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## THE CROWN OF WILD OLIVE.

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## CROWN OF WILD OLIVE

FOUR LECTURES
ON

## INDUSTRY AND WAR

BY
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"And indeed it should have been of gold, had not Jupiter been so poor."-Aristophanes (Plutus)

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## THE CROWN OF WILD OLIVE.

## INTRODUCTION.*

1. Twenty years ago, there was no lovelier piece of lowland scenery in South England, nor any more pathetic, in the world, by its expression of sweet human character and life, than that immediately bordering on the sources of the Wandel, and including the low moors of Addington, and the villages of Beddington and Carshalton, with all their pools and streams. No clearer or diviner waters ever sang with

* Called the 'Rreface' in former editions; it is one of my bad habits to put half my books into preface. Of this one, the only prefatory thing I have to say is that most of the contents are stated more fully in my other volumes; but here, are pat in what, at least, I meant to be a more popular form, all but this introduction, which was written very cara fully to be read, not spoken, and the last lecture on the Future of England, with. Which, and the following poter on it, I have taken extreme pains.
constant lips of the hand which 'giveth rain from heaven;' no pastures ever lightened in spring-time with more passionate blossoming; no sweeter homes ever hallowed the heart of the passer-by with their pride of peaceful glad-nes's,-fain-hitdeen-yet 'full-confessed. :The place remains ( 1870 ) nearly unchanged in its larger features; but with deliberate mind I say, that I have never seen dinything so ghastly in its inner tragic meaning, not in . Pisan Marempa,-not by Campagna tomb, root by the sand-isles of the Torcellan shore,-as the slow stealing of aspects of reckless indolent, animal neglect, over the delicate sweetness of that English sqene $i$ nor is any, blasphemy or impiety, any frantic saying, or godless thought, more appalling to me, using the best power of judgment I haye to discern its sense and scope, than the insolent defiling of those springs by the human herds that 'drink of them. Just where the welling of stainless water, trembling and pure, like a bady: of light, enters the pool of Carshalton; cuttingi itself a radiant channel down to the gravel, through warp of feathery weeds, all. waving, which it traverges with its deep threads of clearness, like the chaicedony
in mosagate, starned here and thare with the white gronouilletter; just !in: the very rush and murmur of the figet! apreading ccurrenta, the haman wretches of: the plafe. cast their streat and hous foulnesa:; heapst dust and slime; and brokea shreds of old metal, and tags of putrid clothea ; which having , peither; energy to camt away; nor decency: eneugh to dig into the ground, they thus shed into the stream, to diffuas what wenom of it will foat and melt, far away, in, all places whers Godi magnt those watens to bring joy and health, And, in a littie pool behing: eome houses farthor in the village, where-another spring rises, the shattered stones of the well, and of the littlif fretted channel which was long aga: builit and traced for it by gentler hands, lie scatteredj; each from each, under a nagged bank of mortar, and scoria, and bricklayet's refuse, on one side, which the clean water nevertheloss chastises to purity; but it cannot conquer the dead earth beyond: and there, circled and coiled under festering scupa, the stagnanti:edge: of the pool effaces itself into $a$ slope of black slime, the accumulation of indolent years. Halfia-dozen men, with one day!'s work. cpuld cleanse those pools;
and trim the flowers about their banks, and make every breath of summer air above them rich with cool balm ; and every glittering wave medicinal, as if it ran, troubled only of angels, from the porch of Bethesda. But that day's work is never given, nor, I suppose, will be; nor will any joy be possible to heart of man, for evermore, about those wells of English waters.

2. When I last left them, I walked up slowly through the back streets of Croydon, from the old church to the hospital ; and, just on the left, before coming up to the crossing of the High Street, there was a new public-house built. And the front of it was built in so wise manner, that a recess of two feet was left below its front windows, between them and the street-pavement ; a recess too narrow for any possible use, (for even if it had been occupied by a seat, as in old time it might have been, everybody walking along the street would have fallen over the legs of the reposing wayfarer). But, by way of making this two feet depth of freehold land more expressive of the dignity of an establishment for the sale of spirituous liquors, it was fenced from the pavement by
an imposing iron railing, having four or five spear-heads to the yand of it, and six feet high; containing as much iron and iron-work, indeed, as could well be put into the space; and by this stately arrangement, the little piece of dead ground within, between wall and street, became a protective receptacle of refuse; cigar ends, and oyster shells, and the like, such as an open-handed English street-populace habitually scatters; , and was thus left, unsweepable by any ordinary methods. Now the iron bars which, uselessly (or in great degree worse than uselessly) enclosed this bit of ground, and made it pestilent, represented a quantity of work which would have cleansed the Carshalton pools three times over: of work, partly cramped and perilous, in the mine; partly grievous and horrible, at the furnace : partly foolish and sedentary, of ill-taught students making bad designs : work from the beginning to the last fruits of it, and in all the branches of it, venomous, deathful," and miserable.
[^0]- 3. Now, how idid it come to pass that this work was diont insterd of the other; that the strength and tife of ohe: Eniglish operative were spent in defiliag ground, ingtead of redecoming it, and in pooducing an entirely (in thet place) valueless, piefe of metals; which cam neither:be eaten nor breathed; ingtead of: mecticimall fresh air and pure wateri?

4. There is'-but one reason for it, and at present a condlusive ione,-nthat the capitalist can charge perworntage on the work ins the one case, and cannot in the other. If, having bertain funds for suppenting labour at tay ties posal, I pay men merely to leeep my ground in order, iny mowey: is, inc. that functiont, spent once for all; but if I paysthem to dig ixon out of: my ground, and work: it, and sell its, I can tron, and an equal amront of clinders, and ought to Have been num out at $7.30 \cdot \mathrm{PiM}$. But Spape and his Imates, engaged in talking and drinking, :neglected their duty, and, in the meantime, the iron rose in the furnace until it reached a pipe whercin water was lastained. Just as the 'men had stripped, and wete, iphoceecting to: tap the farnece, the waper in the pipe, converted into steam, burst down its front and let loose on them: the modten metal, wheli instantateously consumed Gartmer: Snape, terribly buirnt, and mad with prin, leaped into the canat andithen ran home andel fedl dead on the threshold ; $\$$ wiftsurvived to teach the hospitali; where the ditid too.' •
chatine rent Por the ground; and perwecutage
 make thy reipital profitadie. inn ithese theree byo Waybry The' greater jparti:of the's profitatide investment of capital, in the present day, is in aperastons of what thind, tir which the public is persurded to buy sormething of wo vete to it, on proctuetion of sale of which the capiealist may: ehargel, permernagel the.shid public res wasting afr the' whille undet the perisuasion that the iperncertages', thas obouinod are rean
 filchingis cout' offlight: pookets, to swell theary nes.
5. Thus, the Croydoin publican tbuys the iron railing, to make himself more conspicuous to druaksards. . TThe "publioibouselseeper on the other side of theisway presently truys ambther railing to io int-raik, him withs, Both .are, as to their. redative attractivefrets, just. where'-they were before; but they have bioth lost the price of the raidinge $g$ ' 中hich they; must either themselves. fimally. base', br 'riake :their aforessaid custopers,' the inmateund: ol (Irailings, pay ${ }_{2}$ by raising the ptice of their beer, or adtulterating it.' Either the puhlicdnsj or thair castomerts,
are thus poorer. by preaisely what the capitalist has gained; and the value:of the industry itself; meantime, has been lost to the nation ; the iron bars; in: that form and place, being wholly useless.
6. It is this mode of taxation of the poor by the rich which is referred to in the text (\$ 34), in comparing the modern acquisitive power of capital with that of the lance, and sword; the only difference being that the levy of black mail in old times was by force, apdis. now by cozening. The old rider : and reiver frankly quartered himself on the publican for the night;-the modern one merely makes his lance into an iron spike, and persuades his host to buy it. One comes as an open robber, the other as a cheating pedlar ; but.the result, to the injured person's pocket; is absolutely the same. Of course many useful industries mingle with, and disguise the useless ones; and in the habits of energy aroused by the struggle, there is a certain direct good. It is better to spend four thousand pounds in making. a gun, and then to blow it to pieces, than to pass life in idfeness. Only do not let the proceeding be called 'political economy.'
7. There is also a confused notion in the minds of many persons, that:the gathering of the property of the poor into the hands of the rich does no ultimate harm ; since, in whosesoever hands it may be, it must be spent at last; and thus, they think, return to the poor again. This fallacy has been again and again exposed; but granting the plea true, the same apology may, of course, be made for black mairi, or any other form of robbery. It. might be (though :practically it never is) as advantageous for the nation that the robber should have the spending of the money he extorts, as that the person robbed should have spent it. But this is no excuse for the theft. If I were to put.a turnpike on the road where it passes my own gate, and. endeavour to exact a shilling from every passenger, the public would sooin do away with my gate, without listening to any plea on my part that 'it was as actvantageous to them, in the end, that I should spend their shillings, as that they themselves should.' But if, instead of out-facing them with a turnpike, I can only persuade them to come in and buy stones, or old iron, or any such useless thing, out of my ground, I may
rob them to the same extent, and be, mbleover, thambed as a public bencfactor, and promotor of commerdial prosperity. . And. this mam question for the poor of England for the poor of all countries-is wholly omitted in 'every common treatise : on' the, subject., of wealth Even by the labourers. themelves, ofle operation of capital is nogarded; only in its effect on their cimndediate, interests; sewer in the far more.tervific podrer: of its appointtment of the kind and the objeot of labour. It imatters fittle, ultimartely, howimuseh a labourer is paid for making anything; but it matters ifearfully what the thing is, whions be is compelted to make. If his libour is so ordered as to produce food, and fresh air. and fresh :water, mo matter that his wages are.low;-the foad and fresh air and:water will be at-last there; and se will. at last get them. But if he is paid to utestroy food, and fresh air, or to produce iron bars instead of them, the food and air will finally not be thare, and .he will not get'them, to his great and final inconvenience.
8. I.have been long accustomed; as all men engaged in work of.investigation must be, to -hear my.. statements laughed .at for years,

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time, and in different places, were not prepared without reference to each other. Their connection would, however, have been made far more distinct, if I had not been prevented, by what I feel to be another great difficulty in addressing English audiences, from enforcing, with any decision, the common; and to me the most important; part' of their subjects. I chiefly desired to question my hearersoperatives, merchants, and soldiers,-as to the ultimate meaning of the business they had in hand; and to know from them what they expected or intended their manufacture to come to, their selling to come to, and their killing to come to. That appeared the first point needing determination before I could speak to them with any. real utility or effect. 'You craftsmen-salesmen-swordsmen,-do but tell me cleearly what you want; then, if I can say anything to help you, I wrill; and if not, I will account to you as I best may for my inability.'
10. But in order to put this question into any terms, one had first of all to face a difficulty-to me for the present insuperable, -the difficulty of knowing whether to address
one's audience, as believing, or not believing, in any other work .than this. For if you address any average modern English company as believing: in an Etermal life; and then endeavour to draw. any conclusions from this assumed :belief, as, to their present busineas, they will forthwith tell you that 'what you say is very bomutiful, but. it is not. practical? If, on the contrary, you frankly address them as wobelievers in Eternal life, and try to draw any consequences from that unbelief,-they immediately hold :you, for an accursed person, and shake off the dust from their feet at you.
11. And the more I thought over what I had got to say, the less. I found I could say it, without some referenct to this intangible or intractable question: It made all the difference, in asserting :any principle of war, whether one assumed that a discharge of artillery would merely knead down a. certain quantity of once.living clay into a level line, as in a brick-field; or whether, out of every separately Christian-named; portion of the ruinous heap, there went out, into the smoke and dead-fallen air of battle, some astonished
 made ' all the :difference, in : speaking iof the possible zange' of commerce, whother : ohe assumed that all bargaing: related ondy to visible property-or whethe "ppoperty', for the present invisible, buti: nevertheless 'realj, was elsewhere purchasable on ifother itebints. : It made: ald the: diffevience, in addressing a body of men suibject to considerable 'hardshipi' and hraving to':find, some' way out of 'it whethem one could 'confidently ', say ' 1 'them; ' My friends - you have only to diej and alliwill ibe tight ;' or whether ote "hadil any' sedret mise giving that such advice was more blessed ta. him that gave than oo him that took it::
$\therefore$ 12. And therefore the defiberoter reader wisi find, throughout these lectures, a hesitation in driving points, home; and a pausing short of conclusions' which he will $;$, feel .I would fain have come to ;-hesitation which areses wholly from this uncertainty of my hearers tomper. For I da not speak, hor have'I ever spoken, since the time of iffrist forward 'youth, in any. proselytizing temper; as desitting'" to persuader any one to believe anything; but whomsoover I. venture to addresis, I' take for the-time, his:
 into such . vital: fruit get it scems gapable of Thus, it is a areod with ; $\mathrm{h}_{\mathrm{i}}$, creeqt pert of the. existing, Engtish peopley that they, are in popen session of a beoki, wich': tells : 妇em, atrajght fuom the diperaf God; all thy pughtrow, and need to know is I have, jeach that be日t, with as much cane ass most of them; for ome farty: years ; and an thankful yhat, on thrse, who
 vour has beom uniformly ta make them trust it mowe deoply than thequ da; trupt it. nok in their own favourite verses onlys "but, in the sum of all; ; trusk in, hot as;a fetiph or talisn man, which 'they 35A.: to be .savedt. by daily Fepetitions of; but 25. a Captain's order to be heandrand obeyjed at thair. perik, I was always encouraged by supposing. my harers to hold such belief. To these, if to any, I once had hope of addressings with: acceptance, words which insisted on the guilt of pride, and the futility of avarize; from these, if from any, I once expected ratificatiopa af a political economy, whictrasserted that the life was more than the meat, and the body than raiment, and these, it onoe 'seemed to me, I might astr, without
being accused of fanaticism, not merely in doctrine of the lips, but in the bestowal of their heart's treasure, to separate themselves from the crowd of whom it is written, 'After all these things do the Gentiles seek.'
13. It cannot, however, be assumed, with any semblance of reason, that a general audience is now wholly, or even in majority, composed of these religious persons. A large portion must always consist of men who admit no such creed ; or who, at least, are inaccessible to appeals founded on it. And-as, with the so-called' Christian, I desired to plead for honest declaration and fulfilment of his belief in life, -with the so-called Infidel, I desired to plead for an honest declaration and fulfilment of his belief in death. The dilemma is inevitable. Men must either hereafter live, or hereafter die; fate may be bravely met, and conduct wisely ordered, on either expectation; but never in hesitation between ungrasped hope, and unconfronted fear. We usually believe in immortality, so far as to avoid preparation for death; and in mortality, so far as to avoid preparation for anything after death. Whereas, a wise man will at least
hold himself ready for one or other of two events, of which one or other is inevitable; and will have all things ended in arder, for his sleep, or left in order, for his awakening.
14. Nor have we any right to call it an ignoble judgment, if he determine to end them in order, as for sleep. A brave belief in life is indeed an enviable state of mind, but as far as I can discern, an unusual one: I know few Christians so convinced of the splendour of the rooms in their Father's house, as to be happier when their friends are called to those mansions, than they would have been if the Queen had sent for them to live at Court: nor has the Church's most ardent 'desire to depart, and be with Christ,' ever cured it of the singular habit of putting on mourning for every person summoned to such departure. On the contrary, a brave belief in death has been assuredly held by many not ignoble persons; and it is a sign of the last depravity in the Church itself, when it assumes that such a belief is inconsistent with either purity of character, or energy of hand. The shortness of life is not, to any rational person, a conclusive reason for wasting the space of it which may
be granted him; nor does the anticipation of death, to-morrow, suggest, to anyone but a drunkard, the expediency of drunkenness today. To teach that there is no device in the grave, may indeed make the deviceless person more contented in his dulness: but it will make the deviser only more earnest in devising: nor is human conduct likely, in every case; to be parer, under the conviction that all its evil may in a moment be pardoned, and all its wrong-doing in a moment redeemed; and that the sigh of repentance, which purges the guilt of the past, will waft the soul into a felicity which forgets its pain,--than it may be under the sterner, and to many not unwise minds, more probable, apprehension, that 'what a man soweth that shall he also reap'-or others reap, -when he, the living seed of pestilence, walketh na.more in darkness, but lies down therein.
15. But to men for whom feebleness of sight, or bitterness of soul, or the offence given by the conduct of those who claim higher hope, may have rendered this painful creed the only possible one, there is an appeal to be made, more secure than any which can be addressed to happier persons. Might not a preacher, in

