the first place, absolute justice will immediately cover all those disabled from aiding themselves—the aged, the infirm, and the helpless. Administration must open her reign by redressing all the crying wrongs of government. The grave will not give up its dead; but the prison, and the almshouse, yea! and all the purlieus of vice and disease, must yield their victims; and society relieve, and reclaim, and soothe the sorrow, and the suffering, and the error which her neglect hath caused and her injustice inflicted. Oh, see, in this hour, that the law of love be fulfilled! See that the last be first; and we will not ask that the first be last! See, on the instant, that the hungry be fed, the houseless sheltered, the naked and

the shivering clothed, and comforted, and cleansed! Cheered in their souls, raised in their own esteem. Made free to take part in the public duties and the public joys. If disabled, relieved of all charge, or thought of work as of care. If otherwise, invited to enter the public service, and to make for themselves a name and place of honour. Oh, all that may be done with the impressionable creature man, and yet more with woman, when roused to generous competition, and won to confidence in self and in society!

It is evident that every individual existing within the pale of civilization occupies two characters. He is an individual, and he is one of a collective sum. In these two characters, he claims advantages and he owes duties. The advantages claimed by the individual human being, constitute the duties of the collective sum of society to its component members. Even as the duties fulfilled by each and all of society's component members, constitute the wealth and greatness of its collective sum.

The advantages owed by society to the individual are :—

1. Employment at all times, according to his or her choice and capacity, and the public necessities. Whether in the labours of agriculture, horticulture, raising of stock, dairy farms, manufactures, construction, engineering, the arts, trades, bureaux of accoutability, or account keeping, business of distribution, transporting, provisioning, navigation, attendance in the public infirmaries, hotelleries, good restaurants, or eating-houses, magazines, bazaars, and all other establishments, or in the service of youthful education, public instruction, including the press, or of administration. This in all its departments, from the primary farm and workshop, up through the circle, the commune, the canton, the province, the state, the confederacy, the great continental republic, and—farther yet—through all the intercivili-

zational relations of the two hemispheres and of the globe.

2. Register kept on the public books of the work he or she executes, or of the service rendered.

3. Rate of credit proportioned to the service rendered. Payable in the mode and in the place required.

4. All succour in event of sickness.

5. Support in old age, in that degree of ease, or of wealth and honour, earned by the services of the citizen's life, as substantiated on the public books in his or her accompt current with the commonwealth.

6. Education of children in the public establishments, and the state of the public fortune viewed in connexion with all the outstanding demands upon it.

7. Every privilege and enjoyment, at all times, proportioned to his or her rate of credit, ~~and~~ consequent standing in society.

The duties of the individual must be the evident counterpart of these advantages. Receiving all from the public, he owes all to the public. His strength, his energies, his application, his talents, his genius, his devotion.

It is now that England may realize in very deed her charter of Runnymede; America her compact of Plymouth, and programme of 1776; France all her pledges to liberty, to humanity, and to science, under her symbolic emblem of human economy—as presented under administration, and never possibly under government—by her tricolor.

To the leaders of a nation, or collective body corporate of population—says the charter of England—belongs the interpretation of that population's interests.

Equal justice to all, says the programme of America's pilgrim. Union of all for the independence of each, says her flag of federation.

The collective tenure of all the modes of wealth for the advantage of all its creators, and of all the service renderers of society, says the programme of France, when

interpreted by administration, under protection of federation.

These three programmes of the three great civilizing powers of the earth must combine to inspire the economy of the future.

First, the programme of England.

To the leaders of population belongs the interpretation of its interests.

Who are the leaders of population ?

Its creditors.

Who are its creditors ?

Let America's principle formulate the answer.

First, and through all time, as in absolute justice : *All such persons as render an amount of service in the public employment exceeding their rate of expenditure by an excess affording security—as in way of life-rent insurance—against loss by sickness, age, or other infirmity.* Covering, also, the quota of charge which may be theirs for the rearing of their own infant progeny in the public establishments. And leaving also, in addition, a balance in aid of the public fortune.*

Second. All such previous holders of the public estate, to amount recognised as sufficient at the time of compact, to entitle them to that character, under one or other of its grades.

