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AUDI  
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PARTEM.

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LETTERS  
OF A  
REPRESENTATIVE.

BY  
MAJOR-GEN.  
THOMPSON,  
M.P.

VOL. II., 1s. 6d.

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**ERRATA IN VOL. I.**

*In page 38, line 40, for stratagem read strategem.*

*In page 74, line 23, for stratagem read strategem.*

*In page 134, line 8, for prevented read presented.*

*In page 138, line 44, for though read through.*

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**VOLUME II.**

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**LETTERS OF A REPRESENTATIVE**

**TO HIS CONSTITUENTS.**

From 15 June, 1857, to 11 May, 1859.

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*By Major-General Thompson, M.P. for Bradford.*

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—he rose to note that in the debate no notice had been taken of what was the most important part of the question, the breach of military faith and honour with the soldiers of the Native Indian army. The debate had been the play of *Hamlet* with the part of Hamlet left out; and there was an *audi alteram partem* which ought to be, and would have been, brought forward if an opportunity had been given.—*House of Commons*, 27 July, 1857. *Hansard's Debates*, p. 548.

VOL. II.

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**LONDON:**

**A. W. BENNETT, 5, BISHOPSGATE STREET WITHOUT.**

**1859.**

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## DEFECTION IN THE ANGLICAN CHURCH.

LETTER LXVI.

*To the Editor of the Bradford Advertiser.*

SIR,—A subject which every man in this country has a right to consider as affecting his well-being, is the movement which is making in the interior of the Anglican Church Establishment, for going back again, some will say to the rock whence it was hewn, but as scriptural quotation is a very arbitrary matter, there are others who would give quite a different kind of turn to their illustration.

And here there shall be no attempt to enter upon the ancient controversy. It shall be admitted without a dissenting voice, that every man so far as in private duty bound, has a right to go his own way, none asking him a reason. But there may be public duties besides. No wise man in these days and this country, thinks of entering into individual hostilities against the stock of Israel. The campaign has gradually settled down, from the time when teeth were drawn and daughters of Jerusalem burnt wholesale in our provincial capital, to the last not three months old enunciation, that the rights of Englishmen are not dependent on agreement with the doctrinal opinions of this or that man, or of any man. Nobody henceforth will quarrel with his neighbour for being a Jew, nor for being anything else he conscientiously may choose.

But there would be another sort of reckoning, if a portion of the established clergy, after taking possession of the revenues at a time of struggle formally assigned for their support, should announce their intention of, to the extent of their power, reverting to the Mosaic dispensation, and open, for instance, the village chancel for eating with due solemnities the paschal lamb, while the rural general practitioner attended in the vestry to inflict on every little boy the painful initiation which was required of the patriarchs. And the case would be made stronger, if a bishop of countless revenues were to turn out and say, that he would bear in his own person testimony to

the justice of this revolution, and was ready to support his presbyters in going any length that public feeling would make safe.

The answer he gave would be, "Perform your rites upon yourselves, either with a sharp stone or in any way you may prefer, but *do not hold your bishoprics along with it*. It is clear you must be conscientious; but conscience does not involve the keeping of other people's money, assigned for a quite opposite purpose. Be Jews, or be bishops; but do not be Jew-bishops, and take Protestant pay and allowances." The case would be the same, if for Jew anything else was substituted.

It is interesting to see the steps by which this strange movement has been facilitated. At the time when the balance of public opinion led to a great reformation of ecclesiastical matters in Great Britain, there was of course anything but unanimity in the process. Putting out of sight those who made violent opposition and were beaten, there must have been an almost boundless variety of doctrine among those who on the whole agreed to take the victorious side. Contests of this kind are generally headed by men of extreme opinions, and then comes a long array of supporters willing to help them in the main, but each having some tidbit of a fancy, which he would willingly introduce if he could. And the more advanced leaders would of course do what they thought was in their power, to conciliate these weaker brethren; and the result would be, that the weaknesses of the weak would to some extent make their appearance among the strength of the strong, like the iron and clay feet of the prophet's image. It would be so now, and of course it was so then.

No man attending to the subject with moderate good humour and moderate absence of interest to mistake, can fail to see amusing instances of this kind of double management. A pet fancy of the half-way reformers, was the church's power to absolve; and the extent to which they contrived to introduce it, may be considered as the measure of their relative strength. In the open every-day service, they only succeeded in establishing the most curious specimen of equivocation in human history. They had no chance of carrying the declaration that the priest could absolve from sin; but their more vigorous brethren sopped them with permission to declare, not that the priesthood could absolve, but that "*He pardoneth and absolveth*" all them that truly repent, and unfeignedly believe His holy Gospel. This was for every-day use. But on some occasions of rarer occurrence they were less sharply looked

after. Thus in the service for the sick, they succeeded in asserting a power in the church, to "absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him;" which, though a little more boldly worded, is practically nothing more than before, namely an assertion that God would absolve, and the church might say he would. In the Ordination of Priests, the bishops had it more to themselves, and there is stronger evidence of the leaven that was at work. The bishops, according to the spirit which evidently directed the mass of the movement, were to set apart certain individuals as fit to preach the doctrines of the church, and among others the doctrine that God would absolve those who truly repent. But there is no denying that they inserted as much as they could of their own cross purposes, leaving a notable testimony, of where the zeal for reform was warmest, and who it was that lagged behind.

Connected with absolution, was confession; and in all the equivocating processes the two are to be seen together. Everybody thought it was proper to "acknowledge and confess our manifold sins and wickedness." But when it was added, "that we should not dissemble nor cloak them before the face of Almighty God our heavenly Father; but confess them with an humble, lowly, penitent, and obedient heart;"—there was a lingering hope in some quarters that this would have been anticipated by confession to the priest. The vigorous and the thoughtful were quite aware, that an advice to confess our faults one to another was no authority for a system of confessing them to the priesthood, and that in addition to the evident absence of all claim to such a process in the time of the adviser, there was the objection well urged by the sarcastic Frenchman, when he represented his *Huron* (North American Indian) as confessing to the priest, and then leaping into the chair and flying into a passion because the priest refused to kneel down and do the same to him in turn. And this is the "hay, straw, stubble," which, with lilies and butter-cups better fitted to adorn a calf for sacrifice to Jupiter,—and paltry embroidery and mummery to match,—have been fixed on in these latter days as the means of overturning the decorous well-behaved church of the Anglican Reformation.

Amusing instances of the same phenomenon are in other places. Thus there was an old quarrel, whether marriage was a sacrament. And it was patched up by inserting a declaration in the shape of a ¶ to the form of Matrimony, that "It is convenient that the new married persons should receive the holy Communion at the time of their marriage, or at the first opportunity after their marriage." This, if it did not amount

to making marriage a sacrament, was the nearest thing to it that could be got. It would be cruel to quarrel with the minority; for they were thankful for small mercies.

In the same way in the Catechism they succeeded in interpolating "which are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful." In the Baptismal service they struggled, and not altogether without success, to leave room for rustics to surmise, that the priest did something with "the laver of regeneration" which was the parish font, distinct from the good-will of the Saviour towards infants, from which we "doubt not therefore" that "He will favourably receive the present infant." There is the same harmless attempt at equivocation.

It was Charles James Fox who said, "There was always a nonsense part in an Act of Parliament;" and there is the like in forms of law, as would be proved by any man who should raise a public alarm on the strength of John Doe and Richard Roe being left running up and down the country. Everybody always knew that this was the nonsense part. The less comely portions of the church service as it stands, were known for such, and well-meaning people did not talk about them. It was reserved for a portion of the church's own children, to play the part of graceless Ham to their parent; and nobody would regret to see them cut off from tithes and Easter offerings, and made into servants of servants for anybody who chooses to employ them.

What the thing is looking to, is this. Either there must be amendments in the doctrines and ceremonies of the church, to the cutting off the excrescences which her best children are the foremost to acknowledge,—or there will be a growing tendency to the resumption of that mass of public property which for the last three centuries has been in the hands of the church establishment, and an application of it to public purposes, as a balance to the necessity for every man supporting his own religious establishment out of his own pocket. There is a good deal that is optional about it; if only men will make their option in time.

Yours sincerely,

T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

*Eliot Vale, Blackheath, 15 Sept. 1858.*



THE "RELIGIOUS DIFFICULTY" IN NATIONAL EDUCATION.

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A PAMPHLET under the above title, by Mr. Templar, Master of the Model Secular School at Manchester, induces me to return to the subject.

It is a calm and moderate statement, of the obstacles thrown in the way of Education by the English Obscurantists. It perhaps errs rather on the side of conceding too much to them, and not standing with sufficient stiffness on the point, that they are well paid out of the public purse for teaching *their* business, and we want, where necessary, to have help towards teaching *ours*.

The time is gone by when a question of this kind was to be blinked through vague terrors of sacerdotal fulminations. We are of the stock of those who put the lion down, and are not going to be mastered by the wolf of our own creation. There is no reason why we should shrink from the contest our fathers dealt with, or why, any more than then, we should doubt of finally bringing the majority to our side. If they have the tongues, so have we. If they know history, so do we. If they have mixed with the possessors of power and the rulers of opinion, *our* course also has not been without opportunities of the like. We refuse to shelter ourselves under a barren Nonconformity. We prefer to stand up, as bone of their bone, and sinew of their sinew; able to meet them without any odds, and least of all to be put down by the threat of being confounded with men of warm passions but scant knowledge, who are the small deer injustice loves to feed upon. Are there none among us, whose hearts have warmed at seeing the lawn of the Bishops in the House of Lords, and thanked the sound policy of our forefathers who stamped that seal on their success in one of the great battles of the world? Do they think we never drank "*Floreat domus*" like another man, nor joyed to see an old fellow-student, or literary pastor and master, raised to the bench where modern episcopacy exercises powers unknown to its primitive simplicity? Let there be no mistake. The movement is not from without, but from within. The progress of sound knowledge, to which they and we and everybody owe that we are not buying indulgences for sins to come, from some pedlar in prophylactic absolution, shall not be stumped to please lorn curates, and flatter the vanity of rising generations of gowmsmen.

The feeling is not one of animosity to anybody. The wise

## 6 *The "Religious Difficulty" in National Education.*

and the good in their own ranks, will be with us. We only want to put down what their own wise and good consider as impertinent. The worst we would say to the worst of them, is what I dare say you recollect among the tales of those who "told our wondering boyhood legends store,"—how a little boy was observed to carry his morning's meal of milk and bread into the fields, and on being watched, he was found to have made acquaintance with a snake (a poor harmless creature, by the way, if Yorkshiremen could think so, always *excepting the hag-worm*); and when his new friend put his head too far into the bowl, he patted him with the spoon and said, "Keep to thy own side, Greyface!" We want nothing of our friends, but the same kind of considerate forbearance.

Mr. Templar gives curious samples of what it is that government pays for. Compare the training given in Mr. Salt's school, as elucidated in your paper of four weeks ago, with the gibberish inculcated by the government's instructors. If they reply that the pity is the boys do not know more,—what have the clergy of all denominations been doing, that their boys are left to say that "Christ descended into heaven," and *after four or five years drilling* be of opinion that their duty is "to onner and to bay the queen and all that are put in a forty under her." The fact is, they cannot drill, and we can; and all we want is, that they would do something for their money in their own way, and let us do the same in ours.

The grounds for inviting union from those who will unite, are many. All ill things have a sort of partnership; and good ones must have the same. This plan for keeping down education is linked with many another. It is part and parcel of the plan for getting back to the old ecclesiastical domination of butter-cups and trumpery; not without connexion with other schemes of thralldom for the laity, some of which have broken down like the Jew question, and others are breaking down like the Wife's Sister's and more that might be mentioned. The clergy in all time have had a hankering after trying a fall with the laity; and they have always fallen. One reason has been, that they have scarcely ever kept clear of resting their cause on what the *Times* newspaper calls "downright untruths." They cannot quote without inserting or leaving out a "not." The laity have contracted the habit of believing everything that is said to them, in the contrary direction.

It is hardly necessary to say, that the object in writing this, is to excite that portion of the community with whom you are particularly conversant, to take up this block on the education of the masses as one of their questions, in sure and certain

hope that the victory of knowledge will be *their* victory, and lead directly to the abatement of all of which they have reasonably to complain.

Meanwhile ~~there is something the~~ Working Classes can do ; for no man in this country needs be made a fool of, without his consent. Let them decline sending their children to the schools where gibberish is taught, and send them where they will learn what will make them wise in this world, and give them the chance of choosing rightly for the next. Assistance will come. Successful men of business, as in your own instance, will step forward. Powerful classes of religious men are among those who will finally take the honest side. The Universities must be opened to Dissenters ; which is only another branch of the same struggle. It is "close time" now, and questions cannot be asked ; but that will be over. Their object is to sbut out light ; that ruling classes only may have eyes. It will be contrary to human experience, if the party of the extinguisher carries the day.

Yours &c.

22 September, 1858.



PROGNOSTICATIONS OF THE NEWSPAPERS.

LXVIII.

SOME of the newspapers are full of prognostications that the present government cannot hold its own, and that there must be a general election. Not feeling convinced of this, I am tempted to put down the reasons why the parties who most urgently want improvement in the legislation, should sit down resignedly under a contrary dispensation if it happens, and try to make the best of what exists, if the fact turns out they cannot help it.

The existing government, or ministry, have made two great slips. One was in leaping, like bull-trouts, at the proposals unaccountably proceeding from the representative of what calls itself a liberal constituency, to legitimize bribery on a point where it had been kept at bay through a doubt about the law, in respect of hiring men to vote by the offer to pay travelling expenses. It was an act not reconcileable with virile sense, on the part of either the proposers or the accepters. And the other was, in throwing themselves headlong as a sacrifice to the unreasoning propensities which may be described under the title of "the British lion," in the stupid and discreditable

affair at Jidda. A pretty thing it is, if the recruiting sergeant is to go about your streets, and say to your boys, "Come and 'list, and you shall be hangman's mates. Or if it be a country where beheading is in fashion, you shall stand by and help the cutting off the heads of a score or two of men who you know have had no trial, and in all probability have been picked up in the streets as the least likely to have anybody to take their part. You shall scatter sawdust if you like, or who knows but you might be promoted to hold a basin to catch the blood? Make haste to take the shilling, and this is what you may come to."

There is no doubt but in both these cases they acted foolishly. But it was not altogether out of malice. The opportunities sought out *them*, and not they the opportunities. They did not send a man to China to quarrel with the Chinese on an avowed falsehood (unless he did it of his own head), thereby disgracing the name of Englishman to coming generations. In legitimizing bribery they committed no treason against the popular cause, because they were under no engagements to it. The mischief was thrust upon them, and they gave way.

And then on the other hand, they had really shown signs of an inclination to hear reason and do well. It matters not where men came from, nor what were the antecedents of their party, if they will now do the thing that good is. They took a broad step in doing away with one of the Charter's complaints at a blow; the more is the pity they could not resist the silliness of neutralizing it the first time anybody was found to ask them. They also swept away, or allowed to be so disposed of, a brand of political inequality based on religious opinion. On other points in the same direction, they showed much reasonableness and disposition to do fairly. The man who will do because he must, is better than the man who will not when he can. There was more hope of the new than of the old, though they did not exactly hoist the right colours, nor make the right professions.

It would therefore be unwise to run too hotly after those who bawl for getting back into the ancient ruts. Let us see where the new ones will carry us; what the old ones did, or would not do, we know full well. Were I a betting man, I would take out my book and write down fifty, against any man's fifty on the other side, that some concession or trial on the subject, for instance, of the Ballot, comes from the present men sooner than from the old.

They have not held office long enough to get obstinate.



They are not like the Italian lodging-house keeper, who when told that her cieling looked likely to come down upon her sleeping inmates, replied that it had been so for twenty years, and she did not know why it should come down now. There wanted what sailors call "freshening the nip." Let us try how the new nip will hold, before we insist too rashly on returning to the old. When the new gives proof of disappointing, we may think of the other. In the meantime, turn and turn about is fair.

Yours &c.

29 Sept. 1858.



ON THE ADMISSION OF DISSENTERS TO PARLIAMENT.

LXIX.

A JOURNAL in your neighbourhood has expressed surprise, that your representative should have been found advocating the return to parliament from Greenwich, of an individual who has borne the burden and heat of the day to a greater extent than any other man living, in fighting to success the great question of religious freedom.

As it is not pleasant to be the cause of wonder to one's friends, I feel tempted to go over the ground, and ask what there was to surprise anybody in the course taken, and whether the wonder would not rather have been, if it had been the other way.

Put the case now, that in any of the preceding struggles, for the admission to the House of Commons of, say Nonconformist, Unitarian, Catholic, Quaker, (which I believe is something like the order of chronology), an individual had made great efforts, and incurred considerable sacrifices, in personally pushing the question towards a successful issue. And then it happens that a companion in persecution is the lucky man that first makes good his lodgment within the enemy's trenchments. Does that of itself make any reason for wondering, that the other should be supported when his turn comes?

It may be presumed that of itself it does not; and therefore there must be other reasons. And now what are the reasons? As far as can be gathered, they are because he does not go the whole length in other matters that somebody could have desired of him. It therefore becomes necessary to turn out and sift those "other matters."

The facts appear to have been, that on all subjects other

## 10 *On the Admission of Dissenters to Parliament.*

than the religious one in which he may be called chief actor, he demonstrated himself to be farther advanced than the average of men who are doing a good working stroke of business as effective Reformers. Reforms are not made wholly and solely by men who go to the extreme of the possible. It is very necessary that there should be such, and somebody must always bell the cat. But the battle is not carried by that alone, but by the closing in of men of less ardent temperaments, and the accession of those who have a gift of foretelling the strongest side. All great things must be accomplished—at some time present. And the man who does what is wanted at time present, is worth a score of those who only think they should be able to be very useful this day ten years.

Now here is a man who declared himself hearty and sound on every question likely to be brought to the pinch of a vote, either in this parliament or in the next. What can be more to the point than sending such a man to parliament? There are those that say—"No. We should prefer voting for a man who would give his vote for some question which will be brought before the House in the days of our children, and who practically, in the actual state of things, will not get to parliament at all."

Our Dissenting candidate avowed that he would go for the Ballot, which at the present moment is the great practical test of men's knowledge and sincerity. And when pressed on the subject of the Suffrage, he declared himself for an extension, which is the important thing just now; though he stuck at the belief that the suffrage must be connected with a man's having something in the shape of property or other. And when asked point-blank if he would vote for the division of the land, he decidedly held out no hopes of such a termination.

Under such circumstances then as these, was it well argued or well digested, to express surprise that a friend of religious freedom who had been working thirty years, as can be proved by book, on that very subject, should not have been dismayed at the idea of continuing such support as he could give, because the candidate thought the suffrage must be connected with some sort of property, and would not vote for the division of the land?

There is always a way of making a noise and doing nothing, and there is a way of putting in the pickaxe where it makes the present hole. The object of all of us should be to do the last and not the first; and we must be excused for slightly grumbling, when friends without due consideration employ their precious balms to break our heads.

Those who attached value to the question of religious freedom before it was carried, and who now attach value to clinching it, will perhaps think they can more profitably expend their energies by encouraging the good cause, than by throwing cold water on it without necessity.

Yours &c.

6 October, 1858.



RED HERRINGS.

LXX.

I HAVE reason to believe that some of our friends are unnecessarily troubled in their minds on the subject of Currency; and they forward to me the evidence of great and persevering pains having been taken, I have no doubt with the best of possible intentions, to persuade them that something very dreadful is going on in this direction, to which the attention of the Working Classes ought to be extensively appropriated.

It is far from my object to deny that there are or may be things connected with the existing state of the Currency, which might be amended with great advantage to the public. And as I really believe that the reason they are not amended, is based on want of examination rather than on any ill design, or even any distinct interest at the present moment in any quarter,—it would ill become me to bear hard upon such as invite their fellow-citizens to any kind of consideration of the subject.

But still we must not allow ourselves and friends to be run off with, into any ditch that is deep enough to hold us. For that would be sadly adverse to what we want, which is to make some progress along the turnpike road of truth. And as what has been transmitted to me appears, as far as words go, to be addressed to myself among other "Members of the Commons," I will take the liberty to sift it, assuming that there is no necessity for closer description of the production in my hands.

Passing over then all questions about style, which is only the trimmings of the dish,—though a shrewd guess may sometimes be made from the trimmings, at what the dish is like to be,—the grand statement, so far as collectible, appears to be this,—That the Working Classes and all classes are mainly suffering, in consequence of "Peel's false and changeable See-Saw Cycle Swindling Single Gold Currency," instead of "using Mr. Pitt's Joint Gold and Silver Currency."

If accused of stripping this of its reasons, I must defend myself by pleading, that there were none to strip. There was nothing but assertion and hard words. If the reasons are anywhere laid down, they ought to have been referred to.

And now, *are* the Working Classes to be made uneasy in their minds, by a declaration signed on the 25th of September, 1858, that their evils come through their wages being paid in gold and not in silver? Does not it sound like the fancy of a man who has taken something into his mind, which he has no power of making visible to others? Ghosts have been seen upon this principle; and there is no reason why a Currency ghost should alarm the neighbourhood, merely because somebody is found to put down in print that it is there.

I stand therefore on this point; and whenever our alarmed friends will find the reasons anywhere given, why this assertion on Gold and Silver Currency should be accepted, I will do my best to answer. Till then, we will all decline to wrestle with shadows.

Everybody knows what this kind of ghosts come to. I knew a man of high standing and knowledge of the world, who said that ghosts in a family mansion, always ended in the retirement of a female servant. As sure as they ended in this, do the other kind of ghosts end in a demand for an unlimited issue of paper, or something thereant. Their followers never can comprehend, that however beneficial issues of this kind may be to the knaves who issue, the result is, that the value of the whole currency within the country (be it metal, paper, eggs, hob-nails or Finnan haddocks, all of which have been found acting as currency at different times and places) will be from time to time reduced to the old value, thus taking the difference out of the value of what is in the pockets or strong boxes of all the holders. Some schoolboys cannot understand this. They say, if the old woman at the shop would take pebbles for halfpence, and the grocer in like manner consent to take them in return for his treacle, and pass them on to his merchant in London, would not this be a glorious invention for everybody, and why does not the world set about it without delay?

If, which is rather a libellous assumption, there are any of the Working Classes disposed to wish they lived under such a dispensation, it is worth their while to consider what would be the result of such a plan if it were possible to suppose it carried out. It would be simply that the prices of treacle-cake and all other things, as measured in bits of gravel, would rise and rise till they stopped at the exact value of gravel in the

market (which advertisements at the Railway Station inform me, for the best Dartford gravel is twelve shillings per load), with a deduction for the trouble and expense of wheeling it home. So if any man thinks he should be the better for going to market with a cart-load of gravel instead of twelve shillings in his pocket, I do not see why he should not try it now.