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therefore no such excuse. This fate, which you ordain for the wretched, you believe to be all their inheritance; you may crush them, before the moth, and they will never rise to rebuke you ;-their breath, which fails for lack of food, once expiring, will never be recalled to whisper against you a word of accusing;-they and you, as you think, shall lie down together in the dust, and the worms cover you; and for them there shall be no consolation, and on you no vengeance, - only the question murmured above your grave : 'Who shall repay him what he hath done?' Is it therefore easier for you, in your heart, to inflict the sorrow for which there is no remedy? Will you take, wantonly, this little all of his life from your poor brother, and make his brief hours long to him with pain? Will you be more prompt to the injustice which can never be redressed; and more niggardly of the mercy which you can bestow but once, and which, refusing, you refuse for ever?
16. I think better of you, even of the most selfish, than that you would act thus, well understanding your act. And for yourselves, it seems to me, the question becomes not less
grave when brought into these curt limits. If your life were but a fever fit,-the madness of a night, whose follies were all to be forgotten in the dawn, it might matter little how you fretted away the sickly hours,-what toys you snatched at or let fall,-what visions you followed, wistfully, with the deceived eyes of sleepless phrenzy. Is the earth only an hospital? are health and heaven to come? Then play, if you care to play; on the floor of the hospital dens. Knit its straw into what crowns please you ; gather the dust of it for treasure, and die rich in that, though clutching at the black motes in the air with your dying hands; —and yet, it may be well with you. But if this life be no dream, and the world no hospital, but your palace-inheritance;-if all the peace and power and joy you can ever win, must be won now, and all fruit of victory gathered here, or never ;-will you still, throughout the puny totality of your life, weary yourselves in the fire for vanity? If there is no rest which remaineth for you, is there none you might presently take? was this grass of the earth made green for your shroud only, not for your bed? and can you never lie down upon it,
but only uonder it? The heathen, in their saddest hours, thought not so. They knew that life brought its contest, but they expected from it also the crown of all contest : No proud one! no jewelled circlet flaming through Heaven above the height of the, unmerited throne; only some few leaves of wild olive, cool to the tired brow, through a few years of peace. It should have been of gold, they thought ; but Jupiter was poor ; this was the best the god could give them. Seeking a better than this, they had known it a mockery. Not in war, not in wealth, not in tyranny, was there any happiness to be found for them-only in kindly peace, fruitful and free. The wreath .was to be of wild olive, mark you :-the tree that grows carelessly, tufting the rocks with no vivid bloom, no verdure of branch; only with soft snow of blossom, and scarcely fulfilled frait, mixed with grey leaf and thorn-set stem; no fastening of diadem for you but with such sharp embroidery 1 . But this, such as it is, you may win, while yet you live; type of grey honour, and sweet rest.* Free-heartedness, and graciousness, and undisturbed trust,

[^1]and requited love, and the sight of the peace of others, and the ministry to their pain ; these, -and the blue sky above you, and the sweet waters and flowers of the earth beneath ; and mysteries and presences, innumerable, of living things,-may yet be here your riches; untormenting and divine: serviceable for the life that now is; nor, it may be, without promise of that which is to come.

## LECTURE 1.

work.
Delivered before the Working Mon's Inutitute, at Camberwalk.
17. My Friends,-I have not come among you to-night to endeavour to give you an entertaining lecture; but to tell you a few plain facts, and ask you a few plain questions. I have seen and known too much of the struggle for life among our labouring population, to feel at ease, under any circumstances, in inviting them to dwell on the trivialities of my own studies; but, much more, as I meet to-night, for the first time, the members of a working Institute established in the district in which I have passed the greater part of my life, I am desirous that we should at once understand each other, on graver matters. I would fain tell you, with what feelings, and with what hope, I regard this Institute, as one of many such, now happily established
throughout England, as well as in other countries ; and preparing the way for a great change in all the circumstances of industrial life; but of which the success must wholly depend upon our clearly understanding the conditions, and above all, the necessary limits of this change. No teacher can truly promote the cause of education, until he knows the mode of life for which that education is to prepare his pupil. And the fact that he is called upon to address you, nominally, as a 'Working Class,' must compel him, if he is in any wise earnest or thoughtful, to enquire in the outset, on what you yourselves suppose this classdistinction has been founded in the past, and must be founded in the future. The manner of the amusement, and the matter of the teaching, which any of us can offer you, must depend wholly on our first understanding from you, whether you think the distinction heretofore drawn between working men and others, is truly or falsely founded. Do you accept it as it stands? do you wish it to be modified? or do you think the object of education is to efface it, and enable us to forget it for ever ?
18. Let me make myself more distinctly
understood. We call this-you and I-a 'Working Men's' Institute, and our college in London, a 'Working Men's' College. Now, how do you consider that these several institutes differ, or ought to differ, from 'idle men's' institutes, and 'idle men's' colleges? Or by what other word than 'idle' shall I distinguish those whom the happiest and wisest of working men do not object to call the 'Upper Classes'? Are there necessarily upper classes? necessarily lower? How much should those always be elevated, how mach these always depressed? And I pray those among my audience who chance to occupy, at present, the higher position, to forgive me what offence there may be in what I am going: to say. It is not $I$ who wish to say it. Bitter voices say it; voices of battle and of famine through all the world, which must be heard some day, whoever keeps silence. Neither, as you well know, is it to you specially that I say it. I am sure that most now present know their duties of kindness, and fulfil them, better perhaps than I do mine. But I speak to you as representing your whole class, which errs, I know, chiefly by thoughtlessness, but not therefore the less

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poor, and busy rich. Many a beggar is as lazy as if be had ten thousand a year; and many a man of large fortune is busier than his errand-boy, and never would think of stopping in the street to play marbles. So that, in a large view, the distinction between workers and idlers, as between knaves and honest men, runs through the very heart and innermost nature of men of all ranks and in all positions. There is a working class-strong and happy, -among both rich and poor; there is an idle class-weak, wicked, and miserable,-among both rich and poor. And the worst of the misunderstandings arising between the two orders come of the unlucky fact that the wise of one class [how little wise in this 1] habitually contemplate the foolish of the other. If the busy rich people watched and rebuked the idle rich people, all would be right among them: and if the busy poor people watched and rebuked the idle poor people, all would be right among them. But each look for the faults of the other. A hardworking man of property is particularly offended by an idle beggar; and an orderly, but poor, workman is naturally intolerant of the licentious luxury
of the rich. And what is severe judgment in the minds of the just men of either class, becomes fierce enmity in the unjust-but among the unjust only. None but the dissolute among the poor look upon the rich as their natural enemies, or desire to pillage their houses and divide their property. None but the dissolute among the rich speak in opprobrious terms of the vices and follies of the poor.
21. There is, then, no worldly distinction between idle and industrious people; and I am going to-night to speak only of the industrious. The idle people we will put out of our thoughts at once-they are mere nuisances-what ought to be done with them, we'll talk of at another time. But there are class distinctions among the industrious themselves;-tremendous distinctions, which rise and fall to every degree in the infinite thermometer of human pain and of human power,-distinctions of high and low, of lost and won, to the whole reach of man's soul and body.
22. These separations we will study, and the laws of them, among energetic men only, who, whether they work or whether they play, put
their strength into the work, and their strength into the game ; being in the full sense of the word 'industrious,' one way or another,-wwith purpose, or without. And these distinctions are mainly four:
I. Between those' who work; and those who play.
II. Between those who produce the means of life, and those who consurne them.
III. Between those who work with the head, and those who work with the hand.
IV. Between those who work wisely, and those who work foolishly.

For easier memory; let us say we are gcing to oppose, in our examination;-
I. Work to play ;
II. Production to consumption; -
III. Head to hand; and,

IV: Sense to nonsense.
23. I. First, then, of the distinction between the classes who work and the elasses who play: Of course we must' agree upon' a definition of these terms,-work and play; before gaing farther. . Now; roughly, not with vain subtlety of definition, but for plain use of the wards, - 'play.' is an exertion of body: or minh, made to
please ourselves, and with no determined end; and work is a thing done because it ought to be done, and with a determined end: You play, as you call it, at cricket, for instance. That is as hard work as anything else; but it amuses you, and it has no result but the amusement. If it were done as an ordered form of exercise, for health's sake, it would become work directly. So, in like manner, whatever we do to please ourselves, and only for the sake of the pleasure, not for an ultimate object, is ' play,' the 'pleasing thing,' not the useful thing. Play may be useful, in a secondary sense; (nothing is indeed more useful or necessary) ; but the use of it depends on its being spontaneous.
24. Let us, then, enquire together what sort of games the playing class in England spend their lives in playing at.

The first of all English games is making money. That is an all-absorbing game; and we knock each other down oftener in playing at that; than at football; or an'y other roughest sport : and it is absolutely without purpose; no one who engages heartily in that game ever knows why. Ask a great money-maker what be wants to do with his money,-he never
knows. He doesn't make it to do anything with it. He gets it only that he may get it. 'What will you make of what you have got?' you ask. 'Well, I'll get more,' he says. Just as, at cricket, you get more runs. There's no use in the runs, but to get more of them than other people is the game. And there's no use in the money, but to have more of it than other people is the game. So all that great foul city of London there,-rattling, growling, smoking, stinking,-a ghastly heap of fermenting brickwork, pouring out poison at every pore,-you fancy it is a city of work? Not a street of it! It is a great city of play; very nasty play, and very hard play, but still play. It is only Lord's cricket-ground without the turf :-a huge billiard-table without the cloth, and with pockets as deep as the bottomless pit; but mainly a billiard-table, after all.
25. Well, the first great English game is this playing at counters. It differs from the rest in that it appears always to be producing money, while every other game is expensive. But it does not always produce money. There's a great difference between 'winning' money and 'making' it :-a great difference between getting

It out of another man's pocket into oars, or filling both.
26. Our nest great English games, however, hunting and shooting, are costly altogether; and how much:we are fined for them annually in land, horses, gamekeepers, and game laws, and the resultant demoralization of ourselves, our children, and our retainers, I will not endeavour to count now ; but note only that, except for exercise, this is not merely a useless game, but a deadly one, to all connected with it. For through horsc-racing, you get every form of what the higher classes everywhere call ' Play,' in distinction from all other plays; that is, gambling; and through game-preserving, you get also some curious laying out of ground: that beautiful arrangement of dwelling-house for man and beast, by which wee have grouse and blackoock-so many brace to the acre, and men and women-so many brace to the garret. I often wonder what the angelic builders and surveyors-the angetic builders who build the 'many mansions' up above there; and the angelic surveyors who measured that foursquare city with their measuring reeds-1 wonder what they think, or are supposed to
think, of the laying out of ground by this nation."
27. Then, next to the gentlemen's game of hunting, we must put the ladies' gatme of dressing. It is not the cheapest of games. And I wish I could tell. you what this 'play'. costs, altogether, 'in'England, France, and Russia annually. But it is'a: pretty game, and on certain terms I like it; nay, I don't see it played quite as much as I would fain have it. You ladies like to lead the fashion :-by all means lead it-lead it thoroughly-lead it far enough. Dress yourselves nicely, and dress everybody else nicely. Lead the fashions for the poor first; make them look well, and you yourselves will look, in ways of which you have now no conception, all the better. The fashions you have set for some time among your peasantry are not pretty ones; their doublets are too irregularly slashed, or as Chaucer calls it "all to-slittered," though not " for queintise," and the wind blows too frankly through them.