Creditorship of three grades, it is conceived, may embrace all the varying degrees of merit, as substantiated by positive service ; and, equally, all the varying degrees of fortune, as owed under the compact to previous holders of the public estate. Remain the day labourers and the debtors.

Are day labourers : All those whose services may just balance their expenses ; together with the excess always demanded to meet possible loss to the public from the sickness or infirmity of its members, or any of

* Children, as of course, to be at the charge of their parents until such time as they may cover their own quota, by their own industry.

the accidents to which society is subject, but which afford no net profit to the commonwealth.

Are debtors : All who fall short of covering, by their service, the quota demanded as their due debt to society.

At all times, a minimum and a maximum to be calculated in accordance with the public fortune. The minimum presenting the means of a bare subsistence, plainest lodging, and clothing. Such to be afforded to debtors for a certain space of time. After which, protracted delinquency would be regarded as evidence of bodily or mental infirmity, and the unfortunates taken care of accordingly. The maximum to be calculated so as to present the highest rate of expenditure consistent with the public fortune and with the demands upon it. The same, as of course, to rise with the increase of the public resources ; and to be apportioned to the highest rate of creditors, whether these should be such by merit, or by compact, or by both. We say *by both*, because, among the first creditors by compact, will doubtless be found many who will throw the full force of their energies into the public service, and earn over again their individual claims upon the COMMON WEALTH. This, however, will in no case be demanded nor expected. Nor should the fact ever fail to be held in view, nor to be impressed on the popular convictions : That the ready acceptance of the compact, on the part of the outstanding holders of the public estate, and their frank co-operation in the peaceful revolution by which felicitous transition is to be secured, must constitute the greatest service that can ever be rendered to society by any of its members. Taking this view of things—which will readily be distinguished for the strictly true—we shall perceive that the claims of creditors, under the compact, must be not only those of justice relative, but *positively* those also of justice absolute.

Third class creditorship will necessarily be attainable in the very outset by all well-disposed individuals. It

was the calculation of the American Franklin, that—in his day, before all the marvellous developement of the powers of mechanics, as, since, ever centupling the powers of production—that four hours per day, suitably employed by every sane and sound member of society, would cover all the demands of progressive civilization. But, considering that a first start is always charged with difficulties, and that old society will necessarily entail upon the new much burden; and that, moreover, there is yet a great work to be achieved; no less a one than the effective civilization of our race and of the globe—conquered, indeed, from savage life, but yet half wild, inform, defaced, demoralized—Considering all this, it would be unwise to predicate anything respecting the requisitions of the epoch. This only may we advance with confidence: That—once fairly started—a goodly portion of wakeful existence will be appropriated daily to purposes of healthy recreation, sound instruction, social intercourse, and all that can form the mind and the manners of a really sovereign people.

Creditors by compact being secured in their fair claims, they have evidently nothing to do with the affairs of the working mass of society. Excepting in so far—as before said—they may volunteer their aid in the public service.

Equal facilities being afforded to all individuals to make their own place, and to improve their nature and their condition, creditors only can be entitled to a vote in any case whatsoever. Such to be entitled to its exercise always, but only, in such affairs as may regard them, and in their own sphere or spheres of occupation. Rules dictated alike by justice absolute and by common sense. Since they alone who assist the store of public wealth, or advance the public prosperity, can be entitled to have a voice in the disposal of the one, or may be conceived capable of judging correctly as to what may advantage the other. And since again, they only who are familiar with an occupation can be supposed to estimate duly

the merits of those engaged in it, or the fitness of individuals for its superintendence. The conducting officers of each occupation in the circles—as thus chosen by all its creditors of whatever grade—will appoint the accomptant, or accomptants, charged with preparing the current reports of work done, and by whom done, and with passing the same to the head board of that department in the commune. The head boards of the communes will, it is conceived, nominate that of the department. Those of the departments that of the canton. So on upwards, through all the hierarchy of systems, and through all the enchainment of their occupations.