One point I would take the opportunity of submitting here, though there is not space for more than stating the case. And that is, that increasing the quantity of the Currency is not in favour of the Working Classes but against them. For there is always the consequence, that if they are to obtain anything like the same substantial wages as before, they must do it through a constant fight for the augmentation of their money wages. And they have knowledge enough of that kind of thing, to know whether in such a contest they are likely to gain or lose. One way of clearing the question, would be to suppose the case was the other way, and that in consequence of an *increase* in the value of the Currency, the masters were fighting the workmen for a *reduction* of money wages. It is probable the workmen would prefer this state of things to the other.

It is hardly necessary to say, that in all this the great object is, that our friends should not be set upon false scents which can lead to nothing. The Working Classes have plenty of real game before them, without running after red herrings such as the author of the "Political Register" in his naughty youth used to perplex the squire's hounds withal.

Yours &c.

13 October, 1858.



NORTHERN REFORM UNION.

LXXI.

MEMBERS of that growing body the Northern Reform Union, have intimated that there might be use in my forwarding to them such observations or information as may by possibility bear upon their objects. And as the interests of all Reformers must be in common, it may be held certain that nothing directed to them will be the worse for passing into your hands, and that you will feel no reluctance to being the instrument of multiplying anything which may contain the seeds of good. What has been addressed to them, therefore, is as follows:—

*To the Members of the Northern Reform Union.*

FRIENDS, OF ALL DENOMINATIONS.—In writing to you at

the request of some of yourselves, it is not my intention to go over the several questions on which you have proved yourselves so well able to examine and to decide ; but rather to put together such points as throw light on the necessity there is for a united action on your part, in the manner of those which have been successful in cases it is needless to mention. To which may be added notices of what look like the openings for carrying it forward with success.

And here at once the broad statement of the case is, that what for brevity though not perhaps with mathematical precision may be called the Working Classes, have not their fair share of influence in the composition of the public machine, nor the influence it would be for the general interest to give them. And these underground or overlaid classes, possessing vast numerical strength, and rising fast in knowledge which is power, are upheaving the mould like the "biggest born of earth" at the creation, and showing unmistakeable signs that statesmen and politicians, if such there be, must before long consent to take them into the account.

And here I advise you firmly to penetrate yourselves with the weak point of the fallacy under which multitudes of well-meaning men act against your leading object. They say, it is important that there should be security for wealth ; that wealth should have its enjoyment, and as the means to that, its influence ; that knowledge too, as gained in the higher walks of study and in the opportunity for actual political exercise, should have its sway. All this they say, and truly. It is quite true that the rich man should have the benefit of his riches in the market, and that the wise man, who in one way or other has come by the knowledge of the means of honourably creating wealth for himself or others, should have the benefit of his superiority. So long as they use their money innocently, it is all well. But nobody upon this has ever made the discovery, that to give them their due advantages in the market, *it was necessary to keep the poor men out.* It has always been held enough, if the rich man had the advantage of his riches, and the poor were protected in their poverty.

Yet this is the mistake which has been made in respect of the Suffrage. The rich man has numberless and blameless ways, of influencing the votes of others, by his example and by his power of spreading his opinions. The poor man has only his one ewe lamb, of saying Yes or No at an election. There is no justice, no truth, in saying, if you give votes to the poor man, you take away the power of protecting themselves from the rich. There will always be only too much

reason to fear that the rich will find the means of employing their influence and wealth to ill purpose. There may be limits to the parallel, but I maintain and stoutly defend, that there is, and always has been, a huge and monstrous practical fallacy abroad upon this very point of the limitation of the Suffrage. There was no similar limitation thought of, when men were wanted for the militia. Nor when they were to be taxed at ten or eleven times the rate of the richer classes, by a crafty application of what is called indirect taxation. These things want looking into, both ways; and the rich ought especially to look into them, for it is very likely there is a per-centage of them voting against the extension of the Suffrage, when it is possible that such an extension would add three to their own supporters, where it added two to their rival's. It is pity to see men losing by thinking themselves too knowing.

On that other interesting point—the right of sending sealed letters to the Post Office,—I beg pardon, I meant the Ballot Box,—you have an equally good case before you. When the upper ten thousand vote at the Royal Society or at Courts Martial, they take special care that their vote shall be by ballot. Among other graces and ornaments of life, they are well aware of the importance of that which consists in taking care of themselves. And when pressed for further reason, they say distinctly, like sensible men as they are, that they do so because it is for the public good that they should do it. The officer at a Court Martial resigns himself to giving his vote without declaring it to the public, simply from the necessity of sacrificing for the public good, and not at all because he knows it would be convenient for him to be out of the way of the vengeance of the powerful, or the insulting temptations of the affluent. And the government, where concerned, agrees, upon the plain dictate of common sense, that the man will not give his vote the better for being bullied into it, nor for being bribed. But when the question is of an honest and poor man's vote, the rule as it stands says to him open-mouthed, you shall not vote without the chance of somebody's having driven you to it by oppression, or tempted you to it by lucre of gain; and for this last we are particularly tender, for what could be so contrary to the objects of government, as to allow a rich rogue to pay his money, without the chance of verifying whether the poor one had earned his pay?

And here, upon this question of the Ballot, there is a practical misunderstanding abroad, not altogether unlike what was in the case of the Suffrage. Rich men say to themselves, What would become of us all if we had the Ballot? Whereas

the fact is, that if some of them would be the worse, more of them would be the better when the accounts were cast up. If A and B are two rich men, rivals at an election, and half of A's men would go over to B if there was the Ballot, and two-thirds of B's men would go over to A, there is no doubt which of them would be the better for the Ballot. But they will say, some worthless democrat will step in and oust us both. It has not been found to be so, where there was opportunity for the experiment. Rich and selfish men sometimes overshoot their mark, in their speculations on this question.

And now to apply to the reasons why an infusion of new blood is specially wanted to the constitution. After the Roman Empire had gone a certain length, new men made their appearance from the forests of Germany and elsewhere, our ancestors, and though the world's wisdom theretofore had kept them down as of small knowledge and little account in the transactions of mankind, they brought with them new and improved ideas of both particular and international law, of portions of which we are still in possession of the benefit. A move, internal, of the same nature, is wanted now. The angels that have been bound in the great river Euphrates, or wherever the place may be, want letting loose, that the world may have cognizance of their quality. There will be better stuff in them than in some of the old. Nobody who looks abroad upon the earth, can fail to see that there is something going on like a receding of the tide of civilization, which a new impulse is wanted to restore. In all directions the brutal part of man has been taking the ascendant. National affairs are conducted on principles of avowed and unblushing felony. We are the working slaves of all manner of filibusters, and of highwaymen not likely to be hanged. The old principles of international law and honesty are set at naught, and parliaments are dissolved for resisting gross and unmistakable larceny, which is only not petty because the agents are strong. An empire has just been thrown away, through inability to keep a compact with enlisted soldiers, and the desire to massacre an army on the pet ground of ancient persecutors long since in their own place, for refusing to take "swine's flesh" into their mouths. In the course of this, depths of disgrace have been enacted such as the old universe never dreamt of, and nothing but the new could have co-existed withal. All evil things fancy they have heard a call to general resurrection;—as was the Westminster boy's inscription on a monument, they should "lie still if they're wise." The Slave Trade



is upon us again, alive and hearty. A man stood up the other day in one of our great commercial towns, and boasted that he always thought slavery a good thing. The wonder is he did not declare for cannibalism. Chambers of Commerce petition parliament to buy up the stock of decayed buccaneers; and literary societies turn out to do them honour, and ask the roasters of Arabs to meet. Free Trade will have to be fought over again; at all events Protection is up and doing, even in the colonies which complained so loudly when they lay under the rod. International law is laughed at; line-of-battle ships are the only counsellors, and those who ought to know better are too much tarred with the same brush to interfere. In the Church is a schism for going back to all which the public, who gave the revenues, had abandoned. In home events, the extent to which the brutal element has gained ground is visible, particularly in the murders of young women by what are called their followers. The principle instilled among our youth, is that for everything that goes wrong, a discharge of gunpowder is the cure; it is only the public practice translated into private life. Your soldiers break open houses in the streets; as why should they not, when this was what they enlisted to do? All these point to the fact that we want new blood among us; and knowing where it is, we shall hardly fail to get it.

On one point be of good cheer. You are in the same position for success that others have been before you. As then, there is disunion among your opponents. Men are with you whom you do not think of, and who will not show themselves till the time comes. It was ever so. In the meanwhile, go on.

With earnest wishes for your progress,

I remain,

Yours &c.

16 Oct. 1858.



PROTECTION AGAINST ENGLAND IN CANADA.

LXXII.

AMONG the instances noted, of how things can go backwards,—and how little certainty there is that though an evil spirit shall have been laid in the Red Sea as men thought for ever, it shall not be up again and doing, like the ghost that squeaked out from the midst of the man's furniture who was "flitting" to escape it,—a notable one is the coming to life,

of the old Protectionist fallacy, and in a place and shape well calculated to astonish the lieges in all parts of Her Majesty's dominions.

Nothing, it appears, will satisfy some of the Canadians, but setting up the cry of protection against Great Britain, and determining to keep out British produce when the things can be raised at a loss in Canada. For evidently in this case only, can there be occasion for taking any pains. No man needs counsel to buy the things in Canada when they can be bought there cheapest; it is when they cannot, that the wise man stands up and says, "Here am I ready to make the things dearer and worse, and I hope you will be so good as to pay me, because I shall like it better."

Perhaps it was a Providential act, that if there are any lingering longings after protection to dear goods at home, they should be caricatured by the movement described. Within the life of man, it was the rampant belief of British lions of all kinds, that the colonists ought not to make a twopenny nail for themselves, if there was anybody at home whose interest it was to make it dearer and worse. And at last the thing grew so manifestly stupid, that it was given up by what may be called general consent, scarcely a tail wagging in token of regret. But now some of the Canadians are for trying on the cast-off clothes. It would be curious to know under what name the folly is to be committed. There is always some name of beast, or fowl, or irrational animal like dragon which is neither, under which a multitude is ready to lay aside its wits, and glory in being translated. In England, the creature is well known; whoever has a folly or a crime to perpetrate, appeals to it. In the United States, popular feeling leaned towards the eagle, till one of their wisest statesmen recommended the substitution of the turkey. The wilds of Canada will doubtless furnish some equally savoury cookable, which might be recommended to prudent men in preference to what is of no use in either life or death.

And now to examine this ghost of a defunct insanity. Somebody stands up and says to the Canadians,—men never held deficient in sharpness, though they may not have attained to the celebrity of the other side of the border,—“Here are things which you can obtain from England for two shillings or two shillings' worth; and we come here, to offer to make you them for three. We promise you we will; and we call upon you by your affection to the land where you were born, to come to our shops.”

But if the Canadian addressed should be one who does not

speculate on keeping the same kind of shop, will he not ask the *why* and the *wherefore* before he parts with his third shilling and gets nothing in return? "You will get in return, the gratification of a patriotic mind, in knowing you have sacrificed a shilling for your country." That might be very well; but let us know it is for the country, for we have a strong suspicion it is for a jobber, to the country's loss. Why is it to be a gain to the country, that we shall give three shillings to A and B to make us deargoods, when we might as well have given two shillings of it to C and D to make the goods which would have brought us the things from England, and the other shilling to E and F to make us something that we might have eaten, or drunk, or worn, or put into our pockets, or given to our little boys and girls, or bestowed in some other of those ingenious ways for which an acute people is seldom at a loss? We have a shrewd suspicion there is a fraud, a trick, an attempt at genteel robbery without the risk of the constable. We have put together to the best of our arithmetic, and with the full exercise of all we learnt at school under the head of numeration, subtraction, or fellowship with or without time, all the items of the question; and we see nothing but that the encouragement given to Canadian industry is equal either way; only in one case, poor Pillgarlic, which is ourselves, is to get nothing for his shilling. And is Pillgarlic nobody; and are all the Pillgarlics in the country nobody; and is it to be a recipe for public wealth, that the conglomerate Pillgarlic is to be robbed for love, if he is simpleton enough to agree to it?

It must be, as the moralists say, "clear to every thinking mind," that this is nothing but a plan for making boots to cut them into shoes. It may be all very well for those who are to be the bootmakers; but it is not so well for those who are to wear the shoes and pay for them. The cry of patriotism will not make it go down. It is no patriotism to give encouragement to lawless bootmakers, at the expense of honest shoemakers, and to the damage of the wearers of the shoes over again. It is what may be called a *hocus pocus* to court a loss; and the people who will submit to it after all the evidence of reason and practice to the contrary, must have a most extraordinary craniological development.

It appears the dispute runs high in Canada; and the Governor is blamed by one party, for not having dissolved the Canadian parliament as the means of bringing popular opinion to bear. If the Governor has done wrong, there are resources within the scope of the government at home, for clarifying his

ideas. It will be odd if protection can take root and grow in a new country, when it could not hold its own under all the advantages of the old.

Yours &c.

27 October, 1858.



RUMOURED TRIAL OF THE BALLOT.

LXXIII.

CONSIDERABLE anxiety is everywhere expressed, as to what is to be the nature of the promised Reform Bill. One inference from which is, that it is settled there ~~is~~ to be a Reform Bill. My advice has always been, to wait, as the Turkish diplomatist said, till the child is born, and then we shall know whether it is a girl or a boy. Nevertheless, during such period of expectation, there may be more or less becoming lines of conduct to be pursued. And the least becoming of all would be any display of violence or ill-humour, which should endanger the whole result.

It has always been my endeavour to impress, that on a collected view of the circumstances, the chances of the popular cause are at this moment better than they have been for a long time previously. *Names* are but names, when they can be opposed by *things*. New men bring new combinations of interests and of resolutions. There is not the old chronic determination of finality, which haunted statesmen like a desire to shut up railways and preserve stage coaches. And new men have further the consciousness, that if they are to hold their own against strong rivals, the best thing they can do is to bid for allies.

A friend who though not moving in the rank of statesmen, was (as most men would agree if I were to define him) exceedingly likely to be a sort of focus of opinions in that under world which knows a great deal of what is going on in the upper, told me a few days ago, that the government's mind was made up, to propose the admission of the Ballot in constituencies where a certain proportion of the actual voters should petition for it. This preserves a wide margin; but it is evidently an opening for good. It would be flattery to suppose that the story which is in Hansard, of the sagacious clergyman's wife who forestalled the danger of a quarrel in the Subscription Library on proposal of a novel sarcastic on the clergy, *by proposing it herself*, could have moved any individual to view

this course with favour. But it is evidently a wise step, and should be wisely met. Let there be no quarrelling about the present terms. If the result is good, they will be widened; and unless it can be proved the result is good, they ought not. When wise men have to deal with wise men, there is very little of quarrelling in the world.

I would invite therefore to a prompt declaration, on the part of those who think their declaration worth anything, of readiness to accept this test in an amicable spirit, and without what we call in Yorkshire "looking a gift horse in the mouth." For it is a gift, or at all events to be considered as of that nature, when men whose trainers and instructors have certainly not been of a popular stamp, so far overcome the remains of early prejudices and later habits, as to confer amicably and reasonably with old opponents in the gate.

It is to be supposed that all men have a capacity for learning, and do not struggle in the harness of either political or industrious pursuit, without coming to conclusions for which they are the better and not worse. Both extremes of the never-ending still-beginning contest which is going on in anything that approaches to a free country, have taken a lesson in this school. The wrestle for Free Trade did a good deal in this way. It taught the ruling few, that the complaining many might be right; and it taught the many that the way to success was by allowing the possibility of their opponents hearing reason when well explained.

May we hope we shall be equally successful in explaining the present case, and come to a conclusion which shall be as generally admitted afterwards to have been for the general advantage.

Yours &c.

3 November, 1858.



IT IS BETTER TO FALL INTO THE HAND OF GOD, THAN INTO  
THE HAND OF MAN.

LXXIV.

A GREAT misfortune has happened in Bradford. There is no evidence of malice, but much of culpable carelessness; and the law will doubtless make a just decision upon the facts.

Surely in the midst of life we are in death. Which of us knows that in the next bread he eats, there may not be the messenger to summon him to his account? "Be ye also ready," is counsel fitted for the state of things.

But readiness does not consist in wearing a grave countenance and making a will. There is the readiness to answer when it shall be required of us, to the question of whether according to our several abilities we have leaned against the evil which is in the world, or have joined the current of gulls and reprobates who have run the downward road, and sowed the seeds of retribution on us and our posterity.

There may be worse things to a country than poisoning it. Imagine that you in Bradford had enlisted two or three hundred of your youths, under engagement to serve the foreign conquerors of your country, of different race and different faith, but who by gradual consent had come to be the admitted rulers of the land, as the Normans may have been in England a century or two after the Conquest. And suppose that Bowling, and Horton, and Manningham had done the same in proportion to their population. Or to put the thing still closer home, fancy that this had been done by Protestant people under a Roman Catholic government, as it would have been if the Revolution of 1688 had failed; or that it was the case of Irish Catholic soldiers, recruited as they are by tens of thousands, under a government the majority of which is Protestant. They enter under a full assurance that it is military and not religious service that is required of them; in which respect their position approaches closely to that of the Christians who had no hesitation in taking service under the Roman Emperors, so long as nothing contrary to their religious feelings was demanded from them. But a time comes, when a desire is felt to break the compact. Wise men make empires and fools lose them; and as the road to this, they determine to have a way of their own. The civil governors say, there is a compact with these Bradford men, and let it be kept. The military, or enough of them to do the business, say, we will try whether the time is not come to break it. Other interests join, whose fingers have long been itching to have a tussle with your contract. A great secret for doing mischief, is the doing it by halves; that is to say, one doing one-half, and another the other.

The best specimen I ever saw of this, was in 1802 in the fruit market at Venice. The path lay between two rows of stalls, covered with splendid pears. A boy was seen running rapidly with extravagant gestures, and waving a long switch, which on examination appeared to have an attraction to pears, and ever and anon scattered some into the air. And while I was musing on the meaning of this, *another boy came and picked them up.*

So it is here. There are those who would not avow a determination to break the contract. But when it was done, they were quite ready to be *the other boy*. I wonder where all these boys will be standing, in the great day of account.

Suppose then a regiment of your West Riding lads are ordered to do something directly contrary to the known terms of their enlistment;—to do what they know will make their fathers and mothers in the West Riding look on them as a set of shabby apostates, and slam the door in the face of Richard or Harry when he comes home on leave. Eighty-five respectfully intimate that it will be ruin to their character, and appeal to the order of the Civil Government that it should not be done. Whereupon your eighty-five West Riding lads are put into irons on the spot, and sentenced to ten years' imprisonment in irons with hard labour. This is what military absurdity could do; of all absurdities the least to be trusted to walk alone, in anything that does not bear on pipe-clay, and the justest object of jealousy to wise men in all ages.

Their comrades release them, and all march off together; as you know best whether you would do if the case were your own. And then comes the blowing up of two thousand of them, as boasted; a slaughter not to be done anywhere without fierce reprisals from somebody. There is no hindering such reprisals, any more than hindering gunpowder burning. The question is always, of who applied the match to the magazine. The man who broke the military contract was the man who did it.

And then came the hideous falsehood,—the invention which the Father of lies, if he keeps a record of his progeny, must dandle on his knee as his last and dearest,—the strategem that is not in Frontinus,—the baseness to which no portion of the human race ever stooped before, and none will ever get over. Just think, that this had been started with respect to Bradford men, and there were dupes and simpletons elsewhere found to swallow it.

But now comes the cream of the parallel. Fancy that after this, the shattered limbs of your children were found in all corners of Bradford, by the execution of a brutal vengeance unknown to pagan or mediæval wickedness, and to which no name can be attached but that of the people who did it. And you who were not military, were murdered in cold blood as fast as you could be caught, with loud declarations from the press of the escaped dæmons your destroyers, that you are not men, and that it is not necessary to prove anything against you individually, any more than that a wolf is a wolf; for which, if

evidence is wanted, look at what has been laid before the world by the Aborigines Society for November.

Will you be ready to answer hereupon, when the books are opened? There will be no shuffling then, nor hiding under the pretext that a blessing was asked upon these doings, and they were gone about religiously and reverently. The belief in a retributive Providence is already shaken with many. But wait, and see whether arrears are not brought up. It is by setting confederates on one another, that the ends of Providence are wrought. Are there no signs of this already? Combined fleets may have massacred in China, and then sailed off to enact something between area-robbery and burglary in Japan. But how if it ended by somebody coming up to London Bridge with a present of a yacht to Queen Victoria? The strength of a nation is in justice, and in cultivating honest company. At this present, if the French Emperor were to demand to buy free negroes in Jamaica, there would be the same strong reasons as in the case of Portugal, why no useless resistance should be offered. This is what the "British lions" have brought us to.

It is true; it is not much that we can do. We have not drugs to cure the madness of a nation; neither is it expected from us. But we can save our own souls; which is worth doing, even though no city of refuge should be found for us on earth when these things are called into remembrance.

It is better to fall into the hand of God than into the hand of man. Great as are the sufferings from the present painful occurrence, they are not equal to what might have befallen if the wickedness of which man is capable had been let loose upon us. For all which, there will be a reckoning.

Yours &c.

10 November, 1858.



#### THE PORTUGUESE FEELER.

LXXV.

PUBLIC attention is with justice directed to what has happened to Portugal; and there have been rumours that it was to be made the ground for an attack on the government at the meeting of parliament. It is therefore a fit subject for present inquiry.

And here we cannot afford to be mealy-mouthed. It is impossible to concede, that men shall do the thing that wrong



is, and then expect that other men shall shut their eyes and hold their tongues when desired. It is the rule of heaven, that wrong-doing shall bring sorrow. If it was not so, the world would be one Pandæmonium; and he is the true divine, who lays himself out to demonstrate the connexion. And least of all must those who have done the mischief, be allowed to ride off by laying it on others.

The beginning of evil is like the letting out of water, and no man can say hitherto will I go and no further. An official in China directs a massacre on an admitted falsehood. Had he been promptly brought to account, the ill then and there done might have been the limit of the results. But this was not to be. A government glad of the opportunity of being accomplice after the fact, supported their official if they did not order him; and when the morality of parliament rose against the acts, dissolved the parliament as if to raise a monument of parliament's incompetence to be the judge of public right. For a time all went merrily enough. The minister said Do, and it was done, and Go, and the best men in parliament vanished from the scene. There was no need to write books of 500 pages to prove anybody the beast in the Revelation; a nation, or the preponderating part of it, came forward to pray to be written down in such a character. But what the ancients, feeling about for God if haply they might find him, denominated Nemesis, was not long in rearing its head. The movement in China was felt in India, and was one among co-operating causes to the production of that darkest scene of national shame which history will have to tell of. An honest man or two in power, with gifts of sense to match, might have put an extinguisher upon the whole, as a worthy matron checks the little boys who are throwing about fire, and sends them supperless to bed if no minor severity is competent to gain her end. But neither man nor matron was at hand. The folly went on, and rapidly reached the point it is unnecessary to describe.