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you to consider ; they are all paid for in deadly work somewhere, as many of us know too well. The jewel-cutter, whose sight fails over the diamonds; the weaver, whose arm fails over the web; the iron-forger, whose breath fails before the furnace-they know what work isthey, who have' all the work, and none of the play, except a kind they have named for themselves down in the black north country, where 'play' means being laid up by sickness. It is a pretty example for philologists, of varying dialect, this change in the sense of the word as used in the black country of Birmingham, and the red and black country of Baden Baden. Yes, gentlemen, and gentlewomen, of England, who think 'one moment unamused a misery not made for feeble man,' this is what you have brought the word 'play' to mean, in the heart of merry England! You may have your fluting and piping; but there are sad children sitting in the market-place, who indeed cannot say to you, 'We have piped unto you, and ye have not danced:' but eternally shall say to you, ' We have mourned unto you, and ye have not lamented.'
29. This, then, is the first distinction between
the 'upper and lower' classes. And this is one'which is by no means necessary; which indeed must, in process of good time, be by all honest men's consent abolished. Men will be taught that an existence of play, sustained by the blood of other creatures, is a good existence for gnats and jelly-fish; but not for men : that neither days, nor lives, can be made holy or noble by doing nothing in them: that the best prayer at the beginning of a day is that we may not lose its moments; and the best grace before meat, the consciousness that we have justly earned our dinner. And when we have this much of plain Christianity preached to us again, and cease to translate the strict words, 'Son, go work to-day in my vineyard,' into the dainty ones, 'Baby, go play to-day in my vineyard,' we shall all be workers in one way or another ; and this much at least of the distinction between 'upper' and 'lower' forgatten.

3a. II. I pass then to our second distinction; between the rich and poor, between Dives and Lazarus,-distinction which exists more sternly, I suppose, in this day, than ever in the world, Pagan or Christian, till now. Consider, for instance, what the general tenor
of such a paper as the Morning. Post implies of delicate luzury among the rich; and then read this chance extract from it:-
' Yesterday . morning, at eight o'clock, a woman, passing a dung heap in the stone yard near the recently-erected alms-houses in Shadwell Gap, High Street, Shadwell, called the attention of a Thames police-constable to a man in a sitting position on the dung heap, and said she was afraid he was dead. Her fears proved to be true. The wretched creature appeared to have been dead several hours. He had perished of cold and wet, and the rain had been beating down on him all night. The deceased was a bone-picker. He was in the lowest stage of poverty, poorly clad, and halfstarved. The police had frequently driven him away from the stone yard, between sunset and sunrise, and told him to go home. He selected a most desolate spot for his wretched death. A penny and some bones were found in his pockets. The deceased was between fifty and sixty years of age. Inspector Roberts, of the $K$ division, has given : directions for inquiries to be made at the lodging-houses respecting the deceased, to ascertain his
identity if possible."-Marning Post; November 25, 1864.

Compare the statement of the finding bones in his poeket :with the following, from the Telegraph of January 16 of this year':-
'Again the dietary, scale for adult and juvenile paupers was drawn up by the most conspicuaus political economists in' England. It is low in quantity, but it is sufficient to support nature : yet, within ten years of the passing of the Poor Law Act, we heard of the Paupers in the Andover Union'gnawing the scraps of putrid flesh, and sucking the marrow from the bones of horses which they were employed to crush.'

You see my reason for thinking that our Lazarus of Christianity has some advantage over the Jewish one. Jewish Lazarus expected, or, at least, prayed, to be fed with crumbs from the rich man's table; but our Lazarus is fed with crumbs from the dog's table.
31. Now this distinction between rich and poor rests on two bases. Within its proper limits, on a basis which is lawful and everlastingly necessary; beyond them, on a.basis
unlawful, and everlastingly' corrupting the frame-work of society. The lawful basis ot wealth is, that a man who works should be paid the fair value of his work; and that if he does not choose to spend it to-day; he should have free leave to keep it, and spend it tomorrow, Thus, an industrious man working daily, and laying by daily, attains at last the possession of an accumulated sum of wealth, to which he has absolute' right. The idle person who will not work, and the wasteful person who lays nothing by, at the end of the same time will be doubly poor-poor in possession, and dissolute in moral habit ; and he will then naturally covet the money which the other has saved. And if he is then allowed to attack the other, and rob him of his wellcarned wealth, there is. no more any motive for saving, or any reward for good conduct; and all society is thereupon dissolved, or exists only in systems of rapine. Therefore the first necessity of social life is the clearness of national conscience in enforcing the law-that he should keep who has justiy earned.
32. That law, I say, is the proper basis of distinction between rich and poor. Bat there
is also a false basis of distinction; namely, the power held over those who are earning wealth by those who already possess it, and only use it to gain more. There will be always 2 number of men who.would fain;set thernselves to the accumulation of wealth as the sole object of their lives. Necessarily, that class of men is an uneducated class, inferior in intellect, and, more or less, cowardly, It is physically impossible for a well-educated, intellectual, or brave man to make money the chief object of: his thoughts; just as it is for him to make his dinner the principal object of them. All healthy people lilite their dinners, but their dinner. is not the main object of their lives. So all healthily-minded people like making money-ought to like it, and to enjoy the sensation of winning it: but the main object of their life is not money ; it is something better than money. A good soldier, for instance, mainly wishes to do his fighting well. He is glad of his pay-very properly so, and justly grumbles when you keep him ten years without it-still, his main notion of life is. to win battles, not to be paid for winning them. . So of clergymen. They like
pew-rents, :and baptismal fees, of course; but yet, if they are brave and well-educated, the pew-rent is not the sole object. of their lives, and the baptismal fee is not the sole purpose of the baptism; ; the clergyman's object is essentially to baptize and preach, not to be paid for preaching. So of doctors. They like fees no doubt,-ought to like them; yet if they are brave and well-educated, the entire qbject of their lives is not fees. . They, on the whole, desire to cure the sick ; and,-if they are good doctors, and the choice were fairly part to them -would rather cure their. patient, and lose their fee, than kill him, and get. it. And so with all other brave and rightly-trained men; their work is first, their •fee second-very important always, but still -second. But in every nation, 'as. I said, there are a vast class who are ill-educated, cowardly, and more or less stupid. And with these people, just as certainly the fee is first, and the work second, as with brave people the work is first, and the fee second. And this is no small distinction. It is between lifé and death in a man; between heaven and hell for him: You cannot serve two masters:-you must sérve one or otitier.

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money-lover, and, like all money-tovers, did not understand Christ;-conld not make out the worth of Him, or meaning of Him. He never thought He would be killed. He was horror-struck when he found that Christ would be killed; threw his money away instantly, and hanged himself. How many of our present money-seekers, think you, would have the grace to hang themselves, whoever was killed? But Judas was a common, selfish, muddle-headed, pilfering fellow; his hand always in the bag of the poor, not caring for them. Helpless to understand Christ, he yet believed in Him, much more than most of us do; had seen Him do miracles, thought He was quite strong enough to shift for Himself, and he, Judas, might as well make his own little bye-perquisites out of the affair. Christ would come out of it well enough, and he have his thirty pieces. Now, that is the money-seekers idea, all over the world. He doesn't hate Christ, but can't understand Him-doesn't care for Him-sees no good in that benevolent business ; makes his own little job out of it at all events, come what will. And thus, out of every mass of
men, you have a certain number of bagmenyour 'fee-first' men, whose main object is to make money. And they do make it-make it in all sorts of unfair ways, chiefly by the weight and force of money itself, or what is called the power of capital ; that is to say, the power which money, once obtained, has over the labour of the poor, so that the capitalist can take all its produce to himself, except thelabourer's food. That is the modern Judas's. way of 'carrying the bag,' and 'bearing what is put therein.'
34. Nay, but (it is asked) how is that anunfair advantage? Has not the man who hasworked for the money a right to use it as he best can? No, in this respect, money is now exactly what mountain promontories over public roads were in old times. The barons fought for them fairly :-the strongest and cunningest got them; then fortified them, and made every one who passed below pay toll. Well, capital now is exactly what crags were then. Men fight fairly (we will, at least, grant so much, though it is more than we ought) for their money; but, once having got it, the fortified mittionaire can make everybody who
passes below pay tol to his million, and build another tower of his money castle. And I can tell you, the poor vagrants by the roadside suffer now quite as much from the bag-baron, as ever they did from the crag-baron. Bags and crags have just the same result on rags. I have not time, however, to-night, to show you in how many ways the power of capital is unjust ; but remember this one great principle -you will find it unfailing-that whenever money is the principal object of life with either man or nation, it is both got ill, and spent ill ; and does harm both in the getting and spending ; but when it is not the principal object, it and all other things will be well got, and well spent. And here is the test, with every man, whether money is the principal object with him or not. If in mid-life he could pause and say, - Now I have enough to live upon, I'll live upon it ; and having well earned it, I will also well spend it, and go out of the world poor, as I came into it,' then money is not principal with him ; but if, having enough to live upon in the manner befitting his character and rank, he still wants to make more, and to die rich, then money is the principal object with him,
and it becomes a curse to himself, and generally to those who spend it after him. For you know it must be spent some day; the only question is whether the man who makes it shall spend it, or seme one else; and generally it is better for the maker to spend it, for he will know best its value and use. And if a man does not choose thus to spend his money, he must either hoard it or lend it, and the worst thing he can generally do is to lend it; for borrowers are nearly always ill-spenders, and it is with lent money that all evil is mainly done, and all unjust war protracted.
35. For observe what the real fact is, respecting loans to foreign military governments, and how strange it is. If your little boy came to you to ask for money to spend in squibs and crackers, you would think twice before you gave it him : and you would have some idea that it was wasted, when you saw it fly off in fireworks, even though he did no mischief with it. But the Russian children, and Austrian children, come to you, borrowing money, not to spend in innocent squibs, but in cartridges and bayonets to attack you in India with, and to
keep down all noble life in Italy with, and to murder Polish women and children with; and that you will give at once, because they pay you interest for it. Now, in order to pay you that interest, they must tax every working peasant in their dominions : and on that work you live. You therefore at once rob the Austrian peasant, assassinate or banish the Polish peasant, and you live on the prodace of the theft, and the bribe for the assassination! That is the broad fact-that is the practical meaning of your foreign loans, and of most large interest of money; and then you quarrel with Bishop Colenso, forsooth, as if he denied the Bible, and you believed it ! though every deliberate act of your lives is a new defiance of its primary orders.
36. III. I must pass, however, now to our third condition of separation, between the men who work with the hand, and those who work with the head.

And here we have at last an inevitable distinction. There must be work done by the arms, or none of us could live. There must be work done by the brains, or the life we get would not be worth having. And the same
mep cannot do both. There is rough work to be dose, and rough men must do it ; there is gentie work to be done, and gentlemen must do it ; and it is physically impossible that one class should do, at divide, the work of the other. And it is of no use to try to conceal this sorrowful fact by fine words, and to talt to the worknion 'eborat the homourablemess of mannat labour and the dignity of homanity: Rough work, honowable or not, takes the .life out of us ; and the man who has been beaving clay out of a ditch all day, or driving an express ovan igganst the:morth wind all night, or holding a collier's helm in a gale on a.lee shore, or whirlmg white-hot iron at a furnace mouth, is not the same mane at the end of his day, or right, as one who has been sitting in a quiet room, with everything comfortable about hint, reading books, or classing butterlies, or painting pictures." If it is any comfort to you to be told that the rough work is the more honourable of the two, I should be sorry to take that much of consolation from you; and in some sense I need not. The rough work is at all events real, honest, and, generally, though

[^3]not always, useful ; while the fine work is, a great deal of it, foolish and false, as well as fine, and therefore dishonourable; but when both kinds are equally well and worthily done the head's is the noble work, and the hand's the ignoble. Therefore, of all hand work whatsoever, necessary for the maintenance of life, those old words, ' In the sweat of thy face thou shalt eat bread,' indicate that the inherent nature of it is one of calamity ; and that the ground, cursed for our sake, casts also some shadow of degradation into our contest with its thorn and its thistle: so that all nations have held their days honourable, or 'holy,' and constituted them 'holydays,' or 'holidays,' by making them days of rest; and the promise, which, among all our distant hopes, seems to east the chief brightness over death, is that blessing of the dead who die in the Lord, that 'they rest from their labours, and their works do follow them.'
37. And thus the perpetual question and contest must arise, who is to do this rough work? and how is the worker of it to be comforted, redeemed, and rewarded ? and what kind of play should he have, and what rest, in

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endisted also for the labour that feeds.: let them be countect, trained, fed, dressed, praised for that. Teach the plough exercise as carefully as you do the sword exercise, and let the officers of troops of life be beld as much gentlemen as the officers of troops of death; and alt is done : but neithor this, nor any other right thing, can be accomplished-you can't even see your way to it-undess, first of all, both servand and master are resolved that, came what will of $i$, they will do each other justice.
39. People are perpetually squabbling aboat what will be best to do, or easiest to do, or adviseablest to do, or profitablest to do; but they never, so far as I hear them talk, ever ask what it is just to da And it is the law of heaven that you shall mot be able to jodge what is wise or easy, unless you are first resolved to judge what is just, and to do in. That is the one thing constantly reiterated by our Masterthe order of all others that is given oftenest'Do justice and judgment.' That's your Bible order ; that's the 'Service of God,'-not praying nou psalm-singing. You are todd, indeed, to sing psalms when you are merry, and to pray when you meed anything; and, by the
perversences of the evid Spirit in us, we get to think that proying and psalu-siaging are 'service.' If a child finds itself in want of anything, it runs in and asks its father for it-m loes it call that doing its father a service? If it begs for a toy or a piece of cake-does it call that serving its father ? That, with God, is prayer, and He likes to heat it: He likes you to ask Him for cake when you want it; but He doesin't call that 'serving Him,' Begging is not serving ; God likes mere beggars as little as you to-He likes honest servants,not beggars. So when a child loves its father very much, and is very happy, it'may sing little songs about him ; but it doean't call that serving its father; neither is singing songs about God, serving God. It is enjoying ourselves, if it's anything, most probably it is nothing; but if it's anything it is serving ourselves, not Grod. And yet we are impudent enough to call our beggiags and chamutings 'Divine service:' we-say, 'Diviae service will be " performed'* (that's our word-the form of it gone thsough) 'at so-and-so o'clock.' Alas; unless we perform Divine service in every willing act of life, we never perform it at adl. The one