The affairs of every branch of human service being thus regulated by creditors appertaining to the same, it may be, and, doubtless, ever more and more will be, that one individual will stand as creditor in two or more departments. Wherever he or she so stands, he or she will exercise a voice in the selection of superintending officers. Creditors of the third class, in the selection of the foremen. Those of the second class, in that of the higher superintendents. And those of the first class, in that of the supreme directors.

Lists, shewing the standing of all the employed, to be made daily or weekly, and held open for inspection in the administrative office, of each occupation in every branch of the public service. The same to be passed to the administrative offices, under each head of occupation in the circle, and so on in the commune. By which means, the precise standing of each individual, with her or his positive value to society, may be at all times evident. And the question, *what is a man or a woman worth?* be susceptible both of a definite and a righteous answer.

We have previously noted (Chap. XXV., page 434,) the universal rule which, in all place and through all time, gives the measure of all value. *The demand of the hour inverse the supply.* Guided by this, administration balances human deserts, no less than brute things,

against each other. The service which is scarce weighs down that which abounds. Thus, too, superior skill and better knowledge ever find their reward. Remunerated at all times in credit, apportioned at once to the value of the work done, and to the rate of the public fortune.

The single facts that accomptability is to supply the place of money, and that all affairs of debt and credit will be transacted between individuals and society, and between body corporates of population with each other—from the first nuclei of the circles up to the confederacies of continental republics and the hemispheres of the globe—will suffice to convey an idea of the civilizational framework of the future, both in its statics and in its dynamics.

Forthwith—as of course—a general plan of education to be opened for the whole infancy, childhood, and youth. And, in its nature, to be such as to raise up useful and independent human beings ; lords of nature, and not exploiters of men.

In every healthy commune, we suppose suitable arrangements to be made for infancy. In the department, goodly sections laid off for childhood. In every branch of knowledge and skill, the tender mind and growing limb will here be freely and yet judiciously exercised. The first elements of all science—addressing themselves to the intelligence through the eye—may be rendered familiar to very childhood ; while countless exercises may prepare the body for future strength, agility, and dexterity. Example rather than precept, demonstration rather than logic, things more than words, and yet both in conjunction, may—in the department—prepare the first impress of the future free men and free women of free states. Each healthy and beautiful domain of childhood should present a little republic within itself. Every exercise, every occupation, every art, every science, and the whole order and business of administration, with all appurtenances and means to boot, should be there in miniature. Models and paintings of

beauty, music of purest harmony, should court the senses, and prepare the taste for elegance. The eye, ear, the voice, the hand, the muscles, the intellect,—all should be there skilfully awakened, and the whole creature moulded for future power and excellence. First, however, and before all things, *the useful* must be held in view, and the young beings prepared to administer to all their own wants, to cover all the expenses of their training, and, as soon as possible, to enter on the repayment of the first cost of their helpless infancy. This, it is conceived, will very generally be effected in the schools of the canton.

The canton—or head seat of a nucleus of departments—may present the establishments for youth. Say from ten to fourteen; the same, however, being received, classed, and enregimented according to strength and capacity—always to be consulted rather than years. In this manner, although the years of ten to fourteen are noted as a sort of general rule, the young neophytes will be promoted from the schools of the departments *strictly in the order of merit*, and by free election of their own young compeers, as approved by the head officers in the different branches of education. Each will bring with him, or her, a note of account current. Already it will be understood that the debit against, or the credit in favour, is to decide the place of the individual from entrance to exit on, and from, the scene of life, and to substantiate his precise claims to wealth, honour, and public trust whithersoever he may go. The province again will have its provision and preparation for such of the youth of both sexes as may have passed as creditors in the institutions of the canton. The state again will furnish every means within the compass of the world's science, and confederated wealth, for assisting the fullest development of the human powers. The youth—now emancipated by their own exertions from the debt of childhood—will select their own seats of study and fields of service throughout the states of their own, or of other,

confederacies. Coming powerfully to the aid of universal civilization—as an organized agricultural militia, as artistal captains, and industrial engineers—these young eagles of their race will supply a phalanx of nerve and intellect for every most colossal enterprise.