But this was not all. There was more to come. When a nation has gratified its own bad propensities, and glutted itself with blood and cruelty till foreigners in varying tones according to their different temperaments begin to intimate that it has overstepped the line which passed for the *zero* of human wickedness, it is not to be supposed that ingenious foreigners conducting the affairs of foreign governments, will shut their eyes to the consequences in their immediate line. If England chooses to set one-half her army to massacre the other, with an expenditure of force equal to what she has exerted in the

greatest contests on which her national importance has been founded, it needs but small exertion of political algebra to discover, that England has taken the way to reduce herself to that condition of no magnitude, which is expressed by a cipher. If anybody builds expectations on this not being found out, it might be cruel to cause disappointment by talking about it. But men of any experience know, that things of this kind are known in one place as well as in another, and therefore, like the French officials in the Cherbourg dock-yards, they make no attempts at secrecy.

It suited France to try to restore the Slave Trade under another name. In this there was nothing beyond human comprehension; for men in England who might have been expected to be the last, made something like the same kind of attempt in 1808, and it was the lot and portion of the present writer to take a part to his own hurt, in putting it down upon the spot. There is no end to what men will do, with a little self-deception, and a little confidence in those who were never deceived at all. In the course of the French plan, a French slave-ship was seized in the Portuguese waters in Africa. Portugal had been pushed by England to take the strongest measures against the slave-trade. It was England's policy more than Portugal's; it was like a grown man setting his little boy to drive the hogs out of the garden, and then deserting him when a boar of might turns round and shows his tusks against the process. It was England against whom the injury and the breach of treaties were principally levelled.

But what was England to do; and above all, what was the present government to do? It was not *they*, that had begun the mischief in China, and ended with neutralizing the country's strength by setting one-half of it in antagonism to the other in India. What were *they* to do, who were only the successors to other men's misconduct, and the recipients of their broken-down insanities? Suppose they had pretended to assume a high tone, and argue the point with France. And first, if they had taken up the moral lay, and urged the extreme impropriety of breaking treaties for the sake of restoring such an ill-omened thing as the slave-trade. Would not France have answered by asking, what *that* was in comparison of massacring an army in India, in pursuit of reducing the whole population to the state held proper for coloured men? Or if a stronger tone had been taken, would not France have responded by asking, whether they meant to utter big words, when it was plain that by only diverting her corps of marines in China, or at most by adding a brigade or two to the same purpose, she

could have repeated the catastrophe of 1778, and then proceeded to measure strength with second batallions left at home? This is what wise men would stand on, if put on their defence; and not the Right of Nations to recommence the Slave Trade if they like.

There is always a view which men of knowledge and integrity can take of things, and which their opponents would like to have kept out of sight. There is no pursuing the means of weakness by one government, and expecting its successors to act as if they had received a legacy of strength.

Some of this may be kept in mind, if the threatened debate on the score of Portugal should ever see the light. The French assault on Portugal was a feeler, and has well answered the purposes of its authors. There is nothing to be done but try to tide it over, in hopes that in some way things will mend. Meanwhile nothing could be more unwise, than to insist on returning a bad game into the hands of those who made it what it is.

Yours &c.

17 November, 1858.



PROPOSAL TO CAPITALIZE MAYNOOTH.

LXXVI.

AMONG the subjects which are to engage the attention of parliament, there is to be a contest on the proposal for buying up the grant now annually made to Maynooth, and paying down something representing what arithmeticians call the "value" instead.

It is plain there will be an amazing number of different feelings and interests roused by the proposal; and it will not be strange if men are seen playing at cross purposes to any conceivable extent, and recommending directly opposite courses professing to be based on the same motives.

In the face of this apprehended whirlpool of opinion, it may not be amiss to take the opportunity of trying to state what an impartial and sound policy might be held to point to.

As a physician examines the present health of his patient, and if he can find that ancient "humours" as our forefathers chose to call them, have much diminished in virulence, rejoices to take advantage of it accordingly;—so here, we may happily set out with the assumption, that olden ill feelings based on religious differences, have sorely abated,—that is to

say, have abated to the sore grief of those on all sides who would keep them up if they were able. It is the complaint of the firebrands of all descriptions, that no man now-a-days cares about their fire as he ought;—all have sunk into a state of lamentable indifference, there is no burning zeal left except among the set-apart, the zealous are sunk into a minority who can only cry in the streets without making themselves heard.

It is quite true, as far as concerns the immediate question. A contradiction might be stated to exist, in the crusade which is being carried on in India against the religions of the East; but it may be urged in reply, that this was a crusade against men supposed inferior in power and means, and though stimulated by the religious bigotry of an ultra few, was in the main an effort to reduce Asia to be the supplier of the European slave-market in something like the way heretofore monopolized by Africa. But the case is different at home. Catholics and Protestants do not murder one another on the ground of being "negroes;" nor do their journals on either side, like the London *Examiner*, advocate massacres blacker than that of St. Bartholomew's, on the ground of the parties being of different race like dogs and foxes. These things we have not come to yet; or more properly, have gone from, and have long been going. It only remains for us to be thankful to the Power which disposes of all events, and do our utmost in our several capacities to extend so happy a consummation.

It may be taken therefore for a starting-point, that men in our age and country, with the reservation of a few whose education or habits have led to their being found in that exceptional state which greatly diminishes their weight with the community, will not shed either blood or money on any pretence connected with religion, except for its freedom. The Vatican by the grace of French bayonets may hold fast the boy Mortara, and members of parliament still bearing about with them the odour of connexion with triumphs of humanity in days of yore, may bring forward their annual denunciations of the Roman See. But neither of them will have any substantial tail here. They may beat the drum, but it will be as giving an uncertain sound, and no man will prepare himself for the battle on either side.

The simple truth with Maynooth is, that without carrying the theory into execution beyond what circumstances will allow, or without throwing off all attention to the heavings of past storms which may not have entirely subsided in the political ocean, the Catholics and religious bodies in general have

a just claim to public support, so long as public support is held politic for any,—and in the precise proportion, if it can be established, of the share they have in the expenses of the State. He must be faintly acquainted with practical affairs, who does not know the distance there is between the admission of a principle, and the carrying it out to its full extent. But he must be equally in a state of darkish twilight, who does not know the importance of the admission of a principle, however the execution may come limping after.

But if this principle be admitted at all, the only aim and object of the proposal to capitalize the Maynooth grant, must be to get out of sight and practical bearing, the concession of the principle which took place when the Maynooth grant was carried in its original shape. The enemies of the principle think it better that they should grieve once for all, over £300,000 given to the Catholics, with the chance that it will be as little remembered ten years hence as £300,000 given for any other purpose, than that they should be subjected to an annual defeat in an attempt to withhold the interest. There is no doubt, that as concerns themselves, their policy is sound. But that may be the very reason, why it may be sound policy for other people to oppose.

One reason why the success of the threatened move is not to be expected, is because it is in the face of the current of opinion as exhibited in other directions. The admission of Jews to parliament, is not of good promise, for the Catholics being vexed against their consent. And even in France, which is just now in what astronomers call the *aphelion* or furthest point of political cold and darkness, there are at this moment declarations, that no man amenable to French laws, as evinced it must be supposed by contributing to taxes and the conscription, shall be laid under inferiority on account of his religion. When these things are doing in a very dry tree, it is not likely that something directly contrary will be doing in another.

Much will depend on the light in which the Catholics view the proposal. If they think the object is to huddle out of sight the memory of an acknowledgment of their constitutional claims, they will naturally oppose. And not even the recollection of the impolicy which picked a quarrel on Ecclesiastical Titles as the return for assistance given to what was called Emancipation, will prevent the friends of peace and quietness from taking side with them again.

Yours &c.

24 November, 1858.

## TRIAL OF COUNT MONTALEMBERT.

LXXVII.

THE trial and sentence on Count Montalembert are at this moment engaging public attention, and therefore it is the time to endeavour to "improve."

Large portions of the British public will be disposed to take up the language of the spider in the fable, who said "Of such murders how guiltless am I, And ran to regale on a new-taken fly." The connexion may not be very close nor very immediate; but there may be enough for profitable illustration.

France has allowed herself to be robbed of what makes the glory of a free nation. The field of operations in this was at home; with reservation of those who were exiled to pestilential places abroad. England has done much the same, except that her scene of action has been all abroad, and the consequences at home are to come. One minister (for a President is a minister) makes a *coup d'état* in France, and assumes despotic power over the lives and liberties of the people. Another in England does it with a difference;—the difference consisting in what he could not do and the other could. The Frenchman could send a light infantry company into the Chamber of Deputies, and pack off the members in prison vans. The Englishman could only dismiss a Parliament for voting a felony "flagitious," and set the well-dressed mob on roaring for the spoil. Since then, courtesies and personal consultations have taken place between the two exalted parties, at a "Field of the Cloth of Gold" held somewhere about Compiègne. Such things are not done for nothing; they comfort for misadventure in the past, and supply hopes for what is in the future.

If we inquire what was at the bottom of what has happened in France to Frenchmen, and in England to Englishmen so far as they are degraded by what has been done in China and still more fearfully in India, it is all traceable to one fact,—an outbreak of the classes which possess most of the animal propensities, and the least of the qualities of improved and civilized man. And it would be an enormous error to conclude that these classes were distinguishable by garb or wealth. There may be a "well-to-do" vulgar, and there may be poor men grieving over their country's disgrace and wishing they had the fair voice in public affairs which might help to mend them. In England particularly, it is notorious that the class which is struggling for admission within the pale of the constitution,

is almost the only one which, as a class, has displayed the sentiments of honest men or Christians upon the points alluded to.

It is settled there is to be a Reform Bill; substantial or microscopic as the case may be. And this time it will be a "bid" between two opposite political parties, each anxious not to see the other carry off the accession of strength which would be the result of combination with the party of Reformers. The two may be described as consisting of those who could if they would, and those who would not when they could. The chances from the first set are infinitely the best. We do not want to entrust ourselves to counsels hot from Compiègne, nor feel confidence in those who will dissolve parliament whenever it votes their acts flagitious. Either of these reminiscences, is assuredly a recommendation the wrong way. Better try those, who at all events have no immediate sinister recollections in their 'scutcheon.

It is quite right that the Reformers meanwhile should beat their drums, and make what parade they can. It will all go to increase the "bid." They will get something, perhaps a good deal; but they will get most, by preserving a calm tone, and behaving civilly to anybody disposed to be civil in return. The times are in some sort favourable. The blood fever has to some extent wrought itself out. As a token of it, a leader who carries half the Scottish Church under his girdle, has declared that had he been an Indian born, he would have fought for his country. At least so gives to be understood the *Daily News* of the 22nd. It would be an awful thing if the "hill-folk" in India had a few such John Knoxes among them, and heaven should send the Bruce or Wallace next. It may be presumed that Scotland will not call for a thanksgiving-day for murders in India; we should have half Scotland sanctifying a fast, and her ministers weeping between the porch and the altar. The graves are yet green in Scotland, where lie the murdered by the carbines of Claverhouse's dragoons, a civilized race compared with the blood-hounds that have been let loose in India and cheered to the top of their bent by professors of piety in England. All this is to be accounted for, or secular history is a fraud and a lie, and sacred an old wives' fable.

Yours &c.

1 Dec. 1858.



## THE FEAST OF REFORM.

LXXVIII.

THE Ballot Society (has published) a sketch of a Bill which it thinks would be efficient for carrying its object into execution.

It is hard if those who apply themselves to the preparation of one dish, cannot attain their object ; with reservation always of the proverbial danger attending the interference of too many cooks.

But though the Ballot may be beyond compare the *pièce de resistance* as the French call it, or substantial dish to be counted on, there will be other demands arising out of the different tastes of men, and the danger will principally be of their neutralizing one another.

If a large number of our fellow-citizens order a banquet for some festive purpose, this difference of tastes will display itself in striking colours. Of course there will be an extensive agreement, that without roast beef there can be no dinner. Perhaps ambition would soar to the production of the mighty baron, a thing it was never my lot practically to witness except at a Free Trade festival at Birmingham;—but at all events beef must be there. Mutton too must appear, of course with the garniture of turnips if boiled, and steaming potatoes if roast ; capers also being in either case an adjunct which no reasonable caterer could deny. Medico-culinary philosophers of great mark have determined, that there is an affinity no prudent man should overlook, between bacon and the beans abhorred of Pythagoras though nobody has been able to state the reason why. Eggs also are declared to have an elective attraction towards the salted meat referred to ; though the suspicion may be great, that the match is one of convenience rather than of unbiassed preference. Some will not willingly dine without a savoury soup to set the appetite in motion ; and at all events pippins and cheese are a conclusion too consecrated by antiquity to be forgotten. Of the juices of the grape, custom and habit demand the white during the repast, and the more potent red to follow ; while Sir John Barleycorn holds his ground, to the extent of being demanded at some moment in the shape of Allsop's Pale or Bass's Bitter, by guests of high and low degree. Rose-water in a lordly dish, has become the expedient everywhere for causing the fumes of savoury meat to be succeeded by odours more pleasing to the sated soul ; and the progress of steam has made the humblest guest think



himself ill-treated, if not invited to cool his potatoes with the ice last winter formed beyond the Atlantic. Wonderful are the inventions, and endless the niceties, which men at ease in their inn are disposed to insist upon and covet.

Such is the fragrant choice which to happy men it is given to enjoy. But far different is the case of those, who are picked up on a raft in the ocean, or who have eaten their old shoes in the desperate defence of some beleaguered fortress. The contrast is remarkable, and worthy the attention of a philosopher. The capers and the ice are utterly forgotten; and no question asked whether Pythagoras had reason for forbidding beans, or whether any portion of the Levitical prohibition on swine's flesh may still adhere to the salt pork of nautical supply. What a blessing is pease-pudding in such circumstances, if only it be supplied with hearty good-will and in sufficient quantities; and how gladly will men "eat their humble supper, without even a bit of pickle." Fancy a man on the raft saying "It would be much better with a little Cayenne," or "You cannot expect us to take it without Harvey sauce." I am afraid we shall see something like this. "Civis" and "Britannicus" will be found exercising their talent in the newspapers, and descanting on the advantages of having the plate rubbed with a shallot.

It is plain that everything depends upon the want. If you are the "gentlemen who live at home at ease," you are right to be particular about what you will throw away your appetites upon. But if you are in the condition of the unfortunates before mentioned, or if from any other cause your position is like that of the proverbial toad under a harrow, then drop all unnecessary questions of what it shall be, or sink them in the grand demand, that there shall be something, and plenty of it. You will not be too scrupulous about the sauce; though there can be no harm in getting your beef with mustard, provided you do not get the mustard without the beef. If you are hungry you will agree to this; if you are not, take a walk to gain an appetite, and come again next Session. If men cannot agree upon what they will take, the end will be to turn them all over to Duke Humphrey's mess together.

Meantime we who are hungry, have made up our minds. We will have anything we can get, and everything we can get. As the poor men on the raft set their morbid imaginations, it may be, on pork and peas, or see in vision the coppers on the fore-castle turning out luxurious complement of what ungrateful sailors call by the harsh epithets of "junk" and "dog's body,"—so we, perchance, will set our hearts on what we will

have, and it shall be the plain dumpling of the Ballot where three-fourths of the constituency shall petition for it, with so much of what Irishmen call "kitchen" in the shape of Extension of the Suffrage, as our happy star shall enable us to accomplish.

Yours &c.

8 Dec. 1858.



## NAPOLEON IN THE HUNDRED DAYS.

### A PARABLE.

#### LXXIX.

ONE of the greatest improvements which could be made in human affairs, would be that every man should have the chance of doing a thing over again;—that he should be at liberty to mend his move, and make his second with all the advantages to be derived from the lessons of failure in the first.

But as this is for the present denied to man, there is nothing to be done but concentrate the teaching of experience on the first move, as knowing that it is to be final and irrevocable, and all reflections afterwards will only be shutting the stable-door when the steed is stolen. It was in this view that the ablest man it was ever my lot to know, and of whom, if anybody ever had any good of me, I might say like *Cedipus* to *Theseus*, "I have what I have by thee, and not other of mortal men,"—the produce too of your West Riding and your neighbouring town of Leeds,—a Dean who was too good to be a Bishop,—used to encourage teaching children to play chess. But he insisted on the rigid prohibition of altering a bad move, which children, he observed, had always a longing to do. He counted much on giving them a lesson of the irrevocable. And in the spirit of the same philosophy he sent for a celebrated sleight-of-hand man to the College Lodge to amuse his niece, because he said it was good for young people to know that everything in the world was not what it looked like.

In one of these critical periods of decision stands the present government. Six months hence it will be or it will not be; and which of the two it shall be, depends on its present moves. In the theological language of our ancestors, it was sufficient to have stood, though free to fall. It must abide the common lot, and throw now for time and evermore.

In cases like the concerned, the invariable cause of loss is

running things too fine. Five per cent. more laid out in interest, would have saved the principal. One gigantic instance within the world's current history, should leave its mark in the minds of men for ever.

When Napoleon in 1815 returned from Elba, he knew he was playing at "to be or not to be." And he miscalculated his outlay; he would not bid the price that would have saved him. Had his genius, great as it was, taken the further stride of making concessions to the feeling for popular government in France, it would have been as easy for him to march fifty thousand National Guards into *La Vendée*, as in England it would have been to make the Volunteers march to the coast in 1804. And this would have set free thirty thousand regular troops, to make their appearance on the great board where the game was settled. But it might not be. It was thought it could be done without. It was *not* done without; and so the game was up. If ever there was a thing that was for an example, it was this.

The present government stand in the same kind of position. They have strong adversaries, but many things in their favour if they choose to use them and to draw them out. Their opponents have made themselves unpopular, even among those who heretofore were the most inclined to rely on them. Nothing has been left undone which could diminish this reliance; and every day adds to the account. The present government, though undeniably not rich in family antecedents, is not responsible for the acts which have done most towards creating an inverted motion of the public mind. It was not *they* that originated the Chinese felony and its Indian sequences, or blackened the face of every thoughtful honest man, with the consciousness that he toiled, not for his children, but for robbers. Week by week adds to the evidence; and the reception given by Lord Derby to the delegation which was to make the government heir to what would have been better repressed by the punishments for piracy made and provided,—has carried to his side that influential class which their adversaries honour with the title of "humanitarians" in parliament, and which has beaten before, and will know how to beat again. If "piracy" is a harsh term, it is the title put on it by its literary advocates. One of the leading ones calls a principal actor in these scenes, "a gallant Englishman, who has shown true Norse blood, and brought home to us the traditions of our Raleighs and Clives." What is the meaning of "Norse blood," but that we are to revert to the old days of Norwegian piracy? We are to be the "sea-kings" again; as if the civi-

lized world would endure the "sea-kings" any more than a land Cacus. Raleigh was, as everybody knows, among his multifarious qualities a pirate, and was sustained, as long as he *was* sustained, only by the excitement of his times, and the pressure of political and religious animosities. Clive was by land much what the other was by sea; with the addition that he worked by forgery (for which see Lord Macaulay), a thing never alleged against the other. One of the earliest stories learned at a mother's knee, was that in the neighbourhood of Shoreham in Kent, where lived John Wesley's field-marshal whose name I bear, there dwelt a great bad man, who passed his nights in terror for evil deeds committed, and was specially haunted by pictures of some he had done to death, which he could neither look at nor keep his eyes away. And this, as years brought knowledge, appeared to be the other model to which the "Spectator's" influence would direct our British youth.

You see what we are coming to. You see where we shall be landed, if men with hearts in their bodies and consciences in their souls, will not lay aside obsolete names and prejudices, and stand by those who would stand between them and the threatened pestilence. But the other contracting party must do the same, and it will. It will not keep men at arm's length for the colour of their hair or the cut of their beards,—or even for having cheered for the Five Points, when every day tells everybody, how much better everybody would be for a friendly understanding. There are unreasonable men everywhere, and there are reasonable. No man is such a fool as he looks, at least in the eyes of opponents; and there are always found men of sense on all sides, who can work together for good when heaven sends a fair wind.

Yours &c.

15 Dec. 1858.



#### FILIBUSTERING FOR IRELAND.

SAUCE FOR THE GOOSE IS SAUCE FOR THE GANDER.

LXXX.

So, it appears the idea has been conceived, of sending a filibustering force to Ireland, and there are symptoms of a disposition to make preparations for co-operation with it there. It is of no use to estimate the wisdom of those who have implicated themselves in these proceedings, any more than to

inquire into the mental plenshing of those who have shown signs of plague or cholera. The appearance of the disease, and not the quality of those who have exhibited a predisposition for taking it, is the thing to note and ruminat upon.

And what reasonable prospect was there that things should be otherwise, or that the piece which was primed and cocked, should not go off, when anybody wise or foolish pulled the trigger? There is no such thing as running with the hare and hunting with the hounds. It is the ordinance of nature, that they who take to dishonourable courses, shall perish by dishonourable courses. One sinner is made God's executioner upon another; it was always so, though sometimes heaven waits. What moderate reason is there, that a country which stoops to sending piratical expeditions against feebler nations, preceded and accompanied by everything which decent Pagans would have revolted from,—which openly professes piracy, and whose literary men disport themselves in references to everything damnatory in its history by way of invitation to youth,—and all this upon the plea, which it was thought great and good men had consigned to the place where it was begotten, the plea that the injured are not men, but Asiatics,—what chance on earth is there that such a nation, when temptation offers, should not be run in upon by other nations as one which has thrown up all claim to honourable treatment, and made itself by its own acts free game for anybody that chooses to take?

Somebody has said, it is wonderful how nearly the slave and tyrant are allied. It might be equal matter of admiration to see, how nearly the felon and the chain-gang are allied. Rampant felony has its hour; and the gang aforesaid has the rest of the culprit's existence. All felons calculate upon impunity; all felons, first or last, are mistaken; for if they contrive to shuffle themselves out of this world without being brought to shame, there are those who think it is only the beginning of the end. "The mill-stones of the gods," said the ancients, "grind slow, but grind *small*." The beginning of the process is before us; and will not be the less certain for not being hurried.

Here then is the initial fact,—the first grumbling of the storm. Men, foolish it may be to any assignable extent, have hoisted the standard of declaration, that England who has set the example of piratical warfare, is not to expect other nations to treat her but according to the law she has set up. It may have been foolish; but foolish men are always first, and what begins in folly ends in seriousness. The

fact already is, that men have acted on the persuasion that foreign governments cannot or will not restrain their subjects from acting on the abdication of the law of nations which England has proclaimed, and that the time is come for venturing a move or two in prosecution of the game. They may be fools, but how much greater fools were those who opened the flood-gates of unlicensed war, and ran roaring to make brute creatures of themselves on the invitation of any *âme damnée* who put himself forward to be the tool. The actors in the present movement calculate, and with reason, on the chances which may arise out of the mutability of human affairs. Very different would their position be, and vastly changed their estimation among mankind, if transactions of which England's repudiation of national law is the beginning, should end in showing the combined fleets of half-a-dozen nations in St. George's Channel, with the *enfant de miracle* on board, the successor of the Stuarts, whom I have seen with my bodily eyes, and who, through some mistake I suppose, was in the habit of treating me to his proclamations from America, holding out the inducements of the distribution of church property, and the repudiation of the national debt. The policy of our sagacious managers is to ignore such existence; but they will not ignore when he has a French or American three-decker under his foot. It would not be at all wonderful, if in the pockets of the attorneys' clerks at Belfast were found traces of communication with such a personage; and those who desire information on his birth, parentage, and education, may consult No. 81 of the *Quarterly Review*. On the whole his chances are as good as those of the present Emperor of France a dozen years ago; and it is not hiding the head as is the wont of the ostrich and the turkey, that will change the betting.