Divine work-the one ordered sacrifice-is to do justice; and it is the last we are ever inclined to do. Anything rather than that! As much charity as you choose, but no justice. ' Nay,' you will say, 'charity is greater than justice.' Yes, it is greater ; it is the summit of justice-it is the temple of which justice is the foundation. But you can't have the top without the bottom; you cannot build upon charity. You must build upon justice, for this main reason, that you have not, at first, charity to build with. It is the last reward of good work. Do justice to your brother (you can do that whether you love him or not), and you will come to love him. But do injustice to him, because you don't love him ; and you will come to hate him.
40. It is all very fine to think you can build upon charity to begin with; but you will find all you have got to begin with begins at home, and is essentially love of yourself. You well-to-do people, for instance, 'who are here tonight, will go to 'Divine service' next Sunday, all nice and tidy; and your little children will have their tight little Sunday boots on, and lovely little Sunday feathers in their hats; and
you'll think, complacently and piously, how lovely they look going to church in their best ! So they do: and you love them heartily, and you like sticking feathers in their hats. That's all right: that is charity; but it is charity beginning at home. Then you will come to the poor little crossing-sweeper, got up alsoit in its. Sunday dress,-the dirtiest rags it has, -that it may beg the better: you will give it a penny, and think how good you are, and how good God is to prefer your child to the crossing sweeper, and bestow on it a divine hat, feather, and boots, and the pleasure of giving pence, instead of begging for them. That's charity going abroad. But what does Justice say, walking and watching near us? Christian Justice has been strangely mute and seemingly blind; and, if not blind, decrepit, this many a day : she keeps her accounts still, howeverquite steadily-doing them at nights, carefully, with her bandage off, and tbrough acutest spectacles (the only modern scientific invention she cares about). You must put your ear down ever so close to her lips, to hear her speak; and then you will start at what she first whispers, for it will certainly be, 'Why
and going up and down other people's stairs. In science, the man who discovered the telescope, and first saw heaven, was paid with a dungeon; the man who invented the microscope, and first saw earth, died of starvation, driven from his home. It is indeed very clear that God means all thoroughly good work and talk to be done for nothing. Baruch the scribe did not get a penny a line for writing Jeremiah's second roll for him, I fancy; and St. Stephen did not get bishop's pay for that long sermon of his to the Pharisess; nothing but stones. For indeed that is the world-father's proper payment. So surely as any of the world's children work for the world's good, honestly, with head and heart ; and come to it, saying, 'Give us a little bread, just to keep the life in us,' the worldfather answers them, 'No, my children, not bread ; a stone, if you like, or as many as you need, to keep you quiet, and tell to future ages, how unpleasant you made yourself to the one you lived in.'
42. But the hand-workers are not so ill off as all this comes to. The worst that can happen to you is to break stones; not be
broken by them. And for you there will come a time for better payment; some day, assuredly, we shall pay people not quite so much for talking in Parliament and doing nothing; as for holding their tongues out of it, and doing something; we shall pay our ploughman a little more, and our lawyer a little less, and so on : but, at least, we may even now take care that whatever work is done shall be fully paid for; and the man who does it, paid for it, not somebody else; and that it shall be done in an orderly, soldierly, well-guided, wholesome way, under good captains and lieutenants of labour ; and that it shall have its appointed times of rest, and enough of them ; and that, in those times, the play shall be wholesome play, not in theatrical gardens, with tin flowers and gas sunshine, and girls dancing because of their misery; but in true gardens, with real flowers, and real sunshine, and children dancing because of their gladness; so that truly the streets shall be full (the 'streets,' mind you, not the gutters,) of children, playing in the midst thereof. We may take care that working men shall have at least as good books to read as anybody else, when they've time to
read them; and as comfortable firesides to sit at as anybody else, when they've time to sit at them. This, I think, can be managed for you, my laborious friends, in the good time.
43. IV. I must go on, however, to our last head, concerning ourselves all, as workers. What is wise work, and what is foolish work? What the difference between sense and nonsense, in daily occupation?

There are three tests of wise work:-that it must be honest, useful, and cheerful.
I. It is honest. I hardly know anything more strange than that you recognize honesty in play, and you do not in work. In your lightest games, you have always some one to see what you call 'fair-płay! In boxing, you must hit fair; in racing, start fair. Your Engtish watchword is 'fair-play,' your English hatred, foul-play. Did it never strike you that you wanted another watchword also, "fairsaork,' and another and bitterer hatred,-' foulwook' ? Your prize-fighter has some honour in him yet : and so have the men in the ring round him : they will judge him to lose the match, by foul hittiog. But your prize-merchant gains his match by fout selling, and no one cries out

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its being hard, if only it comes' to. something; but when it is hard, and comes to nothing; when all our bees' business turns to spider's; and for honey-comb we. have only resultant cobweb, blown away by the next breeze,that is the cruel thing for the worker. Yet do we ever ask ourselves, personally, or 'even nationally, whether our work is coming to anything or not? We don't care to keep what has been nobly done; still less do we care to do nobly what others would keep; and, least of all, to make the work itself useful, instead of deadly, to the doer, so as to exert his life indeed, but not to waste it. Of all wastes, the greatest waste that you can commit is the waste of labour. If you went down in the morning into your dairy, and found that your youngest child had got down before you; and that he and the cat were at play together, and that he had poured out all the cream on the floor for the cat to lap up, you would scold the child, and be'sorry the cream was wasted. But if, instead of wooden bowls with milk in them, there are golden bowls with human life in them; and instead of the cat to play with,-the devil to play with; and
you yourself the player; and instead of leaving that golden bowl'to be broken by God at the fountain, you break it in the dust yourself, and pour the human life out on the ground for the fiend to lick up-that is no waste!
45. What! you perhaps think, 'to waste' the labour of men is not to kill them.' Is it not? I should like to know how you could kill them more utterly, -kill them with second deaths, seventh deaths, hundredfold deaths? It is the slightest way of killing to stop a man's breath. Nay, the hunger, and the cold, and the whistling bullets-our love messengers between nation and nation,have brought pleasant messages to many a man before now : orders of sweet release, and leave at last to go where he will be most welcome and most happy. At the worst you do but shorten his life, you do not corrupt his life. But if you put him to base labour, if you bind his thoughts, if you blind his eyes, if you blunt his hopes, if you steal his joys, if you stunt his body, and blast his soul, and at last leave him not so much as strength to reap the poor fruit of his degradation, but
gather that for yourself, and dismiss him to the grave, when you have done with him, having, so far as in you lay, made the walks of that grave everlasting: (though, indeed, I fancy the goodly bricks of some of our family vaults will hold closer in the resurrection day than the sod over the labourer's head), this you think is no waste, and no $\sin !$
46. III. Then, lastly, wise work is cझebrrul, as a child's worl is. And now I want you to take one thought home with your, and let it stay with you.

Everybody in this room bas been taught to pray daily, 'Thy kingdom come.' Now, if we hear a man swean in the streets, we think it very wrong, and say he 'takes God's name in vain.' But there's a twenty time worse way of taking His name in vain than that. It is to ask God for what we don't went. He doesn't like that sort of prayer. . If you don't want a thing, don't ask for it: such asking is the worst mockery of your King you can insult Him with; the soldiers striking Him on the head with the reed was nothing to that. If you do not wish for His kingdom,
don't pray' for is. But.if you do, you must do more than pray for it; you must work for it. And; to work for it, you must know what it is; we have' all prayed for it many a day without thinking; :Observe, it is a king dom that: is to conse to us; we ure not to go to it: Alsc, it is not th be a lingdom of the deace, but of the living. Akso, itis.not, to come all at once, but quidtly; nobody knows haw: -The kingdom of God comethi not with obsenvation.' 'Also, is is not to come outsider us, but in our hearts: 'the kingdom of God is within you.' And, 'being within us, it is not a thing to be seen, but to be felf; and though if brings all substance of good withrit; it does not consist in that : ' the kingdom of Cod is not meat and drink, biat righteousmoss, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost; ; joy, that is to say, in the holy, healthful, "and' helpo ful Spirit: Naw, if: we manti, to work for this kingdom, and to bring it, amd enter into it, there's one curious condition tio be frat accepted. You must enter it as children, or not at all: ' Whosoever will not receive it as a little child shall mot enter therein.' And again, -Suffer little children to come unto mep, and
forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of heaven.' *
47. Of such, observe. .Not of children themselves, but of such as children. I belieye most mothers who, read that text think that all heaven or the earth-when it gets to be like heaven is to be full of babies; :But that's not so. ' Length: of days and long life and peace,' that is the blessing,-not to die; still less to live, in babytwoed. It is the character of children we want, and must gain at our peril; let us see, briefly, in what it consists.

- The first character of right childhood is that it is Modest. A well-bred child does net think it can teach its parents, or that it knows everything. It may think: its father and mather know everything-perhaps that all grown-up people know everything; very certainly it is sure' that it does not. And it is always asking questions, and wanting to know more. , Well, that is the first character of a good and wise man at his work. To know that he knows
* [I have referred oftener to the words of the English Bible in this lecture than in any other of my addresses, because I was here speaking to an audience which professed to accept its authority implicitly.]
very little;-to perceive that there are many above him wiser than he; and to be always asking questions, wanting to learn, not to teach. No. one everiteaches. well who wants to teach, or governs well who-wants to govern ; it is an old saying (Platols, but. I know not if his, first) and as wise as old.

48. Then, the second chapacter of right childhood is to be Faithfud. Perceiving , that its father knows best white is, good for it, and having found always, when it has tried its own veay against his, that he was right and it was wrong, a noble child trusts him at last wholly, gives him its hand, and will walk blindfold with him, if he bids it. And that is the true character of all good men also, as, obedient workers, or soldiers under captains. They must trust their captains, -they: are bound for their lives to choose none but those whom they can trust. Then, they are not always to be thinking that what seems strange to them, or wrong in what they are desired to do, is strange or wrong. They know their captain : where he leads they must follow,-what he bids, they must do; and without this trust and faith; without this captainship and soldiership, no
'great deed, no: grdat salvation, is phosible to man.
49. Then, the thind!characer of tighe onvildhooulis to be Loving Give a tiatte love: to a child, and you get a groat deat back ! It loves everything near it, when' ${ }^{\text {th }}$ is; a righe kind of child; would hurt. wothing; wowdd:give the best it has away, ahowysifi' you need it'; doos not lay plans for getting evieryithing in the house for itsetf : and, above all; delights in hehping people; you cantiot please it "so much as :by giving it a chance of being usefal; in aver so humble a way.
50. And because of all these chartactors; tastly, it is Cheerfuht. Putting its trust in its father, it is careful for nothing -being full of love to every 'creature, $\mathrm{t}^{\prime}$ is happy always, whether in its play or its duty. Well, that's the great worker's character-also. Taking no thought for the morrow; taking thought only for the duty $\alpha$ "the day; trasting somebody else to take care of tormoprow; knowing' indeed what labour is, but nott what, sorrow is; and always ready for playmbeautiful płaj. . For lovely human play is like the phay of the Sun. There's a worker. for you. He, steady to his

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you; back-out of your long faces, and ineo your long clothes. It is among children only, and as children only; that you will find medicine for your healing and true wisdom for your teaching. There is poison in the counsels of the mest of this world ; the words they speak are all bitterness, "the poison of asps is under their lips,' but 'the:sucking child shall play by the hole of the asp.' There is death in the looks of men. 'Their eyes are privily set against the poor: ' they are as the uncharmable serpent, the cockatrice, which slew by seeing. But. 'the weaned child shall lay his hand on the cockatrice' den.' There is death in the steps of men: 'their feet are swift to shed blood; they have compassed us in our steps like the lion that is greedy of his prey, and the young lion lurking:in secret places;' but, in that kingdom, the wolf shall-lie down with the lamb, and the fating with the lion, and 'a little child shall lead them.'. There is death in the thoughts of men : the world is one wide riddle to them, darker and darker as it draws to a close; but the secret of it is known to the child, and the Lord of heaven and earth is most ito be thanked in that " He has hidden
these things from the wise and prudent, and has revealed them unto babes.' Yes, and there is death-infinitude of death-in the principalities and powers of men. As far as the east is from.the west, so far our sins arenot set from us, but multiplied around us: the Sun himself, think you he now 'rejoices' to run his opurse, when he plunges westward to the horizon, so widely red, not with clouds, but blood? And it will be red more widely yét. Whatever drought of the early and latter rain may be, there will be none' of that red rain. You fortify yourselves, you arm yourselves against it, in vain ; the enemy and avenger will be upon you also, unles's you learn that it is not out of the mouths of the knitted gun, or the smoothed rifle, but "out of the mouths of babes and suckling's 'that the strength is ordained, which shall" still the enemy and avenger.'

## LECTURE H.

TRAFFIC.
(Delivered on the Town Hactl, Bradtyond) $: 1$ it:
52. Mu good Yorkshire friends, you asked me down here among your hills that I might talk to you about this Exchange you are going to build : but, earnestly and seriously asking ypu to pardon me, I am going to do nothing of the kind. I cannot talk, or at least cean say very little, about this same Exchange. I must talk of quite other things, though not willingly; -I could not deserve your. pardon, if, when you invited me to speak on one subject, I wilfully spoke on another. But i cannot speak, to purpose, of anything about which I do not care ; and most simply and sorrowfully I have to tell you, in the outset, that I do not care about this Exchange of yours.

If, however, when you sent me your inviation, I had answered, ' I won't come, I don't
cane, about the Exchange of Bradford,' you would , have been justly; offonded with men nof knowing the reasons .of. so blunt a carelegif: ness. So. I. have come dpwn hoping that you widl patiently, let nene tell, you why, on this and mapy other such ${ }_{2}$ accasipas . I mow remania silent, when formerty I, should have caught
 audiance.
 Exchange,-тbecause you don't; and ibecause you know perfactly well; I camat make you Loppl at the asgential conditions of the case, which you, as businfs men, know. perfectly mell, though parhaps you think; I forget them: You are, gping to sppend. 30, Qool, which to you, collectively, is monding ; the burying a new coat is, as to the cost of it., m much more important matter of considgration, to me, than building, a Exwehange is to youi. But you think you may as well have the right thing for your mpney. You know. there are a: great many odd styles of anchitecture about; :you don't wanf to do amything ridieubus; yon hear. of $\mathrm{ma}_{0}$;among .others, as , respectable architec tural manymilliner; and your send for me, that

I may tell you the leading fashion; and what is, in our shops, for the moment, the newest and sweetest thing in pinnacles.
: 54. Now pardon me for telling you frankly, you camnot have good architecture merely by asking' people's adtice 'on occasion. All good

- architecture is the expression of national life and character; and it is produced by a prevalent and eager national taste, or desire for beauty. • Arid 'I want' you to think a little of the deep significance of this word 'taste'; for no statement 'of mine has been more earnestly or oftener controverted than that good taste is' essentially a moral quality. ' No,' say many of 'my antagonists, 'taste is - one thing, morality' is another. Tell'us what is pretty: we shall be glad to know that; but we need mo sermons, even were you able to preach them, which may be doubted.'