The press—following in like manner the ascending grades of the civilizational framework—will interpret in the communes all the wants and the interests, and the outstanding affairs of the circles. In the departments, and the cantons, and the provinces, and the states, and the confederacies, and the great republics, it will equally supply efficient organs. While everywhere the churches of the earth—transformed into halls of science, tribunes of eloquent instruction, lofty morality, and oftimes into theatres of public enjoyment and saloons of general intercourse—will become indeed beacons of light, centres of religious union, and sustainers, and promoters, and elevators, and purifiers of ever progressive civilization. But we are called to bring to a close our outline sketch of the economy of the future.

To the reflective student it will be self-evident: That every circle will have its boards of production, provisioning and administration. That its board of production will receive from the primary administrations of the farms, workshops, factories, &c., their reports. That they will have their inspectors to judge of the quality of articles and accept or reject accordingly. That the board of provisioning will see that sufficient be supplied, stored with care, or forthwith distributed to meet the wants of population. Report the *plus* of that of which there is excess, and the *minus* of that which is wanting, to the boards of distribution and administration of the commune. That it will be the business of the communal boards to balance the accompts of their respective circles, and pass their directions to their boards of distribution accordingly. That the boards of the communes will communicate again with those of the departments one with the other. Thus, throughout the whole encasement of systems;

until it be seen that the whole field of a country—on all the points of a state, and, farther, of the confederacy to which the states appertain; and, farther yet, of the continental republic, or republics, which hold all confederacies in relation,—Until it be seen, I say, that throughout the whole civilizational framework of a hemisphere, ay! and of both hemispheres, and, ultimately, of the globe, society be suitably furnished, according to its wants and its claims, with all the requisites for life, health, comfort, and convenience. But let us distinguish further.

The compact and the compromise, and the economy which these are to generate, being one and the same for the whole family of man and the whole field of the globe. Administration will be called to consider the demands of territory no less than the wants of population. It will be her biune object to ascertain not only the deficit or surplus in the outstanding productions of empires, but also the deficit or surplus in agricultural and industrial force. This being compared with all the local advantages in soil, climate, metallic treasure, water power, and all other primary sources of wealth. So that provision may be made for the suitable distribution of conquering labour and creative energy in keeping with the resources of territory, and all the outstanding demands of civilization. Also for such advances in outfit as countries overcharged with capital may furnish to those wanting in the same.

We conceive enough outshadowed here to make evident the nature of the transition which has to be induced. Sublime in its immensity and beauty, and yet simple in its exhibition. With the fall of our great, but worn-out monetary system—which, after first developing, has been long crippling the energies of our race—all individuals will find ready occupation, no less than a joyous existence. Our bankers and our brokers, with all their cashiers and their clerks—transformed from priests of Baal into leading servitors of society—will

pass without commotion into the employ of the bodies corporate of population, through all the ascending grades of the new civilizational framework. Simultaneously, our traders and financiers will do the same, and find themselves metamorphosed—as under the wand of a magician—from puzzle-headed shufflers, half-crazy speculators, tormented and tormenting debtors and creditors, into matter-of-fact business men, agents of order, distributors of plenty, and facilitators of all the social relations of universal humanity.

It is conceived that enough has now been said under the head of the economy of the future, to avert the dangers of crisis, and to assist its felicitous denouement. It is conceived, also, that the student will now be prepared to distinguish that *all that is true is simple*. And farther, to conceive that *all that is true is susceptible of exposition in few words*, and even of *formulation in short maxims*. And, moreover, that all truth—when clearly formulated in such maxims, and not thrown into a game of cross purposes by an order of practice at war with right reason—that *all truth is self-evident*.