A Swedish statesman told his son that he would find out with how little wisdom the world was governed. Sometimes the little wisdom coincides with the intention of heaven to destroy. Look at a Proclamation which appears in the public prints, as just issued in Oude. It purports to be directed to the territorial nobles, chiefs of clans, landlords and freeholders, directing them to bring in their cannon, ammunition, and arms of all kinds, under penalties ending with imprisonment and *flogging*. Were these men paid for doing their best to drive everybody to die in the last ditch? The subject is specially commended to the Foreign Affairs Committees, who almost alone have shown the spirit of honest men and gentlemen on the transactions in Oude. And they are invited to think, what would have been

the consequences if England had been treacherously seized by an operation in comparison of which the French occupation of Spain was honour and morality, and the thing ended with calling on our English nobles, landlords, and freeholders by name, to surrender their personal arms and ornaments, which by the custom of the country it was as usual for an individual of certain classes to wear, as in England a hundred years ago to wear a court sword,—on pain of *flogging*! It is mean ruffianism. It will be considered as preparatory to a massacre, like that of Moultan. The man is an ass, who after what has been done, would view it otherwise. What would you give for such agents, if your object was to make mischief? And you must pay for it all, in money or money's worth, perhaps in those heavier payments which heaven's bailiffs know how to exact from a guilty country when they get the writ. For it *has* been the country; there is no denying. With the exception of a small band only enough to bear witness against the others, there is no step in the degradation of the nation, which has not been cheered by what may be called the universal people, and the memory of it rolled under their tongues as something odoriferous and sweet.

What will come of it all, heaven knows. Men are already growing sceptical, like those who said "Where is the promise of His coming?" Give the mills time, and you will see. Meanwhile what is happening in Ireland, sounds very much like the creaking of the mill-stones. Do not let us hasten things, by bringing back those under whom the mischief was begun.

Yours &c.

22 Dec. 1858.



RETURN NOT RAILING FOR RAILING.

LXXXI.

A LONDON journal in the habit of opposing everything good till it becomes "a great fact," is profuse in opprobrious epithets on the poor men who do not like to be kicked but are terribly afraid they shall be.

"The proposed association of Household Suffrage and the Ballot, would be the old partnership of thieves and the night." Just so would thieves write of the unthievish portion of mankind, their natural foes. *La propriété c'est le vol.* He

buttons up his pocket is the real robber, and the impoverished thief is the complaining sufferer. Here are men who do not like to be kicked, and would restrain the kickers of their lawful pleasure. It is an old story; the American master views his slave as an enemy to peace and quietness, who cannot lie still under the lash, and is perpetually getting up a row to the discomfort of "the citizens." There may or may not be policy in putting the thing to the sufferers in this light. Whether it is policy or not, will depend on the strength of the afflicted, and the chance they have of making their voices heard.

We are going about to establish "a sort of ragged school for dirty politicians." *Palmas qui meruit ferat*; let those who win the title wear it. There is a grand dispute in hand, to know which are the thieves; and the ragged school will be in time to find out why they are ragged, and who they are that would keep them so.

Those of us who want the protection of the Ballot are represented as wanting "to dodge the policeman."—Soothing language, for those who think the national policeman their only hope. Imagine a set of honest men, scudding away to escape from a victorious swell mob, and charged with basely withdrawing themselves from paying tribute to whom tribute is due. They are next a *troupe* of bravoos, "their cloak the box, and the ballot the dagger." It is well they are not charged with having a box at the Post-office, which sulkily refuses to give up a man's letters to inquiring strangers, and iniquitously allows them to be put sealed into the hole. Think what "stabbing" there will be "in the dark," unless this mal-practice can be got rid of.

We are admitting "to an overwhelming voice in the constitution a new class, who cannot bear the light on their deeds,"—"cowardly fellows supposed to be silent for three years, and then to speak, not through their lips, but through the Ballot,"—introduced into the new constitution, "not only with an apology, but, like bankrupts, with a demand for protection."—Pleasant, to the hearers!

Such was always the course which men struggling into liberty must submit to; and well it is no worse. If the people who want the Ballot were not known to have strength to carry it, they would be subjected to worse. It would not be the grumbling of the toothless giant that would suffice. Imagine the above hard language applied to men desirous to put their letters sealed into the Post-office; and see how little of wit or wisdom would be left.

And this brings to the true reason of the adversary's notes of



alarm. It is because he knows the ground is sinking under him. Men of influence in society shrink from maintaining positions which they know they are in the habit of repudiating every day in their own concerns. You cannot persuade a gentleman to be a gentleman when he talks to his club, and a prevaricator when he commits himself with the outside barbarians. Men revolt from it; that is to say, the most part of them do. There may be here and there a *rara avis*, who draws different conclusions from the same premises; but he is a speckled bird, and his own companions do not like him.

But the great source of strength is, that people are getting over the foolish miscalculations which caused them to cherish a pound of influence for themselves or party, at the gain of a hundredweight to their adversaries. No doubt there was a temptation, in that large class for instance of employers of manufacturing industry who leaned towards liberal opinions, to say "Give us the influence over those we employ, of at least knowing whether they go our way or not." But this was the rough calculation; the expanded one, which more knowledge and better consultation of the pillow have induced, is to ask whether the change at large is for the well-being of our side, or of the other. There are rich men who have profited by this mental discipline; and poor men also.

It is not our fault, if the community or the largest portion of it, draws melancholy conclusions on the gifts and graces of those who fight for the periodical subjection of their fellows to the operation of open voting. There would be just as much to say for open letters to the Post-office. But that is not enough, without an array of subsidiary weaknesses, to act as garnish to the great calf's head in the middle. One statesman trots out his folly, concerning the Ballot being no Ballot in America. As if we asked for a Ballot that was no Ballot; and as if we had not sense to make a Ballot that should keep out the thieves. Suppose houses in America had no locks; would that be a reason why the wandering Arabs of society should run about preaching the desirableness of the same policy here? It is just because the Americans have not thieves and we have; or at all events they have not thieves of the same identical kind we want to keep out by Chubb's Patent, and therefore to tell us that in America Chubb keeps out nobody, is only a reason why we must have an improved Chubb here.

Another flourishes away upon the assertion that the French Emperor was chosen by the Ballot. To which the answer is as before, that it is highly doubtful whether the French Chubb was good for anything. There is no argument derivable from

these non-entities. If the thing was not what it pretended to be, why are we to argue from the thing that was not?

Putting all things together, the opponent makes out no case, why he should be treated with more than the qualified respect which moderate men preserve for every unsuccessful combatant,

Yours &c.

28 Dec. 1858.



### THE OLD YEAR'S EVIL AND GOOD.

LXXXII.

THE commencement of a new year has an inevitable tendency to direct attention to something like a summary of events in the past. And here it is certain there will be as many products as there are different tastes and interests among those who are to be the authors. A popular newspaper will consider the year as marked for eternal fame by successful slaughters in the East, and the revival of the good old spirit of piracy by gallant adventurers of true Norse blood. The Anglican semi-Romanist will view it as remarkable for having been the year in which he had decided success in bringing his playthings into church, and wound up with a full and perfect service for the soul of his cousin departed. Astronomers and wine-merchants will call it the Comet year, and many a man will bemuse his brains in experimental examination of the theory which connects good wine with what used to be held the harbinger of woe.

After thus asserting the right, or at all events the power, of every man to view the past from his own cock-loft, it would be hard if liberty were refused to view it from our own. And here two facts present themselves, one evil and one good, but neither of them to be viewed as other than the flux and reflux of the tide, which by a blessing on seamanship, joined to good anchors and cables, will end in carrying the ship the way that it should go.

The first, which is the evil one, is the fillip which has been given to the worst passions of human nature all over the earth, by the dreadful invention of murdering an army of enlisted soldiers, as the means of reducing their country to what will be best understood by calling it negro slavery. The hatred to the coloured man, and the desire to enslave him mentally and

corporally, were at the bottom of it all. Facts one after another develop the truth, and since the "close time" which commences with the rising of parliament, the accessions have been frightful. There is the massacre of Moulton, such a thing as it never before entered into the heart of man to conceive, nor the recording angel of history dreamed of dipping his pen for anything so detestable. Two thousand men (such is the account), soldiers enlisted under the belief that the word of an Englishman, and above all, of English governors and officers, might be trusted, were deprived of their arms under the knowledge that they and their countrymen had been exposed to treachery such as might tempt the worm to turn. Their only crime was that they had a religion, and had trusted to English faith. Disarmed and surrounded with troops, they were exposed to every insult which the malignity of low reprobates could devise. "We have great fun," wrote one of these, who I am afraid from the context would turn out to be a British commissioned officer, "We have great fun in making faces at the Sepoys, and throwing things into their lines." Throwing things into their lines, means throwing the instruments of ceremonial pollution; a Christian and gentleman-like proceeding, borrowed from Antiochus of old. The wretches read their bibles to no end but to know how a sufferer in bible times was tormented in body and mind. The persecutors of heathen days are their model and great example; and as well they play the part.

It was openly boasted that of such of these betrayed men as attempted to make their way through the country in small bodies, not one escaped from the barbarous tribes which surrounded them. And then an order was given that they should be sent off in small bodies, with the visible intent and no other, that they should be slaughtered in this manner on the road. Whereupon they did, what all men in the face of their murderers will do when driven to despair,—they armed themselves with staves and stones, and made a last attempt at defence by attacking their betrayers. Language is debased by what follows. The point aimed at had been gained; which was to turn them over to massacre. They were followed in their attempt at flight, by men with the arms for which you and I have paid for honourable purposes, and speedily "accounted for." And thus in hideous slang, and metaphors borrowed from the shoe-blacks of the army, was reported the murder of faithful men, honourable soldiers, the most devoted army that history tells of, till gross breach of faith and religious persecution drove them to resistance. These reprobates have be-

fouled the well of our English tongue; they cannot utter, but in

"Words that should not be said or sung,  
Except by beggars and rogues unhung."

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There is no describing them with brevity, without borrowing from the vernacular. I never saw the Emperor of Morocco's sable guards, but I have seen the French deserters to the Mamelukes, which is quite as good. They had retained the jargon of the Revolution, and their talk was all guillotine and *poissarde*. One poor man had preserved something of the decencies of life, and they called him *sacré aristocrate*. They were specimens of what men may come to; but nobody suspects them of being French officers. It is astonishing with what resignation the decent portions of English society have witnessed the outburst of low-caste men; and people who would fume up at any intimation that they were indifferent to the reputation of the country or the honour of the Crown, will stand gaping and hear them have the thanks of parliament. It is not *us* only they have injured; they have reduced the averages of the human animal, as they will be to be made up when it is proclaimed that time shall be no more.

But there was more than this. As you yourself have noted, and as has been reported from India by one of the few trustworthy witnesses to be found, the insult of the greased cartridges was repeated. It was repeated in cold blood on the men who had been weak enough to think of once more trusting to British faith. No pretence for mistake here. It was done to rouse up the last elements of resistance, and give a pretext for the massacres which are dear to the negro-driver's soul.

The terms of the so-called amnesty were, on the same authority, withheld from being communicated, and thus a little subsidiary murder was done for the amusement of the inventors. These things are no secret; they stand recorded wherever British disgrace can go.

But this is only auxiliary to the point intended to be impressed,—the deterioration of, it may almost be said, mankind, which has arisen out of this outbreak of the fiendish spirit with which our own country is chargeable. A few years since, a foreign officer was the object of popular dislike, for roasting Arabs, men, women, and children, as I have seen a Frenchman roast cray-fish in a crucible, and add pepper and salt by way of letting them know what was coming. Now, he is the pet of the fancy, and everybody seems to have a fancy for the thing. A journal starts up in London to advocate the pro-

priety of enslaving the "inferior races," and is supported by men in whom, if you asked for heart, brains, or bowels, as in a bird in the British Museum you would find nothing but cotton. The Negroes of America are wild with ecstasy at all that has been done by the Britishers in India, and gloat over every infernal act, as if they saw Pandæmonium rising to cover the earth. Conservative Reviews dissect prose romances in praise of the strong-limbed gianthood of the olden time, and either wink with one eye, or have no sight of both. Every boy takes leave to kill his sweetheart when she is "awkward" to him, and trusts for escape to proving himself to have always been an ass. Far and wide the leaven has been spread. It meets us in the streets, where men's faces do their best to counterfeit barbarians.

This is the evil. And the good is, that as the iniquities of the Roman world were superseded by the appearance from wilds and forests of a better race, so in our country a new stock is knocking at the doors of the constitution, and knocking much too hard to leave doubts of the final issue. On which, with your leave, shall be more hereafter.

Yours &c.

5 Jan. 1859.



## HOPE.

LXXXIII.

I PROMISED to write of hope; and the hope is here,—that a new set of men are coming to the fore, and the devil will not hinder them, and the Author of Good is on their side. See who they are that have shown in the aggregate a sense of the evil of the times and the way to go about to mend it, and you will find them as nearly as possible coincident with the men who are knocking at the doors of the constitution, and mean to take no denial as they are not likely in the end to meet with failure.

See who have shown the instincts of honourable men, of Christians, of men escaped from the darkness and brutality of the middle and what are called the classical ages, and capable, in their several degrees, of appreciating the great improvements of later times, which began when a certain Hermann, whom the book-men call Arminius, routed a Roman army in the most important battle of the world. That was the beginning of the end, of the *Civis Romanus* the great bully of the earth;

and it left a crick in the neck of all who have wanted to play at being *Cives Romani* since. From that period may be dated the progress of the two most important inventions of the renovated world, the establishment of National Law, and of the Representative System. Of both these great inventions, bearing more powerfully on human happiness than any others that can be named, the men who are still shut out from public existence have shown themselves the best judges and the ablest partisans. There is no denying there was something novel, if not grotesque, in seeing the Working Classes rush to occupy the ground previously held sacred to flowing robes and perukes of corresponding dignity. But the proof of everything is in the upshot. If the Working Classes talked sense on Foreign Affairs in their Committees, why did the Middle Classes as the term is, allow them to have all the talking to themselves? Compare the power of judgment demonstrated among the one class in the discreditable doings of the last two years, with the stolid gullibility of the other, who in the main may have taken for their models the roasted pigs in the Land of Cockayne who run about crying "Come eat me," with such a ready gulp did they swallow any falsehood told them by interested men, so long as it smacked of blood, and flattered the destructive organ which is strong in the natural man till reduced by knowledge and philosophy. And after so comparing, say which class it is that ought to be kept out in preference, if human affairs were conducted with sense beyond that of the creatures which perish.

On this question of National Law, the Working Classes have shown that they had the root of the matter in them to a much greater extent than their rivals the middle-men. While the first were doing their best to bring the subject into public notice, which is at least one step towards accomplishing any good,—the others, without pressing too hardly on the mistakes of friends, were burying the question under a mass of verbal illusions and ill-directed metaphors. The form which the desire for National Law had taken in the minds of men of the last two centuries, had been expressed by the phrase of the "balance of power;" not perhaps a very good one, as shown by its liability to misconstruction, but one to which they were invited by the immediate circumstances of their case. Desiring a law among nations as among individuals, whereby the exercise of injustice by one should be put down by the interference of the others, the great danger they saw practically pressing on them was the acquisition of such power in the hands of one, as should lead to setting all the others at

defiance,—a return in short, to something like the state of man under the Roman dominion, and of which the threatened embodiment at the moment was the power of the *Grand Monarque*. But it was, and is, a feeble mistake to put this forward as meaning the establishment of an imaginary balance among imaginary quantities. What it meant was, that every man should keep his own. Look at the specimens of the statuary's art which surmount the Court-House in York Castle, and you will see a balance, and know what it means. More mistakes there were, which the mechanical knowledge diffused in a manufacturing district will be sufficient to expose. There is an *equilibrium of stability*, which is when a weight is suspended by a string and has a tendency to rest; and there is an *equilibrium of instability*, which is when the same weight is set upon a pole, or like a needle on its point, and has no tendency but to fall over as soon as it is left to itself. It pleased the assailants of what our forefathers intended by the balance of power, to assume that it meant the last of these kinds of equilibrium and not the other. It is easy to make the giants first and then to kill them. But wise men have had enough of real objects to oppose, without engaging in a manufacture of this description.

On this point then also, the Working Classes in the aggregate, leaders and followers together, have shown a decided superiority over those with whom they may be compared, and have proved themselves far more deserving of influence over the joint-stock doings of the community. They are a new blood, and a good one; a blood that was much wanted, and that will be hailed with acclamation by all the Bakewells of the human race. If mutton can be laid on a sheep, upon the joints which bear the best prices at the salesman's, why should not a commonwealth be mended, by bringing forward the good kinds where they are found, instead of hedging them out lest anybody should receive contagious benefit?

In all this there is hope, and of the kind which without rashness may be described as "sure and certain." All good men are on that side; and there are good men everywhere when you come to look for them. There is good blood under the long rent-roll as well as under the fustian jacket; and the great mistake of the partisans of evil, is not knowing how soon one will be brought to help the other, when the injustice is flagrant and the course is clear.

Yours &c.

12 Jan. 1859.

## THE SKELETON IN THE HOUSE.

## LXXXIV.

A WRITER of the day has said, that in every house there is a skeleton;—some concealed object of dread, which people try not to think about, but the consciousness of which perpetually intrudes.

There is a skeleton in every house where there is guilt. It is the ordinance of heaven, as the means of keeping the world upon its legs. Without it, things would run everywhere to wreck, and the corrupted portion of mankind overpower the wholesome. The ancients called it Nemesis; poor heathens who of course could know little about the matter, but to whom nevertheless it was given to clearly see this portion of the invisible things which were from the creation of the world.

A panic has seized the British community, that there is to be a European war. Nobody knows exactly why; but the panic is not the less. A panic is a phenomenon there is no use in trying to account for; it is literally "a thing appearing," of which all that can be predicated is that it is there. And another appearance, which may not be so decidedly without an explanation, is the universal assent, through the trumpets of the press, that England is to take no share in the coming war, whatever may be its nature. The field may be so inviting, that Peace Societies may feel an inclination to try a hand, and contribute flannel waistcoats towards the prosecution of the contest. But the thing must not be; there is a reason. The country is to take the position of the Irish culprit, who exclaimed "My Lord, if you please, there shall be no more said about this matter." There is the same assumption, that the thing is to be voluntary, which will not be voluntary; and that the stupid bird will be safe, because it proposes to thrust its head into a corner.

What is at the bottom of all this unanimity? Is the lion going to lie down with the lamb, or does he prefer eating straw as the ox? Have the men who breakfasted on blood and mangled limbs, and could not muster an appetite till they knew who was blown from a gun and who put to death with torture;—whose spirits rose and fell, according as they heard of Mohammedans murdered by forties in a string and calling the while on God, whom they stupidly term Allah and brutishly declare to be but One;—can these men have so filled themselves, that they could bear to see the game going on, and sigh like the overfed citizen who has thrown away his appetite



upon a neck of mutton, because he did not know there was venison coming? The thing must have a cause; and where is it?

It is just *the skeleton*. It is a grinning conscience in the back-ground. It is the hidden fear which rises up and says, "You have had your will, and now come the consequences." Like all people who yield to the intoxication of present pleasure, the sting comes after, and no thought of gone-by delights will staunch its grief. The delight may have been keen, penetrating, soul-absorbing; but it was only felt in its intensity by some, and the rest must pay for it. To massacre betrayed men regimentally, may have been a joy the sense aches at. The ancients did not "Know the force of gunpowder, To kill a man withal," and their massacres of prisoners and wounded, though they sometimes tried their hands, were tame affairs, compared with the inventions of Christians in these latter days. Not a man among them possessed a revolver for his private pleasures. They issued an order for a storm or an extermination, and it was executed coarsely, rudely, like men who had no distinction in their joys. They had not the grand precedent of the black hole of Calcutta, like that skilful antiquary who fished it up for application at Moulton, and I feel little doubt will be found included in the thanks of parliament.

It is the skeleton. There is no use in defining too accurately what that is. Those who fear it can tell. It would not do for England to be engaged in a war, unless forced on her by attack at home. If she is to have war, it must be on her own shores. She may parry, but must not *riposte*; and everybody knows what comes of that. The director of the massacre at Canton,—for there it was, the rule of violence on the earth began,—may look back on the consequences, and wonder at the exactness of the observation, of how great a matter a little fire kindleth. It has been boasted in the public prints that England has ninety-three thousand men engaged abroad. There may be exaggeration, but it was not the less well meant. And then the simpletons find out that five hundred thousand men within sight of their shore, are dangerous neighbours, and that it is best to say the grapes are sour, and deny themselves the pleasure of any remonstrance which might lead to collision.

These be your gods, O Israel, and these the calves for which you have been led into the sacrifice of fame and safety. Tell foreigners the gentleman is not at home. Or if scruples are felt at employing that conventional mode of denying him, say he is deeply engaged in settling his domestic accounts, and

cannot attend to strangers unless they break into his parlour. "How happy is the blameless Vestal's lot, The world forgetting, by the world forgot!" Only sometimes the world refuses to forget the blameless Vestal, and maliciously takes the opportunity to ask questions which it may be particularly inconvenient to be troubled with.

One thing is in our favour, which is, that the present government are the men who did not do it. It is impossible they should not have a sense of the vantage ground on which they stand. They have but to make, like sensible men, a decent compact with the seething elements of internal reform, and they will have strength for coping with the mischief which others have bequeathed to them. It is a bad game that is transferred into their hands, but they have no choice. If all men knew their friends, they would have a better chance of dealing with their enemies.

Yours &c.

19 Jan. 1850.



#### OUR "TWENTY MILLIONS."

LXXXV.

As one who professes to discharge the office of the watchman on the tower, you will not think it out of your way to give warning note on a subject which both directly and indirectly interests the majority of your readers.

In that estimable and impartial book "Haydn's Dictionary of Dates," is found the following entry:—

"SLAVES, EMANCIPATION OF. Act for the abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies, and for the promotion of industry among the manumitted slaves, and for compensation to the persons hitherto entitled to the services of such slaves, by the grant from parliament of £20,000,000 sterling, passed 3 and 4 William IV., Aug. 28, 1833. By the operation of this act, slavery terminated in the British possessions on Aug. 1, 1834, and 770,280 slaves became free."

There were people at the time who said, "They will take your twenty millions, and the thing will go on as before." And now the time is come for seeing whether this is not to be true.

If you ask me what portion of your readers are interested, I answer at once, the Working Classes. They are just now

engaged in an agitation for the improvement of their own political condition, and if they had not the sense to see how the present question bears on theirs, they would give a lamentable measure of their fitness for the advancement which they demand.