Permit me; therefore, to fortify this old dogma of mine somewhat. Taste is not only a part and an index of morality ;-it is the only morality. The first, and last, and 'closest trial question to an'y living creature is, "What do you like ?' Tell me what you like, adad I'll sell you what you are: ' Go out into the street,
and ask the first man or woman you meet, what their ! taste ' $:$ is ;: and if they answer candidly, you know them, body and soul. ' You, my friend in the rags, with the unsteady gait, what do you like ?' 'A pipe, and a quartern of gin.' I know you.' 'You, good woman; with the quick step and tidy bonnet, what do you like ?' ' $A$ ' swept hearth, and a clean tea-table;'and.riy husband opposite me, and a baby at my breast.' .-Good, I know you also. 'You, little girl with the golden hair and the soft eyes, what do your tike?' 'My canary, and a run among the wood hyacinths.' ' You, little boy with the dirty hands, and the low forehead, what do you like?' ' A shy at the 'sparrows, and a 'game at pitch farthing.' Good; we know them all now. What more need we ask. ?
55. ' Nay,' perhaps you answer; ' we need rather to ask what these 'people and children do, than what they like. If they do right; it is no matter that they like what is wrong ; and if they do wrong, it is no matter that they like what is right. Doing is the great thing; and it does not matter that the man flees drinking, so that he does: nios dirink;; nor that the little
girl likes to be king ta, ber cantiry, if :ahe will not learn her lessons; ; apr that the little boy likes throwing stones at thensparrowe, if be goes to the Suanday schoolit Indeed, fori. a short time, and in a.pepvisional senere, this is true For if, wasolutely, people do what is right, in time to fame they like'doing it: But they only are in. a right mofad ntate when they have nome to like doing it ; and as lang as they don't like it, they are atill lin a wicious state. The man is npt in :halth of: body.' who is always thinding of, the bottle, in the cuphoand, though hee bravely begas bis:thirst; bpat the man who heartily enjoy wator in the ouroving, and wine in the eveping, ine proper quaintity and time. And the entine objiest of true education is to : make peaple not menely do the right things, but enjoy the right things: -not merely industrinus, but to love industry -not merely legarned, but to lave knowledgenot merely pure, tbut to love. purity $\rightarrow$ not merely just, but to hunger and thirst after justice. :
56.. But you mayy answar or think, 'Is the liking for outside ornemmente,-for pictures, or statues, or furniture, 'pr' architectire, a moral

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deserve to be hated); and it. is not an indifferent: nor optional thing whether we love this or that; but it is just the vistal function of all our being. : What we like determines what we are, and is the sign of: what we are; and to teach taste: is inevitably to form character.
57. As I was thinking. over this, in walking up Fleet Street the ether day, my eye caught the title of a book standing open in a bookseller's window. It was-! On the necessity of the diffusion of taste among all classes.' 'Ah,' I thought 'to.., myself, ' my: classifying friend, when you have diffased yoar taste, where will your classes be? The man who likes what you like, belongs to the same class with you, I think. Inevitably so. - You may put him to other work if you choose; but, by the condition you have brought him into, he will dislike the work as sriuch as you would yourself. You get hold of a scavenger or a costermonger, 'whb enjoyed the Newgate Calendar for literature, and "Pop goes the Weasel " for musice ' You think you can make him like Dante and Beethoven? I wish you joy of your lessons; but if you do, you have
made a gentleman of him :-he won't like to go back to his costermongering:
58. And so cpmpletely, and unexceptionally is this,so, that, if $I$ had time to-night, I could show. you thatca nation cannot be: affected by any vice, or weakness, without expressing it ${ }_{反}$ legibly, and for ever, eitheri in bad art; or by want of art; and that, thert is no mational - virtue, small or: great, which is mot manifestly expressed in all ithe art which circumstances. enable the people: possessing that virtue to produce,.. Take, for' instance, ., your great English virtue of enduring;and:patient courage. You have at, present in England only ome art of any consequence-that is, iron-wtorking. You know thoroughly well how to cast and hammer iron. Now, do you think, in those masses of lava which you build volcanic cones to melt, and which you forge at the mouths of the Infernos you have, created; do you think, on those iron. plates, your coutage and endurance are not written for ever,-not merely with an iron 'pen, buti on iron parchment? And take also your great English viceEuropean vice-vice of all the world-vice of all other worlds that roll or shine in heavend
bearing with them yet the: atmosphere of 1 how -the vice of jeadonsy, which brings. comp petition into :your:colmmerce, tpeachery into jour councils, amd dishlenour into your wars-i that vice which has: cenctared fot.you, and for your next neigbimoming nation, 'the draity occupations of existence, no longer possible, but with the mail upon your breaists and the sword loose in its sheath.; so that at last, you have mealired for all the maltitude of the two great peoples. who lead the socalled civilitur tion of the earth, -you have rexdized for: thetr all, I say, in person and in policy, what was once true only: of the nought Bordar triders of your Cheviot: hills-

> 'They carved at the meal With gloves of steel,

And they drank the red wine through the helmet barr'd; ${ }^{\text {s }}$
do you think that this national shame and dastafdliness of heart 'are. not written as legibly on every rivet of your iron armour as the strength of the right hands that forgedi it?

59! • Friends, I know not whether this thing be the more ludicridus or the more melancholy: It is quite unspeakrably. both. Supposte,
instead of being now sent for by you, F had been sent for by sorine private gentleman, living in a suburban house," with his garden separated only by a fritit' wall from his next 'door neighbour's ; 'and he had called me to consult with him on the furnishing of his drawingroom. I begin looking about me, and find the walls rather bare; I think such and-such a paper might be desirabte-perhaps a little fresco here and there on the ceiling-a damask curtain or so at the windows. 'Ah,' says my employer, 'damask curtains, indeed ! That's all very fine, but youl know I can't afford that kind of thing just now!' 'Yet the world credits you with a splendid income!' 'Ah, yes,' says my friend; 'but do you 'know, at present I am obliged to spend it nearly all in steel-traps?' "Steel-traps $!$. for whom ?' 'Why, for that fellow on the other side the wall, you know : we're very good friends, capital friends; but we are obliged to keep our traps set on both' sides of the wall; we could not possibly keep on friendly: terms without them, and our spring guns. The worst of it is, we are both dever fellows enough; and there's never a day passes that we don't find
othe a new. trap, or a new gun-barrel, or something; we spend about fifteen millions a year each in our traps, take it altogether; and I doa't see how we're to do with less.' A highly comic-state of life for two private gentlemen! .but for two nations, it seems to me, not wholly comic. . Bedlam would be comic, perthaps, if there were only one madman in it ; and your Christmas. pantomime is comic, when there is only one clown in it; but when the whole world turns clown, and paints itself red with its own heart's blood instead of vermilion, it is something else than comic, I think.
60. Mind, I know a great deal of this is play, and willingly allow for that. You don't innow what to do with yourselves for a sensation: fox-hunting and cricketing will not carry you through the whole, of this unendurably long mortal life : you liked pop-guns when:you were schoolboys, and rifles and Armstrongs are only the same things better made: but then the worst of it is, that what was play to you, when boys, was nọt play to the sparrows; 'and what is play to you now, is not play to the cafall birds of State neither; 'and.for the black
eateds, .you are somewhat. shy of taking shots at them, if.I mistake, not,
.61. I must get back to the matter in hand, hometerf Believe. me, withoul farther instance, I could show you, in .all time, that every nation's vice, or virtue, was written in its art: the soldiership of early Greece; the sensuatity of late Italy; the visionary religion of Tuscany; the splendid, human energy of Venice. I have no time to do this to-night (I have done it elsewhere befare now); but.I proceed to apply the principle to ourselves in a more searching manner.

I natice that among all the new buildings which cover your once wild hills, churches and schools are mized in due; that is to say; in large proportion, with your mills and marsions ; and I notice also that the churches and schools are almost always Gothic, and the mansions: and mills are never Gothic. May I ask the meaning of this; for, remember, it is peculiarly modern phenomenon? When Gothic was invented, houses were Gothic 28 well as churches; and when the Italian style superseded the Gothic, churches were Italian as well ias houses. If there is a Cothic spire
to the cathedral of Antwerp, there is a Gothic belfry to the Hôtel de Ville at Brussels; if Inigo Jones builds an Itailian.Whitehall, Sir Christopher Wren builds an Italian St. Paul's. But now you hive under one school of architecture, and worship under another. .What do you mean by doing this:? Am I to understand that you are thinking of changing your architecture back to Gothic; and that you treat your churches experimentally, because it does not matter what mistakes 'you make in a church? Or api I to understand that you consider Gothic a' pre-eminently sacred and beautiful mode of building, which you think, like the fine frankincense, should be mixed for the tabernacle only; and pescrved for your religious services? . For if this be the feeling, though it may seem 'at first as'if it were:graceful and reverent, at the root of the matter, it signifies neither more' nor less than that you have separated your religion from your life.
62. For consider what a wide significance this fact has; and remember that it is not you only, but all the people of England; who are -behaving thus, just now.

You have all got into the habit of calling the

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heaven.' This piace, observe; not this chírch; not this city ; not this stone, even, which he puts up for a memorial-wthe plece of flint oti which his head was lain. 'But this:plase; this windy stope of: Wharnside; this mooriand hollow, torrent-bitten, spow-blighted ! ithis any place where God hets down the ladder. And how are you to know where that will be.? how are you to. determine where it may'be; but by being ready for it always? . . Do 'you know: where the lightring is to fall pext? You do know that, partly; you can guide: the lightaing; but you cannot guide: the going forth of the Spirit, which is as that lightming when it shines from the east to the west. .:

63: But the perpetual and insolent warping of that strong verse to serve a merely ecclesiastical purpose, is only one of the thousand instances' in which we sink back into tross Jdadaiem. We call our churches 'templés.' Now, you know perfectly well they are not temples. They have never had, never can have; anything whatever to do with temples. They are 'synagogtues'-'gathering places' where you gather yourselves together as an' assembly; and by not calling them so; you
again miss the force of another. mighty: teat-re: "Thou, when thou prayest; shadt not be as cht? hypocrites ate; for they love to .pray standing; in the churches' [we should translate it ], "that. they may be 'seen of men: But thou; when; thou prayest; enter into thy closet, and :whon: thou hast shut thy dook, pray to ,thy: Father,': -which is; not in chancel nor in aisle, but 'in. secret.'
64. 'Now; you feel, as I say this to youmil. know you feeluas if I were trying to 'take. away the honour of your churuties. . Not s $\mathrm{SO}^{\prime}$ '; I am trying to prove toryow. the honour of your. houses and youri hills ; not that the Church is not sacred-but that the' whole Earthi isw, I would have you feel what carelens, what constamt, what infectious sin there is in all:modes: of thought, whereby, in calling your churches only 'holy,' 'you call your hearths and hamen 'profane'; and have separated yourselves from' the heathen by casting all your household gods: to the ground, instead of recogniting, in the places of their many and. feeble.,Lares; the. presence of your One and Mighty. Lord and Lar.
65. 'But what has all this to do with our

Exchange ?' you ask me, impatiently, My dear friends, it has just, everything to do with it ; ' on these inner and great questions depend. all. the outer and little ones; and if you have asked medown here to speake to you, because you had before been interested in anything I. have wiritten, you must know that all I have yet said about architecture was to show this. The book I called The Seven Lamps was to show that certain right states of temper and moral feeling were the imagic powers by which all -good arehitecture, without exception, had been produced!. The "Stomes of Venice had, from beginning to end, no. other aim than to. show that the Gqthic: architecture of Venice. had arisen out of, and indicated in all its: features, a state of pure national faith, and of domestic virtue; and that its Renaissappe. architecture had arisen out of, and in all its features indicated; a state of concealed national infidelity; : and of domestic corruption., And now, you ask me what style is best to build in, and how can I answer, knowing the meaning of the $\ddagger$ wo styles, but. by another question-do you mean to build as Christians or as infidels? And still more-do you mean to build as honest

Christians or as hanest Infidels:? as thoroughly and confessedly either one or the other? You don't like to :be asked such rude questions. I I. cannot help it ; they are of much more importance than this Exchange business'; and if they can be at once answered, the Exchange business settles itself, in a moment. But before $I_{j}$ press them farther, I must ask leave to explain. one point clearly:
66. In all my past:work, my endeavour has. been to show that good architecture is essentially religious-the production of, a faithful and virtuous, not of an infidel' and. corrupted people. But in the course of doing this : I have had also to show, that. good architecture is not ecclesiastical. People are so apt to look upon religion as the business of the clergy, not their. own, that the moment they hear of anything depending on ' religion,', they think it must also have depended on the priesthood; and I have had to take what place was to be occupied between these two errors, and fight both, often with seeming contradiction., Good architecture is the work of good and believing. men ; therefore, you say, at least some people say, 'Good architecture must essentially have been the
worle of the clergy;' not of the laity. ${ }^{n}$. Nomà thousand times no; good architecture " has always been the work of the commonitity, wot of the clergy. What, jou say, those glerious. cathedrals-the pride of Europe-did their builders not form Gotric architectare? No; they corrupted Gotirie : architecture. Gothic was formed in the baron's castle, and the burgher's street. It was formed 'by'. the theughts, and hands,' and powers of labouring citizens and waritior kings, By the monk it was used as an instrument for the aid of his. superstition : when that superstition becane' a beautiful madness, and the best hearts : of Europe vainly drearied and pined in the cloister, and vainly raged and perished in the crustade,-through thatt fury of perverted faith and wasted war, the Gothic rose also to its loveliest, most fantastic, and finally, most foolish dreams ; and in those dreams, was lost.