This being the case, our lawyers and politicians, and preachers and scholastic professors, will have to undergo the transmutation indispensable to fit them for utility in the new era. Their acquired habits of analysis will singularly facilitate for them the apprehension of the order of things which approaching transition must generate. Practised as they universally are in reducing consequences from first premises, the beautiful edifice of that definitive order of civilization which is to replace the transitory, will rise before their sight with similar, or possibly yet greater, distinctness than it now stands before that of the author of this treatise. To supply, therefore, farther details, touching the forms that may be given to it, or the regulations which must be naturally generated by its economy, are uncalled for from her. The subject she reserves for her next treatise is the developement of the definitive order of civilization,

considered in its principles. The nature of all principles, also, will be familiarly expounded, and suggestions presented in connexion with those which she conceives should guide the efforts of supreme administration, in preparing the suitable colonization and universal civilization of our race and of the globe.

And now let us, in concluding this rapid review of the great epoch of effective human salvation, as to be opened by transition—Let us elucidate how the three programmes of the three great civilizing nations are to combine for its inauguration. The charter of Runnymede, as we have exhibited, precises the means and the mode: *The interpretation at all times of the interests of population by its leaders.* Which is to say, under the reign of administration, *the interpretation at all times of the interests of society by its creditors.*

It is for the programme of France to embody, as it were, the charter of England. To exhibit it at all times through the eye to the mind, and to reduce the beautiful economy of the future to its simplest expression.

Under government, we have seen the portentous and proteous emblem of the tricolour torn into ribands by the hand of anarchy. Transformed into an ignis fatuus by military glory. Again into a standard of revolutionary movement by counter revolutionary violence. And, finally, into an emblem of all oppression, by a union of all the forms and modes of wealth against all the agents of its production. Let us now pass it into the hands of benign administration. Lo! she finds in it the true emblem of just human economy. “I too will send it round the world,” she says, “and realize more than the sanguine dreams of the friend of Washington.”* She calls on industry and science to point its uses. Let us consider how they will put together and take asunder—synthetically and analytically—its rainbow hues.

* It may not be generally known to the English reader that the title most prized by General Lafayette was that of *the friend of Washington.*

The day labourer—as an aspirant after all the grades of honour, and as bearing within him all the yet undeveloped sources of wealth and excellence—we shall suppose to start in the race with the cockade of the three colours. On passing into the first ascending grade, or third-class creditors, he assumes the red. Into the next, the blue. And into the highest class, or nobiliary rank of merit, the white. And as, in the future, nothing will be under cover, each individual will at all times wear the riband of her or of his rank. The debtor alone being without any. And thus—as is evident—all will carry their own letter of credit on their persons. Sparing appeal to that in their pockets, and consequently to themselves and the public an infinity of trouble.

As was expounded in the course of our historical developments, America has to uncover, and to render to her own people and the world, all the principles of the future. But in doing this, she also will supply an emblem. An emblem expressive of that supreme civilizational science to be presented by the harmonizing of the two so long discordant political principles, union and independence. She will gift our globe with her flag of federation. Of this in another treatise.

Before bringing the present to a close, the author has yet a few observations to present.

It is evident that, at the epoch of transition, the millions will start under the tricolor; and that it will be for the energies of those millions—as righteously exerted to meet every outstanding demand upon the public fortune—to lengthen or to shorten the term of popular, and universal human, apprenticeship. But as everything depends upon prudence in the first start—upon the due harmonizing of all those principles of virtue and truth which are to secure the peaceful felicity and prosperity of all the future—it appears to the author that ambition must be strenuously excited to come in aid of *public* rather than *individual* good. Many and great must be the demands made on the public fortune during the