The natural tendency of things everywhere, is to live upon the Working Classes. It is as much man's nature, as for a monkey to stretch out his hand to an apple-stall. And the degree in which this tendency has been put down, is the best measure in existence, for testing the reality of a country's advance in public freedom. In the ancient times, and in English times up to the 1st of August 1834 aforesaid, this propensity took the form of what is called personal slavery. That is to say, the Working Classes who were to be lived upon, were put under a distinct set of laws from other men. They might be beaten when other men might not; they were not allowed to give evidence against their betters; they were not even to be called men and women, but depreciatory names, as "wench" and "fellow," were invented to distinguish them in common parlance; they might not marry, or if they attempted it, their wives and children might be sold into distant countries, with as little ceremony as your Bradford economist sends a sow and her chubby pigs to stand in the swine-market. It was very helpful to this, when the Working Classes had a distinct complexion, and so could not be taken by mistake for their masters. But there was a good deal done without it. Look in the same excellent book, and you will see.

"SLAVERY IN ENGLAND. Slavery was very early known; and laws respecting the sale of slaves were made by Alfred. The English peasantry were so commonly sold for slaves in Saxon and Norman times, that children were sold in Bristol market like cattle for exportation. Many were sent to Ireland, and others to Scotland. A statute was enacted by Edward VI. that a runaway, or any one who lived idly for three days, should be brought before two justices of the peace, and marked V with a hot iron on the breast, and adjudged the slave of him who brought him for two years. He was to take the slave, and give him bread, water, or small drink, and refuse meat, and cause him to work by beating, chaining, or otherwise; and if, within that space, he absented himself fourteen days, was to be marked on the forehead or cheek, by a hot iron, with an S, and be his master's slave for ever—second desertion was made felony. Lawful to put a ring of iron round his neck, arm, or leg. A beggar's child might be

put apprentice, and, on running away, become a slave to his master. 1547."

So it appears, that white faces were no security against slavery; and the Working Classes would be what nobody ever took them for, if they trusted to the fairness of their complexions to keep them out of harm's way. It is what would be done with them now, if the outburst of man's evil nature which has taken place in the world were to get head enough, and if there was not already the strength in the proper places to keep it down.

But to return to your Twenty Millions. It was given to put an end to the disgrace and misery of slavery in the British dominions, and in particular "for the promotion of industry among the manumitted slaves." And now see the turn the masters take. "We have got the twenty millions, but that shall not hinder us from importing a new race of slaves, if the old ones refuse such wages as we offer." And so the people of England are to be cheated, if the accomplices in the fraud are strong enough, or if the people themselves were besotted enough to see such things going on over their heads. The French Slave Trade revival,—for which I proffer a subscription of a pound sterling towards a medal with the words *Au Restaurateur de la Traite*,—is to be backed by British example. Perhaps Chinese or Indians will be substituted, as the man swept his chimney with a couple of ducks, because it was thought cruel to the goose. All schemes and pretences of the kind are point-blank frauds. The people to be imported, of whatever kind or description, have been slaves, are slaves, and are intended to be slaves. Was not I Governor of Sierra Leone when the same thing was tried on gently there; and did not I bring away the receipts in my boots, proving that the so-called apprentices were passed from hand to hand as slaves, and which I knew my successor wanted to take away?

Here then is an open fraud, coming at the time when the English Working Classes are at issue with the powers that be, for the extension of their privileges. Let them look at the scene abroad, and see what comes of the Working Classes when they have no political power, and how sure they are to be ground to the dust by those who have the means. If any man wants his wit sharpening and his resolution strengthening, let him look at the scene in the Colonies, and say, "So should it be with us, if we had not the means to hinder it." The government is in the act of pondering, whether it shall accede to the dishonesty of the West Indians, and whether it

shall concede the just demands at home. It would be pity to leave it to the chance of deciding both ways wrong. The secret of doing anything, is to find people to help you; and the way to find people to help you, is not to bore them with the intensity of your desire to satisfy your own wishes, but to show them ways in which they ought to help *you*, and you are willing to help *them*. There must be tens of thousands in your neighbourhood whose hearts burn at the sight of the undisguised fraud attempted in the West Indies. The ancient feeling instilled into Yorkshiremen when boys, and of which the cask will retain the flavour as long as two staves of it hold together, calls on them to make a stand. When asking for what themselves ought to have, they will not be so fat of heart or dull of understanding, as not to know that an attempt to oppress the industrious classes in remote portions of the empire, is precisely a God-send to try whether they are the men they would be taken for, or whether they are the stuff that may be damaged piecemeal at pleasure, because nobody in one latitude cares for what happens in another. There was heart-burning enough when the masters invited German tailors to do the work in London. But what would the feeling have been, if the taxes wrung from the Working Classes had been applied to import the foreigners? Yet so it is yonder, and may be here next. It is high time for everybody that has the means, to get his hounds in order.

Yours &c.

P.S. In my last was a statement from some of the public prints, which made the troops in India 93,000. It was inserted, not without apprehension expressed that there might be exaggeration, as for instance by the addition of Native levies. Since then, a correspondent of the *Times* of 23 January says "90,000 British bayonets" in India. So there was no mistake.

26 Jan. 1859.



PUTTING SALT UPON OUR TAILS.

LXXXVI.

IN the windows of the print-shops is occasionally seen an engraving, where a youth with the simplicity of countenance sometimes confounded with idiocy, has taken down from its nail that domestic implement the salt-box, and is in hot pur-

suit of a feathered warbler, whose cocked-up tail and winking eye appear to show enjoyment of the joke.

Something like this is the position taken by the Giant of the press, towards those jealous and unmanageable fowl the Anti-slavery men and women, who twitter scathless in all corners of the land. They have not the machinery to wrestle with him in his own way; any more than the bird in the parable could cope with the innocent who is pursuing, if once his enginery could be brought into full bearing. But they have a way of their own; which is, to keep at arm's length, and laugh.

The *Times* asks the Abolitionists, with the *bonhomie* (if that be the appropriate term) of the sprig of juvenility in the picture, whether they did not once abolish the Slave Trade. To which those impracticable adversaries reply, they believe they did, and mean to do it again if need be. This may be called, salt the first. And salt the second, is to pray to be informed whether they and other people did not pay twenty millions for the emancipation of the peasantry of the West Indies, and whether that is not enough for them, without troubling their heads whether rogues who had it do anything for their money. The Triton goes before, the minnows follow after; and some of these last, do their best to be irreverent.

The young hopeful in the picture is Solomon in all his glory, compared with this. Send them to 29 Poultry; where the member for Northampton will be ready to receive them, and subject them to those salutary disciplines by which he restores two-thirds of his patients to the condition of able-minded citizens. What flaw was it, what infirmity, what withering imbecility, discovered in those who hold by the strong hatred to Slavery in all its branches, that should have induced the expectation of gaining by this attempt to lodge the saline specific. Strong in antecedents, elevated by memories of the past, inaccessible to fear or to temptation, connected by ties neither obscure nor doubtful with all and everything that is destined to find victory in this world of Heaven's making, they were the last it was politic to rouse by so weak an intervention. One only excuse is in the possibility of things;—that the doers have had to do with minds so feeble, and so prepared by amalgamation of the dupe and the accomplice for the reception of any folly, as to have re-acted on the tutors and the guides, as silly shepherds copy from silly sheep, and they who drive fat oxen do themselves grow fat.

It may be profitable to look round on the sources from which the Abolitionists may look for support. Like the Christians

of old, they are in the court, the camp, the judgment-halls, the temples; they are a leaven everywhere with full access to leavening the mass. The classes just now upheaving the earth for admission into the freedom of the Constitution, are their natural allies, or more properly part and portion of the *casus belli*. Good men of all kinds are with them; and in the extremest ranks of political difference, memory can point to those who would have been first lances in the charge if they had seen this day\*. The Anti-Corn-law League, which has been unwisely thrown into the faces of the Abolitionists as if they could not think of it themselves, "is not dead, but sleepeth." It would be glorious to see, what a waking there would be, of bones neither dry nor feeble, if some trumpeter on the wrong side would be ill-advised enough to fancy himself an archangel, and sound the call to be up and doing. What comes to one, if allowed, will come to another. All mankind are interested or will be, in putting a swift extinguisher on this new precedent, which is to direct that men who have been successful once, may be walked over by their enemies whenever they choose to try again. Why not, on the same precedent, bring back the Stuarts, or install Saint Thomas of the vermin'd shirt at Canterbury? Were they not got rid of, once?

This week witnesses the assembling of parliament. Men will not be so much engaged in the turbulence of passing Europe or in domestic settlements, as not to give attention to this small colonial irritation, as the sailor in a gale of wind finds time to deal with the teasing specimen of entomology, which takes the opportunity to interfere with his tranquillity of trousers.

Since receiving your proof, I have seen a letter in the *Times* of 1 February, in which reference is made to the interview of the Anti-slavery Society with the Colonial Secretary. Reports on such occasions, without special blame to anybody, are often incorrect. What I said was, that I knew the so-called apprentices at Sierra Leone were slaves; and that I brought away, not copies, but the veritable documents which proved it. I have no further comment to make, except that colonial officials will not strengthen their case here, by representations of the "laughing and chattering" of the cargoes which come into their hands. It is all part and parcel of the contempt for God's tropical man, which has led to the shames in India. If a cargo of English men and women had been landed in similar plight in an Algerine port in the palmy days of piracy, I do not know whether there would be laughing, but to a certainty there would be chattering; and it has often occurred to me to think,

what arguments would be derived for Europeans being akin to the monkey race, from their inability to croak out the Arabic with the true flavour of a crow in a quincey.

Yours &c.

2 Feb. 1859 [www.libtool.com.cn](http://www.libtool.com.cn)



#### OPENING OF PARLIAMENT.

LXXXVII.

THE ministerial announcements, as conveyed through the Speech from the Throne, are necessarily the objects of overpowering interest at the moment.

On the subject of India, it would have been more for the reputation of the Crown in future ages, if its ministers had said something of bringing to account the men who wantonly and by breach of civil and military faith with the Natives of that country, produced the present evils, and then conducted themselves with a diabolism which it is desirable to consider in an Appendix by itself, and not as making an ordinary Chapter of human history. Instead of which, there can be no reasonable doubt, that the actors in these scenes stalk about at this moment, considering themselves included in the thanks of parliament.

On the hope expressed of "obliterating all traces of the present unhappy conflict,"—how do men go about to obliterate such things? Does anybody ever obliterate them, even to the fourth and fifth generation? Are the atrocities of Kirke and Jeffreys forgotten in the West of England, or those of 1798 in Ireland; and what were they, to what is here? Is the man who saw his Native princes butchered under trust,—or his father put to two deaths at once by the hands of a hangman-judge,—or his kinsmen blown from guns for remonstrating against the grossest breach of military faith and honour which has stained the fierce brotherhood of universal soldiery since arms were a profession,—are these men to be coaxed down by gingerbread, or turned into sweet and loving subjects by a few honied words? Will the Black Hole of Moulton be forgotten, except as copies are less prized than the original? All who know anything, know that undying hate, and curses on the Christian name as deep as well deserved, must rankle in the hearts of the sufferers and of their posterity, to an eternity of hope. Such is God's vengeance on those who do the evil first, and then think to cure it by a lick to the sore. And such will



be the end of the grandest crusade against a people's religion, customs, and liberties, on record in the history of the human animal. In all this, the ministers assuredly might have done better.

The Treaty with China is lauded by ministers as having "prevented further effusion of blood." Why was there effusion of blood at all? The highwayman on the road, pistols whom he likes, and at the point he thinks proper rejoices in the prevention of further effusion of blood. The treaty with Japan was something of the same kind; only by God's mercy the honest man gave in, when told to stand and deliver.

There was no need to parade the repentance ("change of mind" as is the evangelical Greek) of the Emperor of the French so much at large; especially when followed in the next paragraph by the intimation that England intends to do substantially the same thing. It may be doubted whether this was within the courtesy of nations.

The South American Republics were the first fruits of English liberalism, and a British minister took credit for having called them into existence. There was the claim the ancients denominated "clientship," to the friendly offices of Great Britain; the position resembled that of Elizabeth towards the United Provinces of Holland. And now England is found assisting the filibusters of America to execute their plan of reducing the Mexicans to negro slavery. Cortez did not do the thing effectually, and so England must help; some consular representation perhaps, like that which originated the massacre of Canton, being used as the pretext. The Triton of the press gives the reason why this ought to be; it is because the Mexicans are contaminated with Indian colour. The vulgar animosity against a skin,—the stamp of lowly-mindedness, and very indication of cart blood,—is put forward as the wherefore; the same mean instinct that upset an empire in India. But it would be unjust to attribute this feeling to the ministers. They yield to State necessity, and the imperative duty of conciliating the Slave Power in America. Already the curl is upon the sea, though it may be some time before the squall arrives. Read the American Report of Committee, and see how distinctly it says, "Wink at our villainy, or we will not wink at yours." Truly when a nation takes to dishonourable courses, vengeance is not far off. We have got the length, of being threatened by our accomplices. It is not likely the American colonel who is claiming his millions of dollars from the British government for some unjudged complaint, after the fashion of Englishmen to what they call an "Asiatic," will

bring his claim into the Thames, or carry off the governor of Portsmouth for refusing to pay upon demand. But the thing is on its way. "Manifest destiny" has set its eye on Canada; and Cuba is not the only West Indian Island in which the "peculiar institution" is to be upheld or be restored. All this is not yet; no more is Christmas. But those who were off Boulogne when Villeneuve's fleet was to have come up the Channel and did not, know how easily the whirl of politics might bring a combined fleet in which the flag of Slavery should hold a conspicuous place. There is nothing like bowing in time; it is better than bowing too late. It may not be so long, before Englishmen find out, that it would have been their interest, like other people's, to establish some National Law, by which powers, like individuals, should be prevented from running about pistol in hand, to collect their debts from any they choose to pronounce their debtors.

The "re-construction of the British Navy" is, on the face of things, no joke. The sooner you set about it, the better; unless with 93,000 men as boasted abroad, and 500,000 men looking longingly on the millions in gold that are kept purposely for them in Threadneedle Street, you wish to try conclusions.

The Reform Bill lies over for "calm and impartial consideration." If it lies over till things are calm, a great deal of "fresh breezes and cloudy" may intervene.

After the speeches of the mover and seconder of the Address, the Speaker got the length of saying "Those who are of that opinion say Aye," and halted; whereupon was a dead silence, and a minute more would have produced a laugh. The leader of the Opposition rose, and on concluding was followed by the leader of the Ministerial side. On the question of the probability of war, so interesting to the public, both of them used expressions which they afterwards tried to soften or recall. Like the Emperor of the French, they do not seem to have the art of measuring to-day's words by to-morrow's wishes.

Friday and Monday were chiefly remarkable for the number of Railway Bills which made their appearance. On Monday the Occasional Forms of Prayer Bill was read a second time, without a division; and the Endowed Schools' Bill read a first time.

On Tuesday leave was given to bring in a Bill for legalizing Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister, by 155 against 85. A motion for limiting the Sittings of the House on Tuesdays and Thursdays to midnight, was negatived by 237 against 28. Leave was given to bring in a Bill for the Abolition of Church Rates, without a division.

On Wednesday the House met at twelve, and broke up in a quarter of an hour.

Yours &c.

9 Feb. 1859.

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PAPER DUTY MAINTAINED, TO SPEND ON THE ITALO-GOTHIC.

LXXXVIII.

ON Thursday 10 February, innumerable Petitions were presented for the Repeal of the Paper Duty. On which, more anon.

On Friday lengthened debate, on how much of the Public Offices, and Buildings in streets in their neighbourhood, should be pulled down and rebuilt, and whether in the Italo-Gothic or the Anglo-Gothic style; the Puseyite interest, as pointedly intimated by Lord Palmerston, being strong in favour of Gothicizing us as fast as possible. Some stand was made from both sides of the House, by asking whether it would not be wiser to wait till the bills were brought in from India and elsewhere, and more known about the apprehended European war, and provision made for what is no matter of apprehension because announced in the Speech from the Throne, the "re-construction of the British Navy."

Under circumstances like these, it seems little short of that fatuity which is of Divine direction, that men should be seen making ducks and drakes of the money wrung from the taxpayers and Working Classes, on clocks that do not go, and bells that will not ring, with a prospect of whole streets to be pulled down and rebuilt for the amusement of the lovers of the Italo-Gothic. A government cannot remove the Paper Duty of One Million which is a tax levied on the oil that oils the wheels of public prosperity. But a government could take off Eleven Millions of Income Tax, which was the Palladium of the Working Classes for some security that the public expenses should not be levied mainly on *them* in the shape of indirect taxation; and a government can authorize the expenditure of uncounted millions on private follies, with war looking it in the face, and the declared necessity of "re-constructing" that somewhat voluminous machine "the British Navy." Do private men and masters of families do so; or do they do it without being taken care of in Lunatic Asylums? The simple explanation is this. Legislators sway away upon the public money, for the pleasure they find in indulging their own tastes.

As an illustration which perhaps has been offered before, I have, as you know, a weakness for Organ-building. So you may expect to find me voting for the erection of an Organ in each of the new Public Offices, for the encouragement of the clerks in innocent amusement, and my own edification in illustrating the identity of the "*Sol-Fa* System" with the Enharmonic of the Ancients.

And now to apply. The inference from all this, is to add weight to the movement now in hand, for giving increased political power to the classes who are accustomed to know the value of money, and feel the importance of not throwing it away upon kickshaws when the necessity for increased expenditure is looming in the distance, or more properly thrusting its hard knuckles into your face. The other classes are not able to take care of themselves; they want help, that they may wear their bibs, and have their playthings, in something like safety. Be charitable, though at the expense of some exertions of your own.

On Monday was the expected speech on India; so long, that the mind willingly subsides into the expectation that by the course of time we shall be made more familiar with the subjects intended. One or two points struck me as instances of tortuous statesmanship. The growing of opium in India was defended on the ground that to prohibit it would be as unreasonable as introducing the Maine law into England. But everybody knows that the opium is not grown to be consumed in India, and that it is forced at the sword's point, and at the cost of countless murders and measureless national disgrace, on the unwilling government of China. And then we are to lick our lips and say, "Heaven be praised, the traffic in opium is not illegal in China now; it would be a shocking thing to an English conscience to be carrying on an illegal traffic in opium."

Surely in the connexion of natural events, putting all theology out of the question, the nation that does such things will be brought into the contempt which it deserves.

On the slightest consideration, the case resolves itself into a demand for twenty-one millions for the pleasure of breaking a military compact, and greasing a Sepoy. It would be well if it could be charged against the pay and allowances of the man or men who did it. But as it is, England will either go through the dishonourable process of squeezing it from an oppressed and insulted people, or pay the difference herself. Depend on it, dishonesty and treachery make bad policy in the end. Since Astræa left the earth, there is no divinity that visits with summary punishment; but there is a long, linger-

ing, clinging vengeance, that visits the sins of the fathers on the children who walk in the ancestral ways.

On Tuesday a Message from the Lords on the subject of the new Public Offices, went towards clinching the plan for spending money before they have got it. As has been said before, Suspect architecture, dread architecture. Since the Pyramids of Egypt, it has always been an evidence that one set of men were building, and another paying.

On Wednesday the Bill for legalizing Marriage with a Deceased Wife's Sister was read a second time by 185 votes against 77. Some talented defences were made from the opposing side; which would be fine material for dissection to anybody with a turn for such pursuits. In the middle of the debate was an interlude for the introduction of Rothschild the Second; who after some attempts to delay, took the Oaths and his seat.

Yours &c.

16 Feb. 1859.



MARRIAGE LAW AMENDMENT BILL. EAST INDIA LOAN. A  
THANKSGIVING DAY FOR THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S; OBJECTIONS THERE WOULD BE TO IT. CHURCH  
RATES.

LXXXIX.

ON Thursday 17 Feb., another instance was given, of the folly of those rampant anticipations of eternity to established wrongs and prejudices, which were indulged in on the previous day on the subject of the Marriage Law Amendment Bill. And now this very day the report is, that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London are tired of standing forward as the inserters of a "not," and mean to avow their adherence to the reading in the text.

The instance alluded to, was the appearance of the representative for Greenwich at the table of the House, to take the seat to which he had been elected by an enormous majority. The electors of Greenwich have done right well in agreeing, that to lend another hand to the clinching of religious liberty, of which in truth they were busy driving the first nail though another came through the plank before it, was more for their best interests and honourable standing in the history of constituencies, than any imaginable number of new docks which will be built when wanted, or any influence with governments that are *out*, when they shall happen to be governments that are *in*.

## 62 *Thanksgiving Day for the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's ;*

The Marriage Law Amendment Bill was *considered* in Committee, and *reported*, without Amendment ; to be read 3rd time on Monday. Thus, bit by bit, fall the gloss of theologians and the prejudices of legislators, by gentler process, because sufficient for the day, than our ancestors were necessitated to employ.

On Friday the East India Loan was *considered* in Committee, and *resolved*, That it is expedient to enable the Secretary of State in Council in India to raise money in the United Kingdom, for the Service of the Government of India.

Men attach so little curiosity to the results of movements of this kind, as knowing that when the house has been set on fire, the furniture, whether more or less, must be burnt, that they hardly ask the amount even of their own portion of the bill. It is pity but the whole could be charged against the pay and allowances of that commander of a regiment who first preached his Mohammedan men and officers into revolt, and then hanged them. Everybody in India knew that to this kind of thing it would come ; and it came accordingly, and there is no use in troubling ourselves about the amount of the bill. When the affairs of nations are allowed to get into the hands of the malevolent and the low, the rush towards bankruptcy will be the same as in the cases of individuals. The event may be staved off by the length of the paternal purse ; but whoever is the happy owner of that purse, must bear the brunt.

I am grieved to see among the Notices, a question from an undoubted friend of humanity and peace, but which ought to have been the subject of more consultation and forethought. The question is to ask whether it is intended " to recommend to Her Majesty to appoint a day of Thanksgiving to Almighty God, in acknowledgment of His great mercy in giving success to the British Arms in quelling the Revolt in India, and in the re-establishment of British power."

The objections to this are, First, that on considerable portions of the British public the effect will be the same as of appointing a day of thanksgiving for the massacre of St. Bartholomew's. There were, and perhaps are, persons who approved of that massacre. But it would be highly impolitic for them to exasperate the feelings of those who think differently, by a proposal which those opponents must consider as what, in the Hebrew imagery our forefathers delighted in, can be like nothing but " running on the thick bosses of His buckler," if it is conceded there is an Almighty who puts such things into the book of His remembrance. Support your St. Bartholomew's, and repeat it if you like to take the chance of what may come

of it; but do not ask us to damn our souls by presenting ourselves before God with what we believe to be a flat blasphemy. If we go to church, it will be to pray God and posterity to hold us guiltless of this blood and shame such as have never before been wrought upon the earth. Is it Secretary's State policy, or anybody's policy, to give occasion to such feelings as this must lead to?