67: I hope, now; that there is no risk of your misunderstanding me when I come to the gist of what I want to say to-might;-when I repeat, fhat every great national architecture

[^4]has been the result and exponent of a great: national reigion: You can't have bits of it here, bits there-you thust' have 'it everywhere or nowhere.' It' is 'not "the ' 'mondpoly of a clerical company- it is' not the exponent of a theological dogma-it is not the hietoglyphic: writing of an initated priesthood; it is the manly language of a people inspired by tesolute and commion porposej, and rendering resolute and common fideity' to the legible laws of an undoubted God.
68. Now there have as yet been three distinct schools of Europeah architecture. ' I say, European, beciuse Asiatic and African architectures belong so entirely' to other races and climates, that there is no question of them here; only, in passing, I will simply iassure you that whatever is good or great in Egypt, and Syria, and India; is just good or great for the same reasons as' the buildings on: our side of the Bosphords. PWe Europeans, thein; have had three greatr. religions: : the Greek, which was the worship of the God of Wisdom and Power; the Medieval; which was the worship of the God of Judgment and Consolation ; the Renaissance, which was the worship
of the God of Pride and Beauty : these three, we have had-they are past,-and: now, at last,: we English have got a fourth religion, and a God of our own, abgut: which I want to ask youn.. Bụt I must explain these three old ones first.
69. I repeat, first, the Greeks essentially worshipped the God of.Wisdom ; so that whatever contended against, their religion,--to the Jews a stumbling-block, -was, to the GreeksFoolishness.

The first Greek idear of deity was that expressed in the word, of which we keep the remnant in our words 'Di-urnal' and ' $D_{i}$ -vine'-the god of Day,.Jypiter the revealer.; Athena is his daughter, but especially daughter of the Intellect, springing armed from the head. We are only with the help of recent investigation beginning to penetrate the depth of meaning couched under the Athenaic symbols: but. I may note rapidly, that her egis; the mantle with the serpent fringes, in which she often, in the best statues, is represented as folding up her left hand, for better guard; and the Gorgon, on her sthield, are both representative mainly of the, chilling horror and sadness

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with any ardent affection or ultimate hope ; but with a resolute and continent energy of,will, as knowing that for failure! there was no consulation, and for sin there was no remission. And the Greqk architecture rose unerring; bright, clearly defined, and self-contained.
70. Next followed in .Europe the great Christian faith, which was, essentially the religion of Comfort. Its gteat doctrine is the, remission of sins ${ }_{j}$ for which cause, it happens, too often, in certain phases of Christianity, that sin and siokness. themselves are partly glorified, as if, the more you had , to be :healed of, the more diyine was the healing. The practical result of this doctring, in art, is a continual contemplation of sin and disease, and of. imaginary states of purification from them; thus we have an architecture conceived in a mingled sentiment :of melancholy and aspiration, partly severe, partly, luxuriant, which will bend itself to every one of our needs, and every one of our fancies, and be strong or weak with us, as we are strong or weak ourselves. It is, of all architecture, the basest, when base people build it-of all, the noblest, when built by the noble. .
71. And now note that both these religions -Greek and Mediseval-perished by falsehood in their own main purpose. The Greek religion of Wisdom perished in a false philo-sophy-' Oppositions of rscience, falsely so called.' The Mediseval religion of Consolation perished in false comfort; in remission of sins given lyingly. It was the selling of absolution that ended the Mediæval faith; and I can-tell you mare, it is the selling of absolution which, to the end of time, will mark false Christianity: P,ure Christianity gives her remission of sins only by ending them; but ;false Christianity gets her remission of sins by compounding for them. And there are many ways of compounding for them. We English have beautiful little quiet ways of buying absolution, whether in low Church or high, far more cunning than any of Tetzel's trading.
; 72. Then, thirdly, there fallowed the religion of Pleasure, in which all Europe gave itself to luxury, ending in death. First, bals masqués in every saloon,' and then guillotines in every square. And all these three worships issue in vast temple building. Your Greek. worshipped, Wisdom, and built you the Parthenon

一the Virgin's temple. The Medireval worshipped Consolation, and built you Virgin temples also-but to our Lady of Salvation. Then the Revivalist worshipped beauty, of a sort, and built you Versailles and the Vatican. Now, lastly, will you tell me what we worship, and what we build ?
73. You know we are speaking always of the real, active, ' continual, national worship; that by which men act, while they live; not that which they talk of, when they die. Now, we have, indeed; a nominal religion, to which we pay tithes of property and sevenths of time ; but we have also a practical and earnest religion, to which we devote nine-tenths of our property, and six-sevenths of our' time. And we dispute a great deal about the nominal religion: but we are all unanimous about this practical one; of which I think you will admit that the ruling goddess may be best generally described as the 'Groddess of Getting-on,' or 'Britannia' of the Market.' The Athenians had' an ''Athena Agoraia,' or Athena of the Market; but she was a subordinate type of their goddess, while our Britannia Agoraia is the principal type of

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you must have a subject. And hitherto it . has been 2 received opinion among the nations of the world that the only right subjects for either, were heroisms of some sort. Even on his pots and his flagons, the Greek put a Hercules slaying lions, or an Apollo slaying serpents, or Bacchus slaying melancholy giants, and earthborn despondencies. On his temples, the Greek put contests of great warriors in founding states, or of gods with evil spirits. On his houses and temples alike, the Christian put carvings of angels conquering devils; or of hero-martyrs exchanging this world for another: subject inappropriate, I think, to our direction of exchange here. And the Master of Christians not only left His followers without any orders as to the sculpture of affairs of exchange on the outside of buildings, but gave some strong evidence of His dislike of affairs of exchange within them. And yet there might surely be a heroism in such affairs; and all commerce become a kind of selling of doves, not impious. The wonder has always been great to me, that heroism has never been supposed to be in anywise consistent with the practice of supplying
people with food, or clothes; but rather with that of quartering one's self upon them for food, and stripping them of their clothes. Spoiling of armour is an heroic deed in all ages ; but the selling of clothes, old, or newn has never taken any colour of magnanimity. Yet one does not see why feeding the hungry and clothing the naked should ever become base businesses, even when engaged in on a large scale. If ane could contrive to attach the notion of conquest to them anyhow I so that, supposing there were anywhere an obstinate race, who refused to be comforted, one might take some pride in giving them compulsory comfort !" and, as it were, 'occupying a country' with one's gifts, instead of one's armies? If one could only consider it as much a victory to get a barren field sown, as to get an eared field stripped; and contend who should build viliages, instead of who should 'carry' them ! Are not all forms of heroism conceivable in doing these serviceable deeds? You doubt who is strongest? It might be ascertained by push of spade, as well as push of sword. Who is wisest?
[* Quite serious, all this, though it reads like jest]

There are witty things to be thought of in planning other business than campaigns. Who is bravest? There are always the elements to fight with, stronger than men; and nearly as merciless.
75. The only absolutely and unapproachably heroic element in the soldier's work seems to be-that he is paid little for it-and regularly : while you traffickers, and exchangers, and others occupied in presumably benevolent business, like to be paid much for it-and by chance. I never can make out how it is that a knight-errant does not expect to be paid for his trouble, but a pedlar-errant always does ;that people are willing to take hard knocks for nothing, but never to sell ribands cheap; that they are ready to go on fervent crusades, to recover the tomb of a buried God; but never on any travels to fulfil the orders of a living one;-that they will go anywhere barefoot to preach their faith, but must be well bribed to practise it, and are perfectly ready to give the Gospel gratis, but never the loaves and fishes.*

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Gennesaret proper, in the field; and the legend, 'In the best market,' " and her corslet, of leather, folded over her heart in the shape of a purse, with thirty slits in it, for a piece of money to go in at, on each day of the month. And I doubt not but that people would come to see your exchange, and its goddess, with applause.
77. Nevertheless, I want to point out to you certain strange characters in this goddess of yours. She differs from the great Greek and Mediæval deities essentially in two thingsfirst, as to the continuance of her presumed power; secondly, as to the extent of it.

Ist, as to the Continuance.
The Greek Goddess of Wisdom gave continual increase of wisdom, as the Christian Spirit of Comfort (or Comforter) continual increase of comfort. There was no question, with these, of any limit or cessation of function. But with your Agora Goddess, that is just the most important question. Getting on-but where to ?. Gathering together-but how much ? Do you mean to gather always -never to spend? If so, I wish you joy of

[^6]your goddess, for I am just as well off as you, without the trouble of worshipping her at all. But if you do not spend, somebody else willsomebody else must. And it is because of this (among many other such errors) that I have fearlessly declared your so-called science of Political Economy to be no science; because, namely, it has omitted the study of exactly the most important branch of the business-the study of spending. For spend you must, and as much as you make, ultimately. You gather corn :-will you bury England under a heap of grain ; or will you, when you have gathered, finally eat? You gather gold :-will you make your house-roofs of it, or pave your streets with it? That is still one way of spending it. But if you keep it, that you may get more, I'll give you more; I'll give you all the gold you want-all you can imagine-if you can tell me what you'll do with it. You shall have thousands of gold pieces ;-thousands of thousands-millionsmountains, of gold: where will you keep them? Will you put an Olympus of silver upon a golden Pelion-make Ossa like a wart? Do you think the rain and dew would then
come down to you, in the streams from such mountains, more blessedly than they will down the mountains which God has made for you, of moss and whinstone? But it is not gold that you want to gather ! What is it? greenbacks? No ; not those neither. What is it then-is it ciphers after a capital I? Cannot you practise writing ciphers, and write as many as you want! Write ciphers for an hour every morning, in a big book, and say every evening, I am worth all those noughts more than I was yesterday. Won't that do ? Well, what in the name of Plutus is it you want ? Not gold, not greenbacks, not ciphers after a capital I? You will have to answer, after all, 'No; we want, somehow or other, money's worth.' Well, what is that? Let your Goddess of Getting-on discover it, and let her learn to stay therein.
78. II. But there is yet another question to be asked respecting this Goddess of Gettingon. The first was of the continuance of her power; the second is of its extent.

Pallas and the Madonna were supposed to be all the world's Pallas, and all the world's Madonna. They could teach all men, and they

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the beautiful ball dresses for the daughters, and hunters for the sons, and a shooting in the Highlands for himself. At the bottom of the bank, is to be the mill; not less than a quarter of a mile long, with one steam engine at each end, and two in the middle, and a. chimney three hundred feet high. In this mill are to be in constant employment from eight hundred to a thousand workers, who never drink, never strike, always go to church on Sunday, and always express themselves in respectful language.
80. Is not that, broadly, and in the main features, the kind of thing you propose to yourselves? It is very pretty indeed, seen from above; not at all so pretty, seen from below. For, observe, while to one family this deity is indeed the Goddess of Getting-on, to a thousand families she is the Goddess of not Getting-on. 'Nay,' you say, 'they have all their chance.' Yes, so has every one in a lottery, but there must always be the same number of blanks. 'Ah! but in a lottery it is not skill and intelligence which take the lead, but blind chance.' What then ! do you think the old practice, that 'they should take who
have the power, and they should keep who can,' is less iniquitous, when the power has become power of brains instead of fist? and that, though we may not take advantage of a child's or a woman's weakness, we may of a man's foolishness? 'Nay, but finally, work must be done, and some one must be at the top, some one at the bottom.' Granted, my friends. Work must always be, and captains of work must always be; and if you in the least remember the tone of any of my writings, you must know that they are thought unfit for this age, because they are always insisting on need of government, and speaking with scorn of liberty. But I beg you to observe that there is a wide difference between being captains or governors of work, and taking the profits of it. It does not follow, because you are general of an army, that you are to take all the treasure, or land, it wins; (if it fight for treasure or land;) neither, because you are king of a nation, that you are to consume all the profits of the nation's work. Real kings, on the contrary, are known. invariably by their. doing quite the reverse of this,-by their taking the least possible quantity of the nation's work for
themselves. There is no test of real kinghood so infallible as that. Does the crowned creature live simply, bravely, unostentatiously ? probably he is a King. :Does he cover his body with jewels, and his table with delicates? in all probability he is not a King. It is possible he may be, as Solomon was ; but that is when the nation shares his splendour with him. Solomon made gold, not only to be in his own palace as stones, but to be in Jerusalem as stones. But, even so, for the most part, these splendid kinghoods expire in ruin, and only the true kinghoods live, which are of royal labourers governing loyal labourers; who, both leading rough lives, establish the true dynasties. Conclusively you will find that because you are king of a nation, it does not follow that you are to gather for yourself all the wealth of that nation; neither, because you are king of a small part of the nation, and lord over the means of its main-tenance-over field, or mill, or mine,-are you to take all the produce of that piece of the foundation of national existence for yourself.
81. You will tell me I need not preach against these things, for I cannot mend them. No,

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reasoning, and what of the divine nature remained in them, they gained ell this greatness of which we have already told; but when the God's part of them faded and became extinct, being mixed again and again, and effaced by the prevalent mortality; and the human nature at last exceeded, they then became unable to endure the courses of fortune; and fell into shapelessness of life, and baseness in the sight of him who could see, having lost everything that was fairest of their honour ; while to the blind hearts which could not discern the true life, tending to happiness, it seemed that they were then chiefly noble and happy, being filled with all iniquity of inordinate possession and power. Whereupon, the God of Gods, whose Kinghood is in laws, beholding a once just nation thus cast into misery, and desiring to lay such punishment upon them as might make them repent into restraining, gathered together all the gods into his dwelling place, which from heaven's centre overlooks whatever has part in creation ; and having assembled them, he said' $\qquad$
84. The rest is silence. Last words of the chief wisdom of the heathen, spoken of this
idol of riches ; this idol of yours; this golden image, high by measureless cubits, set up where your green fields of England are furnace-burnt into the likeness of the plain of Dura: this idol, forbidden to us, first of all idols, by our own Master and faith; forbidden to us also by every human lip that has ever, in any age or people, been accounted of as able to speak according to the purposes of God. Continue to make that forbidden deity, your principal one, and soon no more art, no more science, no more pleasure will be possible. Catastrophe will come; or, worse than catastrophe, slow mouldering and withering into Hades. But if you can fix some conception of a true human state of life to be striven for-life, good for all men, as for yourselves; if you can determine some honest and simple order of existence; following those trodden ways of wisdom, which are pleasantness, and seeking her quiet and withdrawn paths, which are peace; "-then, and so sanctifying wealth

[^7]into 'commonwealth,' all your art, your lites ture, your daily labours, your domestic affectio. and citizen's duty, will join and increase in' one magnificent harmony. You will kno then how to build, well enough ; you will buil, with stone well, but with flesh better; temples not made with hands, but riveted of hearts; and that kind of marble, crimson-veined, is indeed eternal.