opening years of transition. Let us keep guard, therefore, over undue estimation of our own services, and devote all our energies to make them as great as possible, without too much eagerness touching the rapid increase of their reward. Before any general promotions in rank may have place above that of third-class creditorship ; or any schemes be listened to for the raising of palaces, after new models or old ones, the whole mass must be wholesomely housed and suitably provided for. All the wretched must be comforted, fed, clothed, lodged. Cities must be relieved of their multitudes. The breath of heaven, and the green fields, and the fresh earth restored to man, and, with these, wholesome exercise, and occupation, and recreation. Age and childhood must be seen to. The work of duty and of love must be first accomplished, if we would open in a right spirit a new era. Society has been so long driven by the selfish principle singly, that it may be hard for her to receive inspiration from the generous. By the new order of economy both will be drawn into co-operative action. But we must bear in mind that the outstanding generation has grown up, and lived, in the service of *self* only ; and felt nothing for, and known nothing of, the collective species. Here then must be the weak side in the outset. Woman must give the tone in this ; and place herself everywhere on the side of humanity, union, order, right reason, and right feeling.

The possibility of remoulding society in keeping with the principles set forth in these pages first occurred to the author during the course of her practical enquiries and efforts in the slave question. She gradually matured them during her labours in the popular cause, between the years 1828 and '30, in the American northern states. A first outshadowing of them will be found in a farewell address given, as in answer to the cry of agrarianism in New York, under that date. The last of "the popular course" known in this country. She drew them

up in some detail, and circulated them privately in France and England, at the epoch of British West India abolition. In 1838 they were published in two popular journals, one of the northern, and one of the southern, United States of America. Her views then had regard to their more immediate application to that republic and the great duties and interests of its planting states. At that time, as from and before the year 1830, her intention was and had been what it now is; *that if transition could be effected during her life under compact and compromise, she herself would start with the millions.* As in preparation for this, she has long ceased to own anything herself in the absolute. All that was once her property stands in the names of her family. And should what is set forth in these pages be realized, she will, on the instant, forego all life-claims upon it, and start herself under the tricolor. In this manner—and seeing also the tenor of her whole past life—she might perhaps afford some surety to either party in the compact. To the millions with whom in every personal interest she would stand associated. And to the higher creditor classes who might be disposed to see in her one equally pledged to order as to liberty.

In closing this book, the student will distinguish that the great problems are solved which have held the world in warfare through all time. The ambitions of nations, or of collective body politics, are effectively reconciled. The interests of individual human beings are harmonised with each other and with those of the collective sum. Each country, in promoting its own greatness, adds to that of every other, and advances the peaceful civilization of the globe. Each distinct member of society, while earning extension of his own credit, multiplying his own enjoyments, raising himself, or herself, in the scale of social

existence, adds simultaneously to the common stock of public capital, enlarges the boundaries of human knowledge, increases in some form or other the possessions, the grandeur, the felicity, of the great commonwealth, and advances, with himself, the millions on the road of physical, moral, and intellectual improvement. So, every where and ever, must the rise of the public fortune raise the rate of credit of the individual human being. Developpe with greater power all the resources of our globe. Elevate ever higher and higher the standard of human excellence, and invigorate the graspings of human ambition after the great, and the good, and the beautiful, and the true. On the very instant, honesty is made the order of the day, by cheating being rendered impossible. Industry is raised to honour, by the only practical rule being made practicable : *To every man, woman, and child, according to his and to her works.* Maternal love is relieved of its burden, by society assuming the charge of the orphan's interests and the guidance of inexperienced youth. Age is saved from neglect and dependence, and secure of ease and honour, and tender regard. Liberty becomes the portion of our race, by *the union of all for the independence of each.* The dove of peace descends upon earth, and love becomes the universal bond of the species, by our recognizing happiness for the unique end of our being, and by uniting as one family to fertilize one common earth ; each secure in the aid and protection of all, without care for the day or anxiety for the future.

So be it ! And may hosannas soon rise from every land, and we who now are, see the opening of a new era !

LEADER, PRINTER, SHEFFIELD.