A second objection is, that any appointment of the kind would be the signal for a day of insult and injury to the oppressed millions of India, which nothing could authorize except a belief that it was wholesome to stir up the elements of hate for the opportunity of putting them down again.

And a third objection connected with the last, is that it is never quite certain, that trampling on a defeated opponent may not be dangerous. No man knows what any day of the seven may bring forth. The apparition of a few hundred Cossacks under any kind of an "off" or an "owsky," might change the face of the world; and it is not policy to give even a remote chance of playing into the hands of such a High Commissioner as this would be, for the sake of pleasing well-meaning men at home.

At this moment there is a Notice on the Votes and Proceedings of the House which are forwarded to you herewith, in words as follows:—

"In consequence of the massacre of the 26th Native Infantry at Ujnalla on the 31st of July last, as detailed in a work, entitled 'The Crisis in the Punjaub,' by Frederick Cooper, esquire, Deputy Commissioner of Umritzur, to inquire of Her Majesty's Government, whether any steps have been taken to bring to justice the perpetrators of that massacre. [*An early day.*] Mr. Charles Gilpin."

Praised be God there are still men in the world who dare call their souls their own. Let us pray Him that on that awful day when if theologians tell us true the murdered and the murderers shall stand together in His presence, we may be allowed to join the heathen side, while justice is executed on this grandest scene of Christian villainy.

On Monday the ill-advised question of the day of Thanksgiving was asked; and met by the government with a declaration that "they will wait," which was received with much cheering. If the opponents of the English in India have any gazettes, this ought to figure in them. It is a good deal to get out of an enemy. But was it with that intent, the thing was asked?

Fancy my lords the Bishops coming forward with a "*Te Deum laudamus*," and then enumerating all the horrible and mon-

strous things which by the permission it is to be supposed, of Divine Providence, have taken place on the British side. "We thank thee, O Lord, for putting into the heart of thy servant, to butcher his captives under trust, for the glory of thy name. And specially for him thou didst strengthen to torture his prisoner till he did what he believed would damn his soul, and then slaughter him, to the honour of thy true religion, and the profit of us thy servants. Also for the Black Hole of Moultan, wherein the heathen perished, and our enemies lay in the hell like sheep. So we of thy fold, and sheep of thy pasture, shall possess the revenues of the mis-believers, and tread on the necks of their kings, for ever and ever. Amen." Fancy decent and reverend men set to such a job of journey-work by virtue of their offices; and estimate the value of the discretion which saved them from the trial.

On the same day, leave was given to bring in the Government's Bill on the subject of Church Rates. Which at all events evinces a conciliatory spirit, joined to a full conviction that things cannot go on as they are. Among rumours may be added one, that the question of Reform will not be brought forward on the 28th; the Navy Estimates being the perturbing body which will not be got out of the way. And another, that a vote of want of confidence is to be moved in some mysterious way which may suit the movers.

On the same night leave was given without a division, to bring in a Bill to repeal the Clause in the Act of last session which legalizes the payment of travelling expenses to voters. The sense of the House was evidently with the motion, and the government did not oppose. Lord Palmerston expressed his dissent, though without making any actual opposition in the present stage.

The question is one to which the attention of the public would be well-directed, in the present stirring of the pool of Reform; and the sooner it is got out of the way the better. If it is not, it will amount to seats in parliament being set up for the best bidder.

On Wednesday, Mr. Alcock's Bill for the Voluntary Arrangement of Church Rates, being as I am informed one of five plans afloat upon the subject, was moved, but put off till Monday.

Yours &c.

23 Feb. 1859.



AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS. CATHOLIC OATH. LAW OF  
PRIMOGENITURE.

XC.

ON Thursday 24th February, the motion for the publication of Agricultural Statistics was negatived by 163 against 152. The publication would probably have been for the public advantage; but no man likes to have his commercial transactions pried into.

The motion for going into Committee to reconsider the Catholic Oath, was carried against the government twice; the first time by 122 against 113, and the second time by 120 against 106.

Thirty years is a decent time to call for alteration. We are all older than we were then; and why should not prejudices and animosities have grown weaker in the limbs and stiffer in the joints? The truth is, that except in such a case as India, where a belief in overpowering force encourages a multitude of sinister motives, men will not shed blood for the sake of oppressing their neighbour's faith. The giants on all sides are laid up with cramps, and can only muster an occasional growl. The battles that have been fought have been enough.

On Friday was the promised inquiry into the government's foreknowledge of war and peace, and weighty matters therewith connected. The whole dwindled down into something exceedingly small. It is likely the mover had been checked in his first design, by the counsels of his colleagues; for the threatened scrutiny into all and everything which had been done or not done by the government, sank into a very civil intimation that it would be agreeable to know anything it was agreeable to the government to communicate. And the ministerial reply might be concentrated into the well-known proverbial verity, that least said is soonest mended. From all of which, the conclusion is, that we are walking upon eggs, and whether we tread East or tread West, the omelet will not be made without the breaking of some.

A communication promulgated by the minister with something of mystery and pomp, as if what was once said was not as effectually said in one way as another, was that he as good as believed it was settled that the Roman States were to be evacuated both by Austrians and French. What is to become of the Papal potentate thereupon, was not stated; though it was intimated he thought he could get on, between his Romans and his Swiss. Like the man who was afraid of being driven to the necessity of working, he will perhaps be reduced to the frightful condition of doing something to conciliate his people.

On the question of peace and war, it was plain that nobody was doing anything but trying to conceal his ideas. An argument I hear in conversation, why the French Emperor does not meditate anything hostile against England, is that if he did, he would have done it before;—a not altogether conclusive inference. What the foul fiend that tempted Lancelot Gobbo must be saying to the French Emperor, is clear enough. It is saying, "Set up, either directly or indirectly, a kingdom of Italy; and this may lead to a Grand Duchy of Saxony and a Confederation of the Rhine." And he might do this, if he had the grace; which he has not. But this must be the *idée Napoléonienne* on which he will steer, so far as he finds the opening. He may never find an opening at all; and so must give up, like an Arctic voyager that finds nothing but impenetrable ice. But this is what he infallibly looks for; and if the opening is found, see if he does not up helm, and make the best run of it he can.

The debate on the Naval Estimates made some curious disclosures, which will be particularly interesting in France. It was asserted from authority, in round terms, that the French navy, if it put to sea, would have things its own way. And this, in a country which has no hold on the affections of general mankind, but is rather looked upon as one which, whenever it suited anybody, might be declared to be out of the pale of modern civilization, is not a state to be rejoiced in. If something is not done, somebody may be laying hold of the country "with an iron gripe," as our Special Correspondent boasts to have been done to India. If there is not some lookout, the Black Hole of Meean Meer may be avenged at Charing Cross. Nations, like individuals, are very complacent to their own crimes, but bitter when opportunity is found, against the crimes of their neighbours and their rivals. Astræa, we know, is gone for good; but Nemesis, with her wooden leg, is left on earth, and may be found limping into action when least expected. Our countrymen would be in some sort fighting with a rope about their neck, and had therefore better leave as little as they can to chance.

On Monday, the "Mystery, Babylon the Great," was revealed, and lies now accessible to mortal eyes. It is a mere stirring of the pudding, without putting in either plums or suet. But it will do good, simply because it is a stirring. Everything that encourages the habit of alteration is in favour of those who want things altered.

The theory of ministers is, that all the interests must be attended to; by interests being meant everybody who has an

interest distinct from that of anybody else. Scores of minorities, by taking care of themselves, are to take care of the majority. One interest, which is that of the working multitudes, is to be left to take its chance after everybody else is served. I wonder whether, if there was a representative of the American eagle cowering in the gallery, he could help feeling the strong resemblance to the "peculiar institution" of his own country, which says, "Attend to everybody's rights except those who it is settled are not to be allowed to have any."

On Tuesday the late Home Secretary and the President of the Board of Trade, both of them highly esteemed by all portions of the House with reservation of their peculiar politics, rose to give their reason for seceding from the government. It is the identification of the borough and county franchise; the consequence of which, as stated by one in the letter he read, and not objected to by the other, will be to enable the working classes to impose direct taxation, which means the Income Tax, as a permanent measure of finance.

The Working Classes were always told it would come to this, and that the great bone of contention was or would be, to what extent the taxation of the country should be raised from the working man, by laying for instance, as is or was the case, eleven-fold on the poor man's tobacco, and to what extent from the wealthy classes who cry out "confiscation" and "pillage" if anybody proposes that a fixed sum shall be struck off from every man's income and he shall pay upon the difference. All these are things which have to be better understood. And the process is going forward.

On Wednesday the Second Reading of the Bill for altering the Law of Primogeniture as applied to the Estates of Intestates, was negatived by 271 against 76. The debate will be an excellent study for the curious. We have here the beginning of one of the things which must go on.

The Second Reading of the Bill for prohibiting Bribery by the offer of Conveyance to the Poll, was carried by 172 against 153. The enemy is strong.

Yours &c.

2 March, 1859.



**MARRIAGE LAW AMENDMENT BILL. EAST INDIA LOAN BILL.  
THE CHARLES ET GEORGES. CHURCH RATE BILL.**

XCI.

THURSDAY 3rd March, the Marriage Law Amendment Bill was read a third time by 137 votes against 89, and passed. Thus, bit by bit, fall the structures of priestly corruption of the

text. It was always so; and as our fathers, so do we. Three fifths of the Commons have got the length of seeing into the thing; but lordly eyes are still under "drop serene."

The debate on taxing the working classes in the West Indies to pay for introducing foreign workmen, went off heavily. The rich and the powerful have great talents at having things their own way. The question probably waits till it is tried upon the English workman; though it would be all the better if he would take the alarm in time. One orator was unadvised enough to say, that there was no feeling in the country against it, except what was got up by "that dangerous class the philanthropists." The expression is very capable of being turned against the user. "Philanthropists" mean the men or their successors, who trampled down the Slave Trade, and are ready to do the same by its resurrection. "Philanthropists" mean everybody except those who are no philanthropists; and the world, since the days when mythology and history blend together and become undistinguishable, has known what these non-philanthropists are. If anybody compassionates the working classes, black or white, they are to be saluted with a sarcastic name. Let this be remembered in the existing struggle for Reform,—whoever goes with the working classes shall be called "philanthropist." The term is not so odious but that it may be endured. All minorities have been helped to become majorities by the names given them by opponents. Huguenots, Puritans, Quakers, Methodists, are all instances of the fact. "Philanthropism" then is up again, and all Reformers are Philanthropists, and all Philanthropists Reformers.

The probability is, that this scheme for underselling the working classes with their own money, will die out. But it will only be after much evil, and great suffering to the concerned. It is no excuse for evil, that it will die out; all evils, great and small, die out when their time comes, but it is sometimes a long time first. There are, however, inherent weaknesses in the plan, which encourage the hope that its term may be short. The working population in the West Indies, for whose liberation from brutal bondage we or our fathers gave twenty millions, it seems are in a condition which makes them unwilling to work for the wages which it is conceived must be taken by an imported barbarian fresh from his native haunts, and who has no option of going back again. It will break down through the inherent and long-demonstrated expense of slave labour. But it will gratify some evil propensities, and indulge some rancorous feelings. There will still be a slave tribe to vent ill

passions on, and men will have the gratification of awarding forty stripes save one, to people "bound to service" as is the slang of the negro-driver and the tyrant. There were those among the "philanthropists" who always knew it would come to this. But there were others who could not be restrained; and so our twenty millions are gone, and we are what in the case of the gentler sex, is called "deluded." If the opponents calculated on our not having the boldness to say so, they reckoned without their host.

Friday was remarkable for nothing but disclosures in the way of Supply. Is anybody on the look-out to see, that the war for the present is not against the resources of the country? It may only be a beginning, but if the middle and the end are as effective as the beginning, there is no saying what things may come to. But the country has had its whistle; and the delights of blowing Mohammedans from guns and sending a Hindoo in his own opinion to hell, are a whistle that must be paid for. Besides, have not they poisoned the Chinese? They may trust too long to the "Peradventure He sleepeth."

On Monday, the East India Loan Bill was read a second time, and committed for Friday. An orator of the old government introduced the subject by enlarging on the obligations we had contracted towards India. A short time ago, a man carried off my pocket-handkerchief at the railway. I wonder whether he had a due sense of the obligations he had contracted towards me. At all events, I have never heard from him since.

Notice was taken in the debate, of the extent to which all government of India from England is in abeyance. It is neither the Queen, nor Parliament, nor the Governor-General, that rules there. What is to rule, is the embodiment of that insane feeling which has cost fifty-five millions this year, and may cost ten times as much the next. It is the spirit which has displayed itself in servile copies of the Black Hole of Calcutta, and will never rest while there is a dishonour to be inflicted on England, or a misery on India. The Queen's words are to be no words, but as they are passed through the foul channels of these men's digestion. The natives of India, it would appear, have been fools enough to believe the Queen. If citations are demanded, look at "our Bombay correspondent" in this day's (Tuesday's) *Times*. Is there any decent man who does not feel, how comely it would be and how reviving, if as the French soldiers phrase it, the "*Père Eternel*" would "*sortir de sa baraque*," and leave a mark upon these.

## 70 *The "Charles et Georges." Church Rate Bill.*

men which should make the ears of all that is coming of the world to tingle.

On Tuesday, long debate on the affair of the *Charles et Georges*, the French ship found loading negroes within the African territories of Portugal. The government made a lawyer-like defence for a bad case. The fact is, that the lieutenant-colonel who preached his men into mutiny and then hanged them, has put the country into such a "fix," that if the French had sent a ship to load negroes in Wapping, the affair must have been handled with the greatest caution. The debate was finally adjourned.

On Wednesday, Mr. Walpole's Church Rate Bill was thrown out on the Second Reading, by 254 against 171.

Yours &c.

9 March, 1859.



### CONCESSIONS OF THE GOVERNMENT. FISHING FOR A WAR WITH FRANCE.

#### XCVII.

ON Thursday 10 March, the Chancellor of the Exchequer made some concessions on the subject of the County Franchise, which looked very much as if intended to take off the effect of the Resolution just announced from an opposite quarter. He must shake another reef out of his topsails before he does any good.

On the same evening was what looks very like the little cloud which precedes a storm. Men are fishing for a war with France; and a quarrel among the French and English fishermen is the occasion seized. By Treaties going a long way back, the right of fishing on certain portions of the coast was assigned to France, with the right of making certain establishments held necessary thereto. The whole was as ingeniously ill-defined as a maker of quarrels could desire; and now comes the crop which was to be expected from such spade-husbandry. The French were to have two islands called St. Pierre and Miquelon, but they were not to fortify. In confirmation of which, I remember being in Newfoundland at the commencement of the war in 1803, and a ship was sent to capture St. Pierre and Miquelon, and brought away the French Commissary's cow as a trophy.

The French and English fishermen are now in high quarrel, the Englishmen viewing everything taken by the French as so

much taken out of their own shops, and the French of course standing with equal pertinacity on their Treaty rights. But it is the manner in which this has been handled in the British parliament, which is the interesting thing just now. Every man who has ever been in office to the extent of settling a dispute between two fish-wives, or trying to prevent a private quarrel, knows that the desirable thing is to keep the thing in the hands of somebody of sense, and not put it into the newspapers as the means of summoning adherents to both sides. The government (it could hardly be otherwise) were in all probability doing something of this kind, when the resolution to bring the quarrel before the House of Commons was undertaken. And nothing could be more ill-judged, than the way in which the case was laid before our acute and intelligent neighbours, as it will be by next post. In the first place, parade was made of the fact, that these Treaties were made when England was in a state or states of depression and misfortune. The direct inference from which is, that England means to say, that *not* being now in a state of depression and misfortune, she does not mean to keep them; no *nisi prius* lawyer by possibility could fail to seize the point. And the next argument by which French politicians are to be put to silence, is that the Treaties say "fish," and "fish" does not mean fish, it only means "cod-fish." This is the argument which is to go forth in French reading-rooms and barracks, as a specimen of English logic. The French have taken fish which were not "cod-fish," and because all the world knows that nothing but cod-fish are fish, the French are *in flagrante delicto*, and must for ever hold their peace. Thirdly, the great accession of strength to the French Navy from the Newfoundland fisheries, was paraded as the English motive; as if that was likely to pacify in France.

It appears an attempt was made to settle the dispute by appointing two commissioners; and the commissioners were *a Newfoundland fish merchant* and *a captain of the French Navy*. Whether they sat together or by turns, two more unlikely birds to hatch a settlement could not be hit on; the subject would be a fair one for the genius of *Punch*. And finally, the fishermen's parliament of Newfoundland is appealed to, as what must be a component element in the interpretation of a Treaty. Fishing has been an honourable calling since the days of the Apostles; but it would be an odd thing if in an action on rights of fishing, the Fishmongers' Company made their appearance on the bench.

Here then are the grounds laid, so far as bad argument

and crooked logic could effect it, for getting up a pretty quarrel with France. The nephew of his uncle has only to repeat the war-cry of "Woe to the men who observe not Treaties," and all the active spirits in France will be at his back. And of course all the active spirits in England will not be behind. In the House there were symptoms of the same boiling energies, which got up the war of the *lorcha* under the cry of the "British Lion," and gloated over the massacre of a faithful and devoted army in the East. It is the condition of human nature; the madmen "have it," and it is to be feared always will, unless in those moments when depletion produces temporary sanity. Meantime the advice to the interested in the pursuits of peace must be, like wise seamen to take in their flying kites, and calculate on what the weather looks like, without waiting for the actual squall.

It is plain enough how things are going. The fifty-five millions were only the wetting of the whistle, and fingers are itching for adding a cipher to the account. It is beyond the reach of Reform Bills, and there is nothing for peaceful men to do, but settle how and where they prefer to receive the blow.

Sir John Trelawny's Bill for the Abolition of Church Rates was brought forward for Second Reading; and the opponents insisting on moving an Adjournment, it was carried against them by 173 to 108. The Bill was finally put off to Friday, and afterwards to Tuesday.

On Friday, on going into Committee of Supply, Lord Clarence Paget, who is the rising naval man in the House, asked for a statement of the proposed expenditure in the construction and *conversion* of Her Majesty's ships. The gist of his argument was to maintain, that enormous sums had been expended for *alterations* of existing vessels. The First Lord of the Admiralty, who has no lack of talent to enforce any opinion he has, was unusually severe in reply. He virtually charged the first speaker with exciting unfounded discontent in the country; for to go off on maintaining that he only meant to support the thesis that to excite unfounded discontent is an evil, is what a logician could not permit. The sting was in what a logician would call the *enthymeme*. No man debates truisms.

This question of conversion, is one you might help to settle at Bradford. What is the limit to what you will expend on improving a machine which does tolerably well already, and how much will you store up towards the purchase of new machines? There must be a limit somewhere; and I think Saltaire could say something about it.



On Monday, the principal object of interest was Mr. Charles Gilpin's Notice of the Massacre of Meean Meer. Foul deeds will rise; but somebody must bell the cat. If things go on, your Quaker will be your only orator. As it is, the thing is in the hands of "that dangerous class the philanthropists."

On Tuesday, the second reading of Sir John Trelawny's Bill for the Abolition of Church Rates was carried by 242 against 168. On meeting again at 6 P.M., the House was counted out.

On Wednesday, the Irish Lunatics' Bill was referred to a Select Committee. The Bill for altering the Affirmation of Quakers passed through Committee without a division.

A project was yesterday communicated to me by Mr. Cox, the Member for Finsbury, which had my immediate assent. It was, that in the event of any changes of government, the friends of the Ballot should persist in occupying their present sittings, by way of demonstration that they will not march through Coventry with any government which does not show signs of establishing the Ballot. Perhaps the notice of it in your paper may put some of the constituencies on inviting their representatives to join.

Yours &c.

16 March, 1859.



FAILURE OF BILL FOR REDUCTION OF DUTY ON FIRE  
INSURANCES. DEBATE ON REFORM.

XOIII.

On Thursday, a Bill for reducing the duty on Fire Insurances was rejected by the small majority of ten. There appeared much reason to believe that the produce of a reduced duty would be the greatest; but governments like to stick to the bird in hand.

On Friday an extraordinary preliminary debate, if debate it may be called, on the coming question of Reform. It was like nothing but the parading before a battle, of the ancient lobster-clad knights, when one of them rode forth to provoke the Paynim opposite, and try to feel where their strength or spirits lay. The Paynim in general were cautious, and deferred till the real day the exhibition of their powers.

On Monday came on the promised question of Reform. Lord John Russell immediately rose and proposed his Resolution. Lord Stanley replied. After which there was a rush to

dinner, being a ceremony the House seldom neglects. Many speakers rose in succession, and kept up the discussion till the diners began to return. Not much could be gathered of the turn results will take. The leaders of parties avoided the question of the Ballot, which was simply the subject everybody in their hearts were thinking of for good or evil. But many of the other speakers alluded to it with vigour, though none entered into a distinct defence. A general consciousness appeared to prevail, that this was the missing quantity, which, whenever it makes its appearance in the hands of a government, will carry all before it. It would be well that the friends of the Ballot would take the hint to be alive. At half-past twelve the debate was adjourned to what is technically called "this day," meaning the afternoon of Tuesday.

On Tuesday, the government, through one of its members, took the impolitic course of putting the whole question on the supposed selfishness of the middle classes. This was cheered by its supporters, in true fox-hunting style; but it was the very thing we wanted, and would have asked the government to do. Nothing could suit us better, than that the government should make the experiment on the middle class and its representatives, which is sure to be answered to the discomfiture of the speculators. The middle classes must take their own course with the imputation which has been thrown out against them, that it is *they* who oppose the admission of the working classes to the suffrage, on the ground that it will interfere with the monopoly of political power, which for the nonce, they are told that they enjoy. In the first place, the middle classes will deny that they enjoy anything; for they are notoriously harassed by an interference of their lords and masters, as wounding as if it were demanded to open middle-class letters at the post-office. There is hardly a man in the ranks of what may be most properly called the middle classes, who has not at some time felt himself degraded in the eyes of his family and equals, by the insolent demand to know how he votes, while his betters are revelling in the enjoyment of keeping their own counsel where it suits them. And next, the middle classes have the sense to know, (for when were they lacking in the knowledge that putting two and two together will make four), that to bring in the working classes to a share of the representation, is the way to increase their own strength for what they want. Canvass Bradford, and see how many of your well-to-do middle class think the introduction of the working class would add to their own strength for doing away with what they complain of, and how many the

contrary. They might just as well be asked to oppose the admission of the working class to help them to make waist-coat pieces. Many thanks to the government for putting the question on this most unwise issue. The middle classes have now the game in their hands, and if they like to have the assistance of the working class they may.

There is some talk of a Dissolution. If it comes, there will everywhere be raised the cry, "The middle and working classes, against those who injure both." It is to be feared there will be more wit than to try it. It would raise a tide that would go a long way towards floating the Constitution into a new berth.

Debate adjourned to Thursday.

On Wednesday, debate on Bill for Abolition of Edinburgh Annuity Tax, ending in the second reading being carried by 216 against 176.

Yours &c.