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need, for the great veteran soldiers of England are now men every way so thoughtful, so noble, and so good, that no other teaching than their knightly example, and their few words of grave and tried counsel, should be either necessary for you, or even, without assurance of due modesty in the offerer, endured by you.
86. But being asked, not once nor twice, I have not ventured persistently to refuse; and I will try, in very few words, to lay before you some reason why you should accept my excuse; and hear me patiently. You may imagine that your work is wholly foreign to, and separate from, mine. So far from that, all the pure and noble arts of peace are founded on war; no great art ever yet rose on earth, but among a nation of soldiers. There is no art among a shepherd people, if it remains at peace. There is no art among an agricultural people, if it remains at peace. Commerce is barely consistent with fine art ; but cannot produce it. Manufacture not only is unable to produce it, but invariably destroys whatever seeds of it exist. There is no great art possible to a nation but that which is based on battle.
87. Now, though I hope you love fighting for its own sake, you must, I imagine, be surprised at my assertion that there is any such good fruit of fighting. You supposed, probably, that your office was to defend the works of peace, but certainly not to found them : nay, the common course of war, you may have thought, was only to destroy them. And truly, I, who tell you this of the use of war, should have been the last of men to tell you so, had I trusted my own experience only. Hear why: I have given a considerable part of my life to the investigation of Venetian painting; and the result of that enquiry was my fixing upon one man as the greatest of all Venetians, and therefore, as I believed, of all painters whatsoever. I formed this faith (whether right or wrong matters at present nothing) in the supremacy of the painter Tintoret, under a roof covered with his pictures; and of those pictures, three of the noblest were then in the form of shreds of ragged canvas, mixed up with the laths of the roof, rent through by three Austrian shells. Now, it is not every lecturer who could tell you that he had seen three of his favourite pictures torn to rags by bomb-shells. And after such a
sight, it is not every lecturer who would tell you that, nevertheless, war was the foundation of all great art.
88. Yet the conclusion is inevitable, from any careful comparison of the states of great historic races at different periods. Merely to show you what I mean, I will sketch for you, very briefly, the broad steps of the advance of the best art of the world. The first dawn of it is in Egypt ; and the power of it is founded on the perpetual contemplation of death, and of future judgment, by the mind of a nation of which the ruling caste were priests, and the second, soldiers. The greatest works produced by them are sculptures of their kings going out to battle, or receiving the homage of conquered armies. . And you must remember also, as one of the great keys to the splendour of the Egyptian nation, that. the priests were not occupied in theology only. Their theology was the basis of psactical government and law; so that they were not so much priests as religious judges; the office of Samuel, among the Jews, being as nearly as possible correspondent to theirs.
89. All the rudiments of art then, and much

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the Egyptians, they did not make the fatal mistake of despising agricultural and pastoral life ; but perfectly honoured both. These two conditions of truer thought raise them quite into the highest rank of wise manhood that has yet been reached; for all our great arts, and nearly all our great thoughts, have been borrowed or derived from them. Take away from us what they have given; and we hardly can imagine how low the modern* European would stand.
91. Now, you are to remember, in passing to the next phase of history, that though you must have war to produce art-you must also have much more than war; namely, an artinstinct or genius in the people ; and that, though all the talent for painting in the world won't make painters of you, unless you have a gift for fighting as well, you may have the gift for fighting, and none for painting. Now, in the next great dynasty of soldiers, the art-instinct is wholly wanting. I have not yet investigated the Roman character enough to

[^8]tell you the causes of this; but I believe, paradoxical as it may seem to you, that however truly the Roman might say of himself that he was born of Mars, and suckled by the wolf, he was nevertheless, at heart, more of a farmery than a soldier. The exercises of war werd with him practical, not poetical; his poetry was in domestic life only, and the object of battle, ' pacis imponere morem.' And the arts are extinguished in his hands, and do not rise again, until, with Gothic chivalry, there comes back into the mind of Europe a passionate delight in war itself, for the sake of war. And then, with the romantic knighthood which can imagine no other noble employment,-under the fighting kings of France, England, and Spain ; and under. the fighting dukeships and citizenships of Italy, art is born again, and rises to her height in the great valleys of Lombardy and Tuscany, through which there flows not a single stream, from all their Alps or Apennines, that did not once run dark red from battle; and it reaches its culminating glory in the city which gave to history the most intense type of soldiership yet seen among men ;-the city whose armies were led
in their assault by their king,* led through it to victory by their king, and so led, though that king of theirs was blind, and in the extremity of his age.
92. And from this time forward, as peace is established or extended in Europe, the arts decline. They reach an unparalleled pitch of costliness, but lose their life, enlist themselves at last on the side of luxury and various corruption, and, among wholly tranquil nations, wither utterly away ; remaining only in partial practice among.races who, like the French and us, have still the minds, though we cannot all live the lives, of soldiers.
93. 'It may be so,' I can suppose that a philanthropist might exclaim. 'Perish then the arts, if they can flourish only at such a cost. What worth is there in toys of canvas and stone, if compared to the joy and. peace of artless domestic life?' And the answer istruly, in themselves, none. But as expressions of the highest state of the human spirit, their worth is infinite As results they may be
[Henry Dandolo : the king of Bohemia at Crecy is very grand, too, and in the issue, his knighthood is, to us, more nemorable.]

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by peace; taught by war, and deceived by peace; trained by war, and betrayed by peace;-in a word, that they were born in war, and expired in peace.
95. Yet now note carefully, in the second place, it is not all war of which this can be said-nor all dragon's teeth, which, sown, will start up into men. It is not the rage of a barbarian wolf-flock, as under Genseric or Suwarrow; nor the habitual restlessness and rapine of mountaineers, as on the old borders of Scotland; nor the occasional struggle of a strong peaceful nation for its life, as in the wars of the Swiss with Austria; nor the contest of merely ambitious nations for extent of power, as in the wars of France under Napoleon, or the just terminated war in America. None of these forms of war build anything but tombs. But the creative, or foundational, war is that in which the natural restlessness and love of contest among men are disciplined, by consent, into modes of beautiful-though it may be fatal-play: in which the natural ambition and love of power of men are disciplined into the aggressive conquest of surrounding evil: and in which the
natural instincts of self-defence are sanctified by the nobleness of the institutions, and purity of the households which they are appointed to defend. To such war as this all men are born; in such war as this any man may happily die; and out of such war as this have arisen throughout the extent of past ages, all the highest sanctities and virtues of humanity.

I shall therefore divide the war of which I would speak to you into three heads. War for exercise or play; war for dominion; and, war for defence.
96. I. And first, of war for exercise or play. I speak of it primarily in this light, because, through all past history, manly war has been more an exercise than anything else, among the classes who cause and proclaim it. It is not a game to the conscript, or the pressed sailor; but neither of these are the causers of it. To the governor who determines that war shall be, and to the youths who voluntarily adopt it as their profession, it has always been a grand pastime; and chiefly pursued because they had nothing else to do. And this is true without any exception. No king whose mind was fully occupied with the development of
the inner resources of his kingdom, or with any other sufficing subject of thought, ever entered into war but on compuksion. No youth who was earnestly busy with any peaceful subject of study, or set on any serviceable course of action, ever voluntarily became a soldier. Occupy him, early and wisely, in agriculture or business, in science or in literature, and he will never think of war otherwise than as'a calamity.* But leave him idle; and, the more brave and active and capable he is by nature, the more he will. thirst for some appointed field for action; and find, in the passion and peril of battle, the only satisfying fulfilment of his unoccupied being. And from the earliest incipient civilization until now, the population of the earth divides itself, when you look at it widely, into two races; one of workers, and the other of players-one tilling the ground, manufacturing, building, and otherwise providing for the necessities of life ; the other part proudly idle, and continually therefore needing recreation, in which they use

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women, for whom, and by whose command, all true battle has been, and must ever be; you would perhaps shrink now, though you need not, from the thaught of sitting as queens above set lists where the jousting game might be mortal. How much mone, then, ought you to shrink from the thought of sitting above a theatre pit in which ever a few condemned slaves were slaying each other only for your delight! And do you not shrink from the fact of sitting above a theatre pit, where,-not condemned slaves,-but the best and bravest of the poor sons of your people, slay each other,-not man to man,-as the coupled gladiators; but race to race, in duel of generations? You would tell me, perhaps, that you do not sit to see this ; and it is, indeed, true that the women of Europe-those who have no heart-interest of their own at peril in the contest-draw the curtains of their boxes, and muffle the openings; so that from the pit of the circus of slaughter there may reach them only at intervals a half-heard cry, and a murmur as of the wind's sighing, when myriads of souls expire. They shut out the death-cries; and are happy, and talk wittily
among themselves. That is the utter literal fact, of what our ladies do in their pleasant lives.
98. Nay, you-might answer, spealing with them- 'We' do not let these wars come to pass for our play, nor by our carelessness ; we cannot help them. How can any final quarrel of nations be settled otherwise than by war ?'

I cannot now delay to tell you how political quarrels might be otherwise settled. But grant that they connot. Grant that no law of reason can be understood by nations; no law of justice subnitted to by them; and that, while questions of a few acres, and of petty cash, can be determined by truth and equity, the questions which are to issue in the perishing or saving of kingdoms can be determined only by the truth of the sword, and the equity of the rifle. Grant this, and even then, judge if it will-always be necessary for: you to put your quarrel into the hearts of your poor, and sign your treaties with peasants' blood. You would be ashamed to do this in your own private position and power. Why shoukd you not be ashamed also to de it in public place and power? If you quarrel with your neighbour, and the quarrel be indeterminable by law, and
mortal, you and he do not send your fookmen to Battersea fields to fight it out ; nor do you set fire to his tenants' cottages, nor spoil their goods. You fight out your quarrel yourselves, and at. your own danger, if at all. And. you do inat think it materially affects the arbitrar ment that one of you has a larger household than the other; so: that, if the servants or tenants were brought into the field with their. masters, the issue of the contest could not be doubtful ?. You either refuse the private dued, or you practise it under laws of honour, not of physical force; that:so it may be, in a manner, justly concluded. Now the.just or unjust conclusion of the :phivate feud is of little moment, while the juat or unjust conclusion of the public feud is of eternal moment : and yet, in this. public quarrel, you take your servants' sons from their arms ta fight for it, and your servants' food from their lips to support it; and the black seals on the parchment of your treaties of, peace are the deserted hearth, and the ifruitless field.
99. There is a ghastly ludicrousness in this, 2s, there is mostly in these wide and universal crimes. Hear the statement of the very fact

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Thirty stands fronting Thirty, each with a gun in his hand.
'Straightway the word "Fire!" is given, and they blow the souls out of one; another, and in place of sixty brisk usefut craftsmen, the world has sixty dead carcases, which it must bury, and anon shed tears for. Had these men any quarrel? Busy as the devil is, not the smallest! They lived far enough apart ; were the entirest strangers; nay, in so wide a universe, there was even, unconsciously, by commerce, some mutual helpfulness between them. How then ? Simpletonl their governors had fallen out; and instead of shooting one another, had the cunning to make these poor blockheads shoot.'-Sartor Resartus.
100. Positively, then, gentlemen, the game of battle must not, and shall not, ultimately be played this way. But should it be played any way? Should it, if not by your servants, be practised by yourselves? I:think, yes. Both history and human instinct seem alike to say, yes. All healthy men like fighting, and like the sense of danger; all brave women like to hear of their fighting, and of their facing danger. This is a fixed instinct in the fine
race of them; and I cannot help fancying that fair fight is the best play for them ; and that a tournament was a bettor game than a steeplechase. :The time miay pertiaps come, in France, as well as here, for universal hurdleraces and cricketing: but -I do not think universal. cricket will bring out the best qualities of the nobles of either country. I use, in such quiestion, the test which I have adopted, of the connection of war with other arts; and I reflect how, as a scuiptor, I should feel, if I were asked to design a monument for a dead knight, in Westminster Abbey, with a carving of a bat at dne'end, and a ball at the other. It may be the remains in me only of savage Gothic prejudice; but I had rather carve it with aøshield at one end, and a sword at the other. And this, observe, with no reference whatever to any story of duty done, or cause defended. Assume the knight merely to have ridden out bdcaisionally to fight his neighbour for exercise; assume him even a soldier of fortune, and to have gained his bread, and filled his purse, at the sword's point. Still, I feel as if it were, somehow, grander and worthier in him to have made his
bread by sword. play than any other play; I had rather he hiad made it by thrusting than by batting;-much rather than by betting. Much rather that he should ride war horses, than back race horises; and-1 say it.sternly and deliberately-much rather would I have him slay his neighbour than cheat him.

10I. But remember, so far as this may be true, the game of war is only that in which the full personal power of the hmman creature is brought out in management if its. weapons And this for three reasons:

First, the great justification of this game is that it truly, when well played; determines who is the best man,-who is the highest bred, the most self-denying, the most fearless, the coolest of nerve, the swiftest of eye and hand. You cannot test these qualities wholly, unless there is a clear possibility of the struggle's ending in death. It is onky in the fronting of that condition that the ifull trial of the man; soul and body; comes out.: You may go to your game of wickets; or of hurdles, or of cards, and any knavery that is in you may stay unchallenged all the while: But if the play may be ended at any moment by a lance-thrust, a man.