23 March, 1859.



CONTINUANCE OF DEBATE ON REFORM. ARGUMENTS AGAINST  
THE BALLOT WORTH TREASURING FOR USE. NOTICE OF  
VOTE OF WANT OF CONFIDENCE.

XCIV.

ON Thursday 24th of March, debate on Reform resumed, with various results. Some parts of the ministerial display were more than ordinarily ineffective; while in others, they had the advantage of having the ablest men of their kind.

It was the latter class which undertook to bring up the subject of the Ballot, if haply they might deceive even the elect. The objections insuperable to human intellect were stated to be two.

One, "That if votes were given secretly, there would be no means of detecting corruption or personation."

Turn this over then, to men able to take care of themselves, and ask them why it should not as well be stated, with all the luxury of words and smoothness of practised eloquence, that unless men's letters are opened at the post-office, there can be no detecting the dirty work they do. To open the letters might be one way, and in certain cases might lead to a certain quantity of good. But is it on the whole a right way, or a way which men with a moderate power of directing their own affairs will continue to submit to? Honest men's

business must be damaged by the bushel, that a half-pint measure of roguery may be discovered, which for all that anybody knows, might as well be discovered without. If the rich rogue bribes the poor rogue, is the discovery solely dependent on seeing the poor rogue's vote? The error is, in fancying the rich rogue's interest to be the interest of the public. There is not identity between the public and the rogues; it is a mistaken assumption.

The second, "That if you wish to have honesty and purity of conduct, you must bring every one to the open power of public opinion, and make him responsible for all his actions."

If you chance to know any middling tradesman who has been perplexed and bullied till he could not call his soul his own,—or if you are acquainted with any man of the working classes who says he should like to have a vote if it was free, but does not want to have a source of perpetual annoyance and distress,—if you meet with a man in either of these dangerous frames of mind, push him a little farther, and tell him to inquire why the law when it has this question in hand in respect of what it writes down "gentleman," decides that if you wish to have honesty and purity of conduct, you must directly give the voter the shield of secrecy? Print the question in large letters, and then the two answers, one in black and one in red. Bring the thing to issue, and let us know why the law blows hot and cold, and has one breath for one man and another for another. Work this, for the time is coming when the working will take effect.

On the same day the broth was thickened by notice given of a Vote of Want of Confidence in the Government. Has somebody found the men in whom confidence will be had?

On Friday, lively debate, with great expenditure of eloquence, some good and some not so very, containing much which the working classes will be inclined to make merry withal, as specimens of the arguments of their betters. One orator was heard asking, what truth there could be in the assertion that every man ought to have a vote for the Commons, when *Peers of the Realm* were by general consent to be without it. Men do not reason so in the Mechanics' Institutes.

A point which proved too much for my weak capacity, was to find out what was the importance attached to a diversity between the borough and county franchise, and which political party maintained one side and which the other. There are great potatoes and little potatoes, penny rolls and half-penny; and if one is better than the other, we shall be right to get the best if we can. But I cannot for my life see how the safety of

the State is attached to keeping up the difference, unless the upshot is to be, that if one man is to have little, somebody else is to have less.

On Monday the debate took the line of resolute assertion that the Working Classes do not desire the Suffrage. Concealment of course being made of the reason why; which is, that like the prophet whose bread was to be baked with disgusting and odious ingredients, they see such concomitants as make them wish to taste as little as they can. It is notorious that men refuse to exercise the Suffrage, or to ask for it, because it is burthened with so much of mortification and insult, as makes it worse than worthless to the holder.

The phænomenon of the night, and indeed of all the nights, was the speech of Sir James Graham, in whom there is more of quiet statesmanship than can be matched from either side of the House. History can hardly parallel the cool, business-like heroism, of declaring that though he preserved his old opinions on the subject of the Ballot, he had the evidence before his eyes that no question had made such rapid progress with the country. It is clear that this must be the finish, or next door. No administration will have popular support which does not entertain the popular question of the time. And the first administration which does entertain it, will walk over the course without let or hinderance from its adversaries.

The motion on want of confidence was this day withdrawn.

On Tuesday, a stout defence of close boroughs, as necessary to return boys to parliament. History was ransacked for every man who coming into parliament before his beard was grown, was found to be bearded afterwards. As if the same would not have happened, if they had passed their tender years in working their way to the good graces of a popular constituency. Old Sarum was specially called for the deep for the occasion. Who would have thought of meeting with the ghost of Old Sarum? It beats spirit-rapping.

On Wednesday, a quantity of what may be called private business, or at all events of no absorbing public interest. The Amendment of the Member for Sheffield on Lord John Russell's Amendment, has thrown the parliamentary *quadrangle* into agitation; friends are recommended to pursue the Turkish policy, of waiting till the child is born. The Reform debate is not expected to end till Saturday morning. But whenever it ends, the People's side will not have been heard. What cannot be heard in one place, must be heard in another.

Yours &c.

80 March, 1859.

MAJORITY ON LORD JOHN RUSSELL'S RESOLUTION. INTENDED  
DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT.

xcv.

ON Thursday 31st March, debate resumed on the Government's Bill for Reform, and Lord John Russell's Resolution.

At 11 P.M. came forth the Ministerial reply. It was meant to be solemn, and succeeded only in being dismal. An unhappy reference to the minor theatres, thrown out in the way of sarcasm from the same quarter, was continually present to the hearers. Countries in this day are not governed by Hamlet's inky cloak, nor Cassius's inky looks. In the crush of public interests, individual feeling is of so little weight, that a man may as well look cheerful when he goes forth to political execution, as assume the tone of a dying speech, or concentrate in his looks the lugubrious expression of a score of undertakers.

At 1 A.M. on Friday, the House went to a division, when there appeared for Lord John Russell's Resolution 330 votes, and against it 291. The Chancellor of the Exchequer rose and moved the adjournment of the House till Monday; a sort of intimation always that a government is employing the time in feeling its pulse to know how long it will last. What is to come next, is known to the powers that know. What is clear is, that the present government might have stood its ground, if it had known how to ease off the rope handsomely,—to do what must be done by anybody that holds his ground hereafter. So long as the grand want of the actual public, the removal of the insulting declaration that the secrecy of voting is to be enforced by law upon the gentle and the contrary on the simple, is ignored, governments will only exhibit the spectacle of one cock-sparrow after another settling on the galvanic wire, and being glad to evacuate their holding in ludicrous dismay.

On Monday, at twenty minutes before five, the Chancellor of the Exchequer rose, and with more grace than on a former occasion, and after a great deal of circuitous language, which had the effect of playing with the feelings of the unhappy men interested on one side or the other as a cat does with a mouse, announced that the ministers would not resign, but would recommend a speedy dissolution of parliament.

Here, then, the question rests with the constituencies, meaning those who have some share in the Constitution in contradistinction to those who have none; and it is for them to decide how far they will join in keeping their fellow-creatures

in a kind of comparative slavery, and how far they will resist. There is an opportunity to repel the libel thrown out by some of the ministerial supporters, when the middle classes were bluntly appealed to for the preservation of a middle class monopoly.

Everybody knows the history of the procession in ancient Rome, where the effigy of a celebrated Roman was called to every man's mind, *because it was not there*. So in this Reform debate, everybody knows the thing which was not to be talked of, and which all the rest was a cover to hide. Parade was made of the working classes not wanting the suffrage; all men knowing in their hearts that it was for the same reason that slaves might not desire the liberty of leaping overboard, or because their last estate would be worse than their first. The Dissolution is, in fact, a Dissolution on the Ballot. A sham is interposed to direct attention to something else; the sham being the representation that the struggle is for anything anybody cares for without the other. The middle and working classes are brought to a providential test, to see whether they are fit for political influence or not; the middle classes to show whether they have the sense to know how much the emancipation of the working classes would aid them, and the working classes to prove themselves fit for the fellowship.

Another secret to which nobody might refer, was the reason why the considerate Liberals voted for the Resolution rather than the Bill. It was because to carry the Bill would be to shut the question up for the next twenty years, and they see better prospects. It is clear that if any man wants the cessation of the present eating of dirt attached to the Suffrage, he must bestir himself now the pool is stirred, or not complain afterwards.

On Tuesday, the Superannuation Bill went into Committee. The government had it all their own way; and governments are naturally anxious to superannuate, that they may have the appointment of new men.

On Wednesday, Lord Palmerston made what military men call "a demonstration," against the holders of office. The purport of it appeared to be, to deny that he had questioned the right of the ministers to advise the Crown to dissolve; he had only questioned the propriety of doing it when there was so much business before parliament.

There was something much more important than this, if it had been a place to talk about it; and that was, the responsibility of announcing at a moment like the present, when Europe is hanging on the tenter-hooks of a general war, that

England is in a state which foreigners believe to be aptly described by the words *non compos mentis*. For, however exaggerated it may be, foreign nations have been diligently trained by English classics to the belief, that Englishmen are subject to a periodical madness, at the arrival of a general election. England therefore may be considered as "off the rails," at the time when it was of most importance that she should have counted for something. This has been done with no reason but the imbecile hope of keeping certain men on certain benches, where they had not the wit to do what was needful to maintain themselves.

This evil, which Englishmen could not protect themselves from, ought to be balanced by something they *can* do. A House of Commons is a very imperfect instrument, though the best that can be had. It is at a Dissolution that Englishmen practically talk about their own affairs, and the coming House will register their edicts. If they do not now take the opportunity to get rid of the indignity of a state of law which directs one rule for the gentleman and another for the serf, they will be condemned with the world's full approbation to serfdom for the next twenty years, if not, perchance, to the end of time.

On Thursday, the Superannuation Bill was read a third time, and passed.

The Address of the ex-ministerial member for the City of London to his constituents, exhibits symptoms of that softening of heart which precedes amendment of ways. The question of public and secret voting is one "which must be decided by the growth and maturity of public opinion;" and he "honours the aim and object of those who support the Ballot." Take care that nothing be done to retard the growth, or dim the honour.

Yours &c.

7 April, 1859.



THE OBJECT OF PRESENT REFORM BILLS, TO POSTPONE THE  
BALLOT FOR TWENTY YEARS.

XCVI.

On Friday 8 April, the question was asked of the government, from their own side of the House, whether it was their intention to bring in another Reform Bill; and this was accompanied by indications of a belief that the government had declared they would not.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer in reply denied that any such declaration had been made; adding the vehement asser-



tion of the right of the government to bring in such a Bill if they chose; by way of impressing which upon the House, he reiterated it four times, which, like an oath, must be supposed to be the end of all strife. Finally, he appended the expression of the great satisfaction it would give him, to bring in a Bill that should be *conclusive of the question*, and satisfactory to the public. The effect of which on the untutored mind, was to suggest the idea that the object of parties in this present move, was to compass a Reform Bill of some kind, which should postpone for twenty years the discussion of the grand popular want which is the Ballot.

It might be gathered from the speeches of contending leaders, that the government is suspected of a desire to interpose an interval between the prorogation and dissolution. What may be the bearing of this, time will possibly show; meanwhile it may be useful to have noticed the facts.

On Monday questions were asked of the government as to the time of their Dissolution; being evidently with an expectation of bringing out something favourable to the notion that the government were wavering in their resolution. The tendency of their answer, however, was in an opposite direction. The question may be considered as hanging on the other weighty question, of Peace or War in Europe. For it can hardly be supposed that any government would venture on giving so flagrant an example of the little wisdom with which the world is governed, as would be done by declaring the government of England in abeyance and resolved into its scattered particles, at a moment so strongly calling for the action of government, if government is to be of use at all.

On Tuesday came on a motion for a Bill to establish the Ballot. The debate proceeded languidly, till the late Attorney-General (Bethell), acknowledged as one of the ablest lawyers in England, rose and made a glorious speech in favour of the Ballot. There is not a finer existence, than an able lawyer when he takes the right side. He went back to the statutes of the first Edward, where it is written that all men should give their votes freely and indifferently; and argued, that though the Ballot had not suggested itself to our ancestors as the means of enabling them to do this, it was what the improved experience of modern days bound the law to supply. Lord Palmerston afterwards attempted to ridicule this, by affirming that our fathers desired to prevent men from being operated on by *violence*, and the Ballot was to prevent them from being operated on by *motives*. As if the fear of being knocked on

the head was not a motive. Lay lords had better keep clear of law lords in embryo. On another point our legal defender gave a new version of what has never been so well handled before. The argument, he said, is, that voting must be open because the electors are trustees for the non-electors. If so, then the power of law-making is to be in the non-electors. But if so, why not give them the vote? It is pleasant to see an able man sweeping away the cobwebs of opponents. The late Attorney-General must be bestridden in the battle. He shall be the People's Lord Chancellor.

The two leaders of what were called Liberal ministries, distinguished themselves very much in a contrary way. But on all sides, with the exception of the member for Tiverton, there were manifest symptoms of *giving in*. They all dealt with "*If*" the peace-maker. They see their house will fall over their heads, and they want to secure some chance of a city of refuge.

The first reading was refused by 102 against 99.

On Wednesday there was with some difficulty assembled a House; and after a little routine business the House was adjourned.

Yours &c.

13 April, 1859.



THANKS TO THE INDIAN ARMY. STATE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.  
PROBATION OF PARLIAMENT.

XCVII.

On Thursday 14 April the House of Commons voted thanks to the Indian army. An army is a machine, and must be thanked when it fulfils the purposes for which it was raised. But the responsibility before God and man is not the less, on those who produced the occasion for its employment, by breach of civil and military faith with the natives of India.

The announcement of the government on the state of Europe was put off till Monday.

A curious and somewhat complicated question was brought before the House, on the manner of admission of Jews in a parliament just assembled. By a compromise in what in parliamentary language is called "another place," the admission of Jews to the House of Commons was clogged with the necessity for a Resolution of the House on each recurring occasion. This was in the debate called bigotry; but at all events it is

not the bigotry of the House of Commons. The law is as it is; and so long as it is not altered, must be followed. How then is a Jewish member to be admitted by Resolution of the House, when in ~~point of fact there is no~~ House? In this dilemma, the late Secretary of the existing government for the Home department,—always reasonable and deserving of confidence,—proposed that on the assembling of a new parliament the Jewish members should not come to the table till the fourth day, such being the interval habitually absorbed in swearing in the members, and before any other business can be proceeded with. And this reasonable proposal was without opposition made a Standing Order of the House.

On Friday the House was counted out at an early hour. Reports of all kinds abound, as to what is to be done, and not done, on Monday; and there is scarcely an event within the limits of possibility, which is not talked of as being on the cards.

On Monday was the promised declaration on the state of foreign affairs. The ministerial explanation was given in various places in so low a tone of voice, as greatly to interfere with the profit of the audience. It is difficult to form a judgment of the state of Europe, when the nominative case and the verb are alternately sunk into obscurity. The French *Charivari* once asked a musical performer, who filled his composition with *pianos*, "What were your reasons for not wishing your music to be heard?"

The main question at issue appears to be, whether Sardinia is to be called on to disarm, without being admitted to the intended Congress. On which the observations that will occur are, that nobody believes that Sardinia wants to attack anybody, while there are undoubtedly many who would like to attack Sardinia. And in the next place, there is something opposed to natural justice, in conducting deliberations where a given power is the hinge on which the whole question turns, and excluding that particular power from appearing in the debate. It does not accord with what the conscience of mankind acknowledges in individual cases; and the rule of right in public questions is borrowed from individual. If indeed it is intended to set up the ground, that the great powers have the right to dispose of the little ones, let this be avowed, and the first losing party among the great powers will find an interest in setting up the standard of equal rights to small and great.

At a quarter past seven the House was counted out, and announcement afterwards made at the door that it was to meet at half-past one on Tuesday, which indicates Prorogation.

On Tuesday, in answer to a question from Mr. T. Duncombe, the minister stated that the council for deciding on the Dissolution would be held on Saturday at noon, and the decision be in the *Gazette* that night. At two P.M. "Black Rod" made his appearance, and the House was in due form prorogued.

The Queen's Speech as delivered by her representatives was brief, and did little but dwell on the doubtful aspect of the times. Which directs the current of public attention, to the extreme unwisdom of a ministry which pounces on such a moment to recommend the Dissolution of Parliament.

Yours &c.

19 April, 1859.



EMANCIPATION OF THE UNREPRESENTED. RUMOURS OF NO  
DISSOLUTION AFTER ALL. MISERABLE IMPOLICY OF  
BRINGING THINGS TO SUCH A PASS.

XCVIII.

THE most useful thing perhaps that can be attempted at the present moment, though at the risk of some repetition, is to call the attention of the working classes and their friends, to the importance of the crisis which is passing over them, and the ways in which they may act for good.

There is scarcely any man who has not wished that he had been present at some great battle, or other corresponding struggle for human rights and happiness; who has not thought of what he could have contributed either by action or suggestion, and fancied, by a sort of converse to the reasonings of the Pharisees, that if *he* had been in the days of his fathers, there is something he would have done, as well as something he would have let alone.

One of those critical periods is going over men's heads now. If they determine to stir and be doing, next week and all weeks may feel the effects. If one man leaves things to be done by another, next week there will be nothing for it but resignation.

The question at issue, is whether the serfs of England shall be emancipated. They cannot do it by themselves, for the simple reason that they *are serfs*. But they have many friends who are not so, and who therefore have the power to help. And the point of hope is, that the two sets together may effect their end.

It is to this class of "Unemancipated's Friends" that it is

especially useful to address remark. The hope of the adversary has been avowed in parliament to rest, on the desire of those who "have got," to maintain their monopoly;—*monopoly* was the word. *It is therefore now to show*, the various ways in which men having power, are interested in extending it; or more strictly perhaps, how *some* men, and it may be a *great many* men, have an interest of this kind, to a greater extent than they knew of.

Nothing is clearer than that no man can act by himself. If he is to do anything, it must be by getting other men to do it for him, or at all events be the agents in his doing. There may be two ways of doing this; one by brute force or what is analogous, the other by putting the force upon men's inclinations and free judgment.

Take now the case of a great employer of labour, on what is called the Liberal side. Does he veritably believe,—is there any such man found who believes,—that by giving his support to the extension of the Suffrage and the liberty of voting as the "gentlemen" do, he would make his political influence less than if he could make all his workmen and subordinates file off before him, and each take a card out of the employer's own box and put it into the hands of the returning officer? There is no such man by land, and there is no such man by sea. There is no such man at the top of acres, and there is no such man at the head of steam-power and machinery. Everybody knows, when he takes time to think, that the only people who could lose, are those who know themselves on the losing side;—who have had a vision of the political balance, and know which scale "kick'd the beam." But sometimes men do not take time to think; and it is to such that may be usefully addressed the caution, to look into their affairs at the moment when things are to be settled for good or evil, for at least the extent of an average life-time.

All this is written (Saturday) in the face of an announcement in the public papers that war on the Continent is within three days, and that after all it is possible that parliament will not be dissolved. In this case, what has been written may go for another time; but there will be a fearful impression left, of the misconduct of a government, which purely for a squabble as to who should be minister, threw up the common rules of prudence, and ran the country into this kind of dilemma, out of which, neither in one way nor another, can there be a creditable exit. While growling at them, it is impossible to help noting, that the version of their telegraphic message to Austria, as given by the *Times*, of "hasty and haughty menace," is just such

as a man would use who wanted to nurse a duel. A party may retire from a quarrel because he is told his menace to another was "hasty," but he never will because he is told it was "haughty." All the sinful elements in his nature will feel summoned to support. To withdraw a menace because it was "haughty," is to withdraw it under bodily fear of those who thought so. That one word, is enough to make the fortune of the bulls or the bears, whichever the name may be, who have been speculating on selling out, to buy in again upon a fall.

Monday. It is settled that Parliament is to be dissolved. Was there ever a world like this; which keeps itself in motion in spite of all that man can do to hinder? And not much less wonderful is the thing called the British Constitution, which, though avowedly a human work, stands in spite of all the trials to which human skill can put it. Here is a ministry, which literally on the eve of a battle, the consequences of which, if counsel is ever of use at all, must demand all the counsel the Crown could scrape together for such an emergency,—scatters the boasted counsellors, like a battalion on the word "*Dis—miss,*" when every man runs to cook his own rasher if he has one, or apply himself to any other process which may promise him advantage or amusement. A commander who should give this word, at the moment a force in his front was seen "making a strategical demonstration,"—or a ship's captain who should give his men six weeks' leave, the night the ship was on a lee shore,—would only be a type of this ingenious performance, unless there were other reasons which it may be next convenient to discuss.

What is, then, this constitutional power of ministers, which after years' palavering on the benefits of parliamentary government, enables them to choose the precise moment when, if ever, the Crown ought to feel itself supported by the knowledge of the public sentiment? Is it anything but giving a minister the power of decreeing, that

Whenever the nose puts its spectacles on,  
By daylight or candlelight, eyes shall be shut.

Or in other words, that whenever a minister feels most dislike to popular control, and whenever he most desires to be able to play some tricks of his own without the chance of the community's opinion being heard till all is over, he has only to copy what will go down to posterity as the *coup d'état* of 1859—as neat a thing in its way as anything that was ever done in France by the intervention of a company of light infantry. A company of light infantry is a compendious instrument, but a

few lines in a Gazette are as much so. But, it will be said, it is a constitutional right. So is the right of advising the Crown to commit a *felo de se*; but the minister is not the less responsible who determines on such advice. The responsibility is not on the right, but on the manner of using the right.

And how stands the case when looked at in the practical view? War is breaking out in Europe, unless stopped by a miracle. It would be very nice, says the ministry, to have our own way in this matter. We want no impertinent interference of popular representatives; it is all very well to talk about it when nothing is to come of it, but when we have business of our own to settle, what we want is to have it out of the way. The chatterboxes! they may thank their stars we do not send them in police vans to Dartmoor!

Here then is the country *talking* politics to its heart's content, and meanwhile the ministry *doing* politics for the country to mend when the time comes. What a glorious day for everybody that hates parliamentary government upon the Continent! What a triumph to contribute, to the battle between constitutional government and absolutism, of which the first shots are supposed to have been fired last night.

The mischief being done without our being able to help it, it only remains to see what we can do towards making the best of it. And here the thoughts are carried back to what was once before intimated to you, the question of the *continuity of parliaments*. If every man held his seat for, say three years, and men came into parliament and went out of it as they do into the world, which is one after another,—would not this, after the first difficulties of division had been got over, make a better provision for bringing the sense of the community in aid of the sovereign, than the plan which admits of a minister making a *coup d'état* as effectual for the time as that of Louis Napoleon, whenever he may have a point he wants to carry without being troubled for a few weeks with the people's voice? I believe it was intimated to you that this was borrowed from a friend; but on reference to him, it appeared it was a mistake, so I suppose I must take the risk of authorship myself. It is worth thinking of; and the *coup d'état* of 1859 will live in history, to turn men's minds towards some such speculation.

But, waiving this for the present, the next thing clear is that now is the time for the Emancipationists, the Unemancipated and their friends, to be up and doing if they mean to do. Now is the seed-time, though the seed cannot appear above ground before the 31st of May, or as much later as the minister may choose. But there is no fear but it must appear some time.

Try therefore, first, to know what you want done; and secondly, to send men to parliament who will try to do it.

27 April, 1859.

Yours &c.

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EITHER PEACE, OR WAR ON THE RIGHT SIDE. THE PROBABILITY OF HAVING NEITHER.

XCIX.

THE important subject at the present moment, so far as anything connected with human action can be said to be of importance, is the state of things upon the Continent, and the consequences which may grow out of it. And here, by the cunning or folly of "what seems" a government, if that name can be applied to an organization whose only office is to throw the machine out of gear at the time it is most wanted, we are cut off from all that might arise from asking a question, interposing a counsel, or speaking a useful word to friend or foe. It is well known that in many parts of the Continent great attention was paid to utterances in the British parliament. Men with a gag on their own tongues, like to hear the sound of the human voice elsewhere. They gather from it what they may not speak themselves, and nod their dumb heads in sympathetic union.

From this, among the rest, we have been ingeniously cut-off. If they are dumb, so are we. The stopper has been put upon the utterance of ideas on both sides the Channel, and a *coup d'état* alike rides triumphant in each.

What wise men in England would desire, would be to have either peace, or if not that, war on the right side. The odds are, you will have neither. The same malignant spirit which has cost you fifty-five millions to buy dishonour in the far East, will cost you ten times that nearer home, and lucky if you come off with it. And worse things there are than the loss of millions; which will be, if these men run their course till God and man are tired of them, and vengeance comes rattling down, as it has done before on empires which had run the length that heaven and earth could bear with. Going to their churches will not hinder it. Blasphemous thanksgivings for the success of treachery and cruelty throwing all pagan or mediæval wickedness into the shade, will not keep it off a fortnight. The proverb is too old to quote, which says that the doomed are their own executioners. The madness is in all hearts, and nothing but downright depletion will ever take it down.



See how the salt of the earth are going about things. What says the provincial organ of the Peace Society? "The Anglo-French alliance is virtually at an end." What is the use of parading this ill-humouredly, unless it be to say, that quarrelling is to follow? Assuredly it is no breach of friendship to intimate, that this is not the way to compass peace. And what has been done, that is to lead to a dissolution of amity for all previously existing purposes, between England and France? The desire of the liberal and thoughtful throughout Europe, was to see Italy established in something like national independence, and the abrogation, if it could be done without blame to the liberal party, of the hateful treaties of 1815. One great danger in any such prospect, was that Russia should step in with two or three hundred thousand men, and forbid the banns. This, in some way not known to the boys in the streets, France has had the genius to forestall, by engaging Russia to join in preventing the aggression out of which war is threatened. But can anything be done by independent continental powers, that is not threatening to England? "Fear ye the constable?" is the comment that will be made. What has put England into the position, where neighbours cannot unite for a good purpose, without the inference being that it means hostility to *her*? How came England to be of necessity everybody's enemy?

It is plain what is likely to come out of this. Suspicion and fear will do their work. Armaments and letters from Britannicus in the newspapers, will get up the "British lion" spirit, which longs for nothing so much as a bloody gazette upon the breakfast table. On the other side the water, similar feelings will easily be set in motion. Then a consul will be sent, with instructions to quarrel and say he has been insulted. No matter if, as in the Chinese affair, he says in the same breath that the cause of quarrel was non-existent. One is as good as the other. And then come the swagger of the valiant, and the appeal to heaven of the Pharisee, followed by what may follow, and all the chances of what may come. Of course if a European combination is quarrelled with, it may turn into a combination for what Englishmen will not like. And then there will want but one thing, which is that a consul should be sent to quarrel with America, to get up as pretty a combination of public dangers, as insanity and malevolence united can bring upon a nation.

Suppose then that the Emperor of France, after wisely engaging the non-opposition of Russia, should succeed in uniting Italy into an independent power;—what man with more than a

quadruped's head upon his shoulders, has anything to say against it?—Aye, but it will never be done!—How do you know *that*, wisecrack? Do men never learn by their uncles' misfortunes? Is it utterly impossible that a man may take a sane view of what he could accomplish with glory and safety to himself, and prefer it to what he has the example before him, will only tumble in ruins about his head?

But how is this consistent with the mode of government existing in France? There may be difficulties; for everything is not as easy as murdering a Prince of Delhi. But is it more improbable, that a country where from deep-rooted causes the powers of government have been committed to a single hand, should strengthen that hand to the establishment of an independent State under another of the various forms under which mankind are found existing,—than that a country where *boast* has been made of civil and religious liberty, should be found in a distant dependency exercising the most coarse and brutal tyranny the rest of mankind has ever tolerated, and high and low, priest and people, yelling madly in its train? There are more things in heaven and earth, than can be settled by insulting God or bullying man.

Here then you are, and time and patience will show where you will be. If anybody is aware of preparations he can make against possible evils, let him make them, like the man who keeps a fire-escape in his house, though with the least imaginable desire of ever testing its strength. One thing he can certainly do. He can abstain from purposely aiding in silly displays of fireworks, which, worse than perishing in the using, lay up store of mischances against the day when fortune shall turn.

If a man could have his own way, instead of ill-humoured declarations that the Anglo-French alliance is at an end, he would ask to have the good understanding with France maintained to the last stretch of possibility, for the sake of the useful influence one friend may always have upon another, in the way of praying that his conduct may be such as to make practicable the continuance of a friendly understanding. What necessity is there for assuming, that the French Emperor cannot by possibility think of acting in such a way as Englishmen could not but approve? It is a great thing sometimes to keep a man in good company; and rashly to throw him out of it, may be pleasant to the present ill-feeling, but will not stand the test of future reflection.

Yours &c.

5 May, 1859.

**BULL BLED BY ANTICIPATION. MINISTERIAL CALCULATION OF HOW MUCH MIGHT BE IN HIM. AUSTRIAN PROCLAMATION AT PIACENZA. ENGLISH ELECTIONS CARRIED BY THE HELP OF BILL TO LEGALIZE BRIBERY. FAREWELL.**

C.

It is plain that everything liberal on the Continent of Europe, and a good deal that is not, is in full march for the establishment of Italian independence in some form or other. England may play Mrs. Partington if she pleases, but it is all she can do in that direction. She might have done a good deal in the other, and preserved an influence which would have been greatly in the way of any fraud by other powers. But if she prefers lying by sulkily, for the chance of saying "I always told you so,"—like other things that could be mentioned, there is no help for it, and you must bide the consequences.

What a thing it would be, for everybody that lives by loans and contracts, if England could once be fairly embarked in the old plan of defending rotten governments! If I do not mistake, a minister of the Crown in one of those assemblies which serve for him the office of a parliament, has been making parade of how many buckets-full of blood might by possibility be drawn from the unhappy bullock or bull, and to what extent the bleeding might be spun out, by the art of the statesman-slaughterman judiciously applied with due intervals for the patient to recover strength. You cannot wonder if it comes, when you see it told off at so much per annum, for so many years and as much longer as need be.

If this system takes root, as to all appearance it may be doing, how long will it be before all domestic reform is bit by bit put under the ban, and a crusade set on foot against its supporters, on the ground that all agreements to the contrary were known to be only till there should be power to break them? Would not the Church, at a proper season, break out as unanimously in support of another Manchester charge upon reformers, as ever it thundered out God's judgments on us for not sooner breaking faith with infidels? It would only require a little time and training, for the British lion to hunt a Chartist or a Ballot-man, with as keen relish as ever it snuffed a Chinaman or a Hindoo. The appetite is there, and would want little nursing to set it in full activity.

But what a glorious evidence of the convenience of doing without parliaments, that all this can be settled without the

chance of an impertinent question in the rejoinder. How easily might a rash member for Finsbury or Lambeth, have marred the minister's blood-letting calculation, by asking why the beast should submit to it. What a god-send to those who like it, to be able to say that after all, this palavering England with its parliaments and its popular government, has come over to the continental necessity, and shuts up its nonsense the day a battle is expected, as the means of giving the executive free scope for working its good pleasure.

The Austrians appear to be giving a taste of their quality, in the shape of proclamations. The effect will be like that of the celebrated one of the Duke of Brunswick. A time must come when a stand must be made against executioners with epaulettes. The cure will be to hand them over to the executioner without. Meanwhile strenuous efforts will be made to engage England on the side of the assassins. Civilians in general like it.

The elections do not appear to have been numerically favourable to the liberal side; though there still remains that tough majority which will puzzle an anti-popular government. They took place under the operation of the Bill for legitimizing bribery in a particular form, the effect of which was that at any closely contested election success must be given to the longest purse, and amounting to a legal announcement that no man of limited means need aspire to be a representative. The grandest move, in short, ever made towards eternalizing the supremacy of money at elections, and what fell upon the Conservatives like manna from heaven, when they were smarting under the abolition of the Property Qualification; with the unexpected felicity too of being forced on them from what is considered the liberal side, and subsequently adopted with the marked approbation of what is reckoned a liberal constituency. If the Austrians should be driven from a post in Piedmont, and the next day be met by a request from part of the Piedmontese army that they would occupy another strong place by way of setting all square, it would only be a copy of the ludicrous specimen of liberalism here given. It may be comforting to add, that there is a general persuasion the post is to be re-occupied; but this is not an excuse for such "monkey-business,"—as is the native Indian term for transactions of the kind.

It would be a miracle if the Conservatives were not encouraged by this and other circumstances, to try to wheel backwards the popular cause on various points. Where they are begged to take one thing by what is called the liberal side,

*Elections carried by help of Bill to legalize Bribery. 93*

they may be begged to take another. We shall next have some "thorough Reformer" asking them to take back the Corn Laws, or something thereanent. The thing is not so far off as might be thought. I see a disputant at Leeds resuscitating in a pamphlet the doctrine that everybody ought to rob everybody, and so would be the way to create national wealth. A step towards this, was visible in some of the last proceedings of the defunct House, where it was passed almost without remark, that the elections were to represent "interests." Do our friends know what "interests" mean? They mean what Adam Smith said eighty years ago, could "seldom meet together, even for merriment or diversion, without the conversation ending in a conspiracy against the public." They mean the plan started at Leeds, for enabling everybody to have his chance to rob everybody, and nobody look out for the honest interest of all. And worse than this, they mean the interests of everybody except the class which is to have no interest, the negroes of the constitution, who are not to be heard nor their friends, or only through such process of kicking and degradation as may please their enemies. *Ad ogni uomo pizzeica questo barbaro dominio* ("everybody is stung by this barbarian rule") is the cry raised against the Austrians in Italy, and will be chorused by the trampled commons of England till they get redress. We want representation, not for "interests," but for flesh and blood; and representation too, which shall not be accompanied by dragging through the dirt such that flesh and blood can't bear it.

And now comes the most painful thing of all, which is the taking leave of you, after our long and sustained correspondence. All may not agree with us, but I feel a hope that when the mists of present passions shall be cleared away, there will be left some results by which the lot of the ill-used may be improved, and to which an honest member of the human family may look with approbation.

Yours sincerely,

T. PERRONET THOMPSON.

*Eliot Vale, Blackheath, 11 May, 1859.*

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*The following Letters to another friendly Journal are inserted as bearing on kindred subjects.*

#### THE WORKING CLASSES AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

*To the Editor of the Manchester Examiner and Times.*

SIR,—I understand the *filibuster* interest is in the most extraordinary state of exasperation, in consequence of the blow which has been struck at it by the Chinese vote in the House of Commons. Men are described as running about as if insane, exclaiming that there is no longer any protection for their trade, nor security for their transactions.

There will be a reaction, at least to some extent. In a case of this kind, feeble men, who perhaps talked one way while the question was in doubt, think they look wise by talking the other when it is settled.

This position of things calls for foresight. It was gained by the union of men of very different parties and general opinions, acting on the principle which induces the troops of hostile armies to co-operate in removing a source of pestilence to all. Such troops should behave civilly to one another while they are together, and part good-humouredly afterwards, each carrying away his share of the common good. But they *will* part; and each division has a right to make the most of its situation.

It is clear the liberals whom you represent, must go forward if they do not mean to go backward. There is no keeping a needle standing on its point. The opportunity is favourable. Nobody can blame us, and we will blame nobody for doing the like.

There are large masses, of different degrees of effective and numerical strength, waiting to be shown a rallying-point. One, is a rather remarkable one. One that perhaps we should not have made ourselves, but it has been made for us; and it happens to be germane to the occasion.

The Working Classes, or some of them, have shown an unexpected desire for information on the conduct of foreign affairs. Some people have laughed, and some will cry before it is done with. The applicants for knowledge do not always spell in the most approved style. But they express the intention to know something about the things they pay for, in characters there is no mistaking. Whether their advisers hitherto have been of the best, may be an open question; but good ones ought to be found them somewhere. They stretch out

their hands to those they think they can trust; and, as you know by the great example of Free Trade, the multitude are always accessible to reason in the end.

I venture on the responsibility of suggesting that it should at least be matter of consideration, whether advantage ought not to be taken of the spirit existing, and a friendly hand be held out to these men, and to their leaders too, if it can be made consistent with reasonable probabilities.

It is scarcely necessary to dwell on the connection with the present conjuncture. There is a long standing conspiracy on foot, for carrying on wars for the profit of those who are to profit by them, and for the translation of a certain number of lieutenants to be captains, with higher prizes for those of higher standing. Every Governor-general who goes to India, knows that a peerage with appurtenances to match, is set before him as the reward for getting up a good sweeping war in the East. Even the petty huckster at the Cape counts the gains he is to make out of a jolly quarrel with the Caffres. But who is to pay? Some abroad, and some at home; of which last are *see*.

I omit the more obvious directions in which a power like that of which you are an organ, has the opportunity of acting. After satisfying all the claims of local merit, there ought to be a fund of parliamentary influence applicable to the general cause. Advise your leaders to use it; they have known how to use it before. Set about bringing the Working Classes into line. The inquisitive students pointed to, have one leader, not perhaps exactly what you would have made yourselves, any more than Napoleon would make two Vandammes. But he is there, and your opponents fear him. He is only half wrong; and to take him by the hand would quiet a multitude of hates. Expend a portion of the fund I mentioned, in bringing into play the half of him that is right.

Yours sincerely,

T.

London, 5 March, 1857.

(*Manchester Examiner and Times of 9 March, 1857.*)



#### CHINA.

*To the Editor of the Manchester Examiner and Times.*

As you have given insertion to my former letter, I hazard more remarks.

The first thing I would note is the absurdity, or more properly evasion and trick, of professing to send an official to conclude a peace in China, who is to act in concert with the fabricators of the present mischief, and take from them their opinions and statements. The

consequence will necessarily be, that they will either be his masters or his enemies. It is inconceivable that any man with a sense of personal dignity, still less a statesman of name and rank, will stoop to such an office.

Put the supposition that a Manchester house had received information from their agents abroad that their affairs were at a total stand, through a proceeding on grounds which the same agents state they knew to be false. And imagine that a majority of the partners in council assembled, had determined that the blame was with the agents. Fancy then a notable coming forward and saying, "We will send out a clerk, Mr. A., who shall have instructions to advise with Mr. B. and Mr. C.,—take their representations and start the whole train on the same rail,—and so, gentlemen, shall the house's interest be secure."

I ask if any house in Manchester would be satisfied with such an arrangement, or would not declare the plan to be a fraud, and the proposer to be setting at defiance the authority of the partners, and laughing in his sleeve at their presumed imbecility?

In a case of this kind, *qui vult decipi decipiat*, let the man who is anxious for it, be cheated. But it would be kind in him to say so.

Excuse me for taking things disorderly. But time presses, and the filibusters are going about like roaring lions. As one who has in his life-time been behind the scenes, I would implore my countrymen to bear in mind the atmosphere of hate and prejudice through which representations from abroad for the most part reach them. In all colonial establishments and foreign settlements, there is a large portion of European residents, often approaching and sometimes exceeding a majority, in whom the feelings towards everything that bears the character of native or non-European, is to be described by no trope or figure but that of a ferret in a rabbit-warren. It is the curse and plague of everybody who frames a thought of promoting the public good by honest means. It is the self-same spirit as disgraces America, and furnishes the world a by-word. It is the cold, habitual, constitutional belief, that every man who is stronger has a right to take from every man who is weaker; and that this is God's law, written sometimes on men's countenances, and sometimes only on their misfortunes. The world will have enough of this before it is done. It is the incarnation of the Evil One, on which the present times have fallen. Meantime the question is, whether we and ours are to bow before it, or to resist it, careless of who stands or who falls, as our fathers in their day did, in cases we could lay our hands upon.

And so Liverpool rises against us! It is not so many years since Liverpool tried to push Clarkson into the Mersey. May we be excused for doubting whether Liverpool ought yet to be out of quarantine? At all events, thank Liverpool for the parallel.

One irregular observation more. It is thrown in our faces that our



majority was composed of men of different opinions on other subjects. Is not this like a convict complaining that a Presbyterian, a Catholic, and a Methodist were on his jury?

Contrast the statesmanlike, humane, and honourable instructions of Lord Malmesbury, with all that has happened since. If there is a heaven for politicals, you and I, Sir, will ask for a corner of the Tory bench.

Yours sincerely,

T.

*London, 9 March, 1857.*

*(Manchester Examiner and Times of 11 March, 1857.)*

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REACTION AND REFORM.

*To the Editor of the Manchester Examiner and Times.*

OLD acquaintance, and the recollection of stirring times when we were all younger but not more wide awake than now, make me desirous to have a few words along with what I believe enemies know by the title of the Manchester School.

Waive we the question of the merits of the Crimean war. All wars are evils; and one evil of that war was, that it left behind it an insatiable appetite for more excitement; a hunger for news of killed and wounded, along with shrimps, at breakfast; and an irrepressible propensity to explode, on any application of the match, in favour of strutting in cocks' feathers, and thrusting barbarian beards into the faces of the public.

And now to see the consequences on the first application of the match by men in office when they have an object to pursue. What that object is, has been told us by a poet of their own. "Let your Reforms for a moment go." It is the ancient recipe of going to war to hinder domestic reforms. The thing in view, is to have over again the glories of from 1792 to 1815. The design is to have an immortal struggle with the revolutionary tendencies which disturb mankind. And the mode of proceeding is by organizing a treacherous arming in rear of the French movement. It was not coming our way, it was going the other. If England had been situate near Shakspeare's coast of Bohemia, there might have been room for speculation. But as it is, ask "Wicquefort, and Puffendorf, and Grotius," if there can be anything more distinctly of the nature of a treacherous attack, short of an actual assault upon the French sea-board. It is quite distinct from prudent preparations in arsenals and depôts, which every government has a right to make and no questions asked. The sting is in the ostentatious call to arms,—the announcement by the government that the country is in danger. "The wicked flee when

none pursueth." Or an equally probable explanation may be, that there was a desire to excite the cry of *La perfide Albion* in France, for the sake of ensuring the certainty of a contest. Ought not such a government to have its *Descendas*?

And the means taken at home are as extraordinary as the rest. A British government has avowedly the power of dissolving parliament; and so has an individual of lying down to sleep, but he is responsible for not doing it in front of a railway train. Was it ever heard or thought of, that a government would dissolve parliament on the day when war was expected to commence, and the *coup d'état* be explained by preventing parliamentary opposition till the intended mischief was accomplished? Think what dangerous questions, what hard sayings, there might have been, and reflect how important it was to silence parliament altogether, as long as was practicable, and to get rid as far as possible of those who might have been troublesome afterwards.

Is there anybody who does not know that war is a dice-board, and that a war wantonly and dishonourably begun, may be punished at Charing Cross? If it comes to that, prayers in the churches will not save you; and as an American statesman said on another subject, there will be no attribute in the Supreme to which you can look for assistance. It is likely enough it will not be hindered; the opponents are too strong, and the madness is in too many hearts. But there is a comfort in knowing the house is to be set on fire, if it is only that we may do what we can by taking things away. There are no young men now-a-days; they are only whisker and puff. The more reason why the old should put their shoulders to the wheel.

Blackheath, 3 June, 1859.

T. P. T.



IF IT WERE DONE, 'TWERE WELL IT WERE DONE QUICKLY.

*To the Editor of the Manchester Examiner and Times.*

SUBSEQUENT events, vigorously commented upon in your pages, make me desirous of extending the suggestions you were so good as to admit into your paper.

Some men have the luck of being disabled on a fighting day. In such case they can do no more than pray their ancient comrades to remember past successes, to stick to the disciplines of the wars, keep the squadron well together, drop disputes about who shall lead, recognize a leader and follow him as they ought to do, and do something to redeem the cause from the disgrace that is like to fall upon it.

The Germans, through the *Augsburg Gazette*, are bawling for a march on Paris, and the English government is doing all it can to help them. There is no doubt about what is to be done. "Paris

*If it were done, 'twere well it were done quickly.* 99

must capitulate," and then "all the small revolutionary States will bend their heads, and a healthy air again blow over Europe." It is the Holy Alliance and no mistake. France is placed under the necessity of taking the same course as in 1792 and following years, with probably the same success, and the chance of avoiding the misdoings which led to subsequent defeat. The Germans had better bethink themselves of the Brunswick proclamation, and how it was paid off at Berlin and Vienna. The *Augsburg Gazette* is playing Brunswick now, and in all this the clearest of clear things is that England is to have her share. In the rude terms of the vernacular, "You are in for a jolly war" of five-and-twenty years, unless something is "speedily done, and soon." There is only one thing worth doing, or that has any chance of meeting the evil. When simpletons congregate, wise men must agree. There must be a meeting like that on the banks of the Carron, between Liberal leaders. It may not be the strongest of alliances, but any port in a storm. There must be an end of nice fence, as to how far this leader will fulfil all that a man can dream of after supper, or how far this other has been courteous to all his following. The lesser reason must give way to the greater. In a shifting gale the seaman will do many things, which are the last he would have done an hour before. There are many amiable individuals on the other side, who might have held their ground if they would. But hearts must be hardened, like the nether millstone, to their virtues. The question is, whether the war against the freedom and independence of nations is to be fought over again, with every chance of being on the beaten side? The symptoms are upon us already, beginning, as it were, in the middle. We are in the delights of volunteering, when we are only looking about for a war. If quick conveyance is not made with the pro-German Administration in the first days of parliament, the arts of peace had best quietly shut up shop for the next quarter of a century as before. The lads, would like it.

Yours &c.,

*Blackheath, 6 June, 1859.*

T. P. T.

## NOTES.

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LETTER

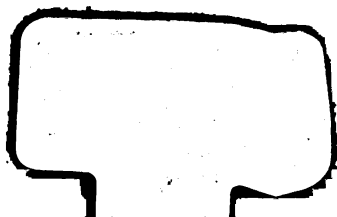
LXXXVI. \* Sir Robert Harry Inglis, Bart., M.P.; of what are called high Conservative principles in Church and State, but an Abolitionist of the *vieille roche*.

VOL. I., LETTER XXXVII. To the description of roasting the wounded alive at Cawnpore, add extract from an eye-witness of the roasting alive of a prisoner by the Sikhs and English at Kotah (*Spectator* of 13 August, 1859, page 838, col. 2).

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