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wish you to' remember in closer connection than in his text,
104. 'The chief characteristic of the warriors of Sparta was great composure and a subdued strength; the violence ( $\lambda \boldsymbol{u} \sigma \sigma a$ ) of Aristodemus and Isadas being considered as deserving rather of blame than praise $y^{\prime}$ and these qualities in general distinguished the Greeks : from the nothern Barbarianis; whose boldness always consisted in noise and tumult: For the same reason the Spartans sacrificed to the: Muses before an action; these goddesses being expected to produce!'regularity and order in battle; as they sacrificed on the same oicasion in : Crete to the god of lowe, as the confirmer of mutual esteem and shame. Every man pat on a crown, when' the band of flute-players gave the sighal for attack; ; tall the shiedds' of the tine glittered with: their 'high 'polith, and mingled their "splendour with the dark red of the purple mantles, which were meant both to adorn the combatant, and to conceal the blood of the wounded; to fall well and decorously being ar incentive the more to the most heroic valour: The conduct of the Spartins in battle denotes a high and noble disposition,
which rejected all the extremes of brutal rage. The pursuit of the enemy ceased when the victory was completed; and after the signal for retreat had been given, all hostilities ceased. The spoiling of arms, at least during the batitle; was also interdicted; and the conseoration of the spoils of slain enemies to the gods, ias, in general, all rejoicings' for victory, were considered as illiomened.!
105. Such was the war of the greatest soldiers who prayed to heathen gods. What Christian war is, preached by Christian ministers, let sany one tell you, who saw the sacred crowning; and heard the sacred fluteplaying, and was linspired and sanctiffed' by the divinely-measured and tnusical language, of any North American regiment preparing for.its charge. And what is the relative cost of life in pagan and Christian wars, let this one fact tell you;--ithe Spartans won the decisive battle of Corinth with the loss of eight men ; the victors at indecisive Gettysburg confess to the loss of 30,000 .
106. II. I pass now' to our second order of war, the cominonest among men, that undertaken in desire of dominion. And let me ask
you to think for a few moments what the read meaning of this desire of dominion is-first in the minds of kings-then in that of natiqns.

Now, mind you this first, that I speak either about kings, or masses of men, with a fixed conviction that human nature is a noble and beautiful thing; not a foul not a base thing. All the sin of men I esteem as their disease, not their nature; as a folly which may be prevented, not a neqessity which must be accepted. And my wonder, even when things are at their worst, is always at the heighe which this human natura. can attain. Thinking it high, I find. it. always .a. higher thing than I thought it; while, those who think it low, find it, and will.find it, always, lower than they thought it : ;the fact being, that it is infinite, and capable of infinite height and infinite fall; but the inature of it-and here is the faith which I would have you hold with me-the nature of it is, in the nobleness, not in the catastrophe.
107. Take the faith in its utmost terms. When the captain of the, Loudon shook hands with his mate, saying, 'God speed you 1 I will go down with my passengers,' that I believe to

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her being ? Choose, I say; infinitude of choices hang upon:this: . You have bad false prophets among you,-for centuries you have had them ${ }_{i}$ -solemnly: warned'against them though you were ; false prophets, who: have told you that all men are nothing:but fiends or wolves, half beast, half devit - Believe that, and indeed you may sink to that. :But refuse that, and have faith that Goid ' made. you upright,' though you have sought out many inveptions; so, you will strive daily to become more what your Maker meant and means you to be, and daily gives you also the power: toi be,-mand you will cling more and more sto the nobleness and virtue that is in you, saying, 'My righteousness I hold fast, and will not let it go.'
108. I have put this to you as a choice, as if you might hold either of, these creeds you liked best. But there is in reality no choice for you ; the facts being quite easily ascertainable. You have no besiness to think about this matter, or to choose, in it The broad fact is; that a humian creature 'of the highest race, and most perfect as a human thing, is invariably both kind and: true: $:$ and that as you lowert the race, you get cruelty and falseness as you
get deformity: and this so'steadily and assuredly, that the two great words which, in their first use, meant onlyi perfection of race, have come, by consequence. of the invariable connection of virtue with the fine human nature, both to signify ibenevolence of disposition. The word 'generous,' and the word ' gentle,' both, in their orizin, meant only ' of pure race,' but because charity and tenderness are inr separable from this purity of blood, the words which once stood only for ipride, now stand. as synonyins for virtue.-
109. Now, this being the true power of our inherent humanity, and seeing that all the aim of education should be to develope this;-and seeing also what magnificent self-sacrifice the higher classes of men are capable of, for any cause that they undenstand or feel,-it is wholly iticonceivable to me how well-educated princes, who ought to be of all gentlemen the gentlest, and of all nobles the most generous, and whose title of royalty means only their function of doing every man 'right'-how these, I say,: throughout history, should so rarely pronounce themselve's on the side of the poor, and of justice, but continually maintain
themselves and their own interests by oppression of the poor, and by wresting of justice; and how this should be accepted, as so natural, that the word lóyalty, whichrmeans faithfulness to law, is used as if it were.only the duty of a people to be loyal to their king; and not the duty of a king to be infinitely more layal to his people. How comes it to pass that a captain will die with his passengers, and lean over the gunwale ta give the panting boat its course; but.that a king will not usiually die with, much less for, his passengers-thinks it rather incumbent on his passengers, in ;any number, to die for him?
110. Think, I beseech you, of the wonder of this. The sea captain, not captain by divine right, but only by company's appointment;not a man of royal descent, but only a plebeian who can steer;-not with the eyes of the world upon him, but with feeble chance, depending on one poor boat, of his name being ever heard above the wash of the fatal waves; not with the cause of a nation resting ion his act, but helpless to save so mach ias a child from among the lost crowd with whom he resolves to be lost,-yet goes down ;quietly to his grave,

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for one man's, work ? If any of us where aboolute lord only of a distriet of a hundred miles square and were resolved on doing our utmost for it; making it. feed as large a number of people as possible; making every clod productive, and every rock defensive, and ievery human being happy; should we not have enough on our hands, think you ?
112. But if the ruler has any other aim thain this; if, careless of the result of his interference, he desires only the authority to interfere; and, regardless of what is ill-done or well-done, cares only that it shall be done at his bidding.;-if he would rather do two :hundred miles': space of mischief, than one hundred miles' space of good, of course he will try to add to his territory; and to add illimitably. $\checkmark$ But does he add to his power? Do you call it power in a child, if, he is allowed to play'with the wheels and bands of some vast engine, pleased with their murmur and whirl, till his unwise touch, wandering where it ought not, scatters beam and wheel into ruin? Yet what machine is so vast, so incognizable, as the working of the mind of a nation; what child's rouch so wanton, as the word of a selfish
king? And yet, how long have we allowed the historian to speak, af the extent of the calamity a man causes, as a just ground for his pride; and to extol him as the greatest prince, who is only the centwe of the widest error: Follow out this thought by yourselves; and you will find that all pawer, properly so called, is wise and benevolent. There may be capacity in a drifting fire-skip to destroy a fleet; there may be venom enough in a dead body to infect a nation :-but which of you, the most ambitious, would desire a drifting kinghood, robed in consuming fire, or a poison-dipped sceptre whose touch was mortal? There is no true $\checkmark$ potency, remember, but that of help; nor true ambition, but ambition to save.
113. And then, observe farther, this true power, the power of saving, depends neither on multitude of men, nor on: extent of terrir tory. We are continually assuming that nations become strong according to their numbers. They indeed become so, if:those numbers can be made of one mind; buil how are you sure you can stay. them in one mind, and keep them from having north and south minds? Grant them unanimous, how know you they
will be unanimous in right? If they are unanimous in wrong, the:more they:are, essentially the weaker they are. . Or, suppose that they can neither be of oneimind, nor of two minds, but can only be of 200 mind ? Suippose they are a mere helpless mob; tottering into precipitant catastrophe, like a waggón-load of stones when the wheel comes /off. Dangerous enough for their neighbours, certainly, but not 'potwerful.'
114. Neither does strength depend oo extent of territory, any mone than upon' number of population. Take up your maps when you go home this evening,-put the clustar of British Isles beside the mass of. Sputh Amerioa; and then consider whether any race of men ineed care how much ground they stand upon. The strength is in the men, and in their unity and virtue, not in their standing room: a little group of wise hearts is belter than a wilderness full of fools; and only that nation sains true territory, which gains sitsedf.
115. And now for the brief practical. noutcome of all this. Rememiber; no. government is ultimately strong; but in pmportion to its kindness and justioe; and that a nation does

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and protective." Nor need you listen to any. sophistical objection of the impossibility of knowing when a'people's help is'ineeded, or when not. Make :your national conscience clean, and your mational eyes will soon be clear. No man who is truly ready to take part in a noble quarred will ever stand long in doubt by whom, or in what cause, his' aid is needed. I hold it my duty to make no political statement of lany special bearing in this presence; bat I tell you broadly and boldly, that, within these last ten years. we English have, as a knighthy nation, lost our spurs: we have fought where we shbuid not have fought, for gain; and, we have been passive, where we should not have been passive, for fear. I tell you that the principle of non-intervention, 'as now preached among us, is as selfish and cniel as the worst frenzy of conquest, and differs from lit only by being, not only malignant, but dastardly.: , ..'
117. I know, however, that my opinions on this subject differ too' widely :from those ordinarily held, to: be any farther intruded upon you; and 'therefore I pass lastly to examine the conditions' of the thind kind of
noble war;-war waged simply for defence of: the country in which we were born, and fori the maintenance and execution of her laws, by: whomsoever threatened or defied. It is to thist duty that I suppose most men entering the army consider themselves :in reality to be bound, and I want you now to reffect what the laws of mere defence are; and what the soldier's duty, as now understood, or supposed to be understood. You hase solemnly devoted yourselves to be Englishi: soldiers, for : the guardianship of England. I want you to feel what this vow of yours. indeed means; or is gradually coming to mean.
118. You take it upon you, first, while you are sentimental schoolboys; you go into your military convent, or barracks, just as a girl goes into her convent while she is a sentimental schoolgirl; neither of, you then know what you are about, thlough bpth the good soldiers and good muns make, the best of it afterwards. You dow't !understand. perhaps why I call you 'sentimental' schoolboys, when you go into the army? :Because, on the whole, it is the'love of adventure, of excitement, of fine dreas and of the pride of fame, all which
are sentimental motives, which chiefly make a; boy like going into the Guiards better than into a counting-house. .You fancy, :perhaps, that there is a severe semse of duty mized with these peacocky motivesi? .And in the best of you there is.; but do aot think that it is principal. If you cared to do your duty to your country in a prossic and unsentimental way, depend upon it, there is now. truer duty to be done in raising harvests, than in burning them; more in building houses, than in shelling them-more in winning money by your own work, wherewith, wo: help men, than in other people's work; taxing for money: wherewith ; to slay men:-imore duty ifinally, in honest and unselfish living than in honest and unselfish dying] though that seems to your boyst eyes the braverst. So far, then, as for your own'honotir, and: the honour of your families, your choost brave death in a red coat before brave.hifeinl a black one, you are sentimental;: and now see what this pas-siohate-now of yours comes ito. For a' little while.you ride, and you hume tigers .or savages, you shoot, and are .ehot; you are happy, and proud; always; and honoured and weqpt

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without thought, at another's bidding. Again, some slaves are bought with money, and others with praise.' It matters not what the purchase-money is. ' The distinguishing sign of slavery is to have'a price, and be bought for it. Again, it matters not what kind of work you are set on; some slaves are set to forced diggings, others. to forced marches; some dig furrows, others field-works, and others graves. Some press the juice of reeds, and some the juice of vines, and some the blood of men. The fact of the captivity is the same, whatever work we are set upon;, though the fruits of the toil may be different.
120. But, remember, in thias vowing ourselves to be the slaves of any master, it ought to be some subject of forethought with us, what work he is likely to put us upon. You may think that the whole duty of a soldier is to be passive, that it is the country you have left behind who is to command, and you have only to obey. "But are you sure that you have left all your country behind, or that the part of it you have so left is indeed the best part of it??: Suppose-and; remember, it is quite conceivable-that yow yourselves are
indeed the best : part of England; that you, who have become the slaves, ought to have been the masters; ; and that those who are the masters, ought to have been the slaves!' :If it is a noble and whole-hearted England, whose bidding you are bound to do; it is well ; 'but if you: are yourselves the best of 'her heart; and the England you have left be but à halfohearted England, how say you of your obedience? You were too proud to become shop-keepers : are you satisfied, then, 'to become .the servants of shopkeepers? 'You were too proud to become merchants or farmers yourselves' will you have merchants or farmers; then, "for your field-marshals? You had no gifts of special grace for Exeter Hall: will ybu have some gifted person thereat for your commander-in-chief, to judge of your; work, and reward it? ' You imagine yourselves to be the army of England: how, if you should find yourselves at last; only the 'police of her' manufacturing towns; and the beadles of her Little Bethels?
121. It is not so yet, nor will be so, I trust, for over ; bat what' I want you eb see, and to be assured of, is, that: the ideal of sotdiership
is not mere passive obedience and brtwery's that, so far from this, no country is in a healthy state which has separated, even in a small degree, her civil from her military power. All states of the world, however great, fall at once when they use: mencenary armies; and although it is a lees ingtant form of error (because involving', no national taint of cowardice), it is yet an error no less ultimately fatal-it is the error especially of modern times, of which, we cannat yet know all the calamitous consequences - ito take awny the best blood and strength of the nation, all the saul-substance of !. it that is brave; and careless of reward, and: scornful of pain, and faithful in trust; and to cast: that inbo steel, and make a mere sword of $\cdot$ it ; taking away its voice pad will; but. to keep the worst part of the nation-whatever is cowardly, avaricious, sensual; and faithless-and to give to this the voice, to this the authority, to this the chief privilege, where there is least capacity of thought.
122. The fulfilment of your vow for the defence of England will by no means consiat in carrying qut such a sygtem, Yqu are net

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now, if ever!. Do you know what, by this beautiful division of labour (her. brave men fighting, and her cowards thinking), she has come at last to think? . Here is a paper in my hand,* a good one too, and an honest one; quite representative of the best common public thought of England at this moment ; and it is holding, forth in' one of its leaders upon our 'social welfare,'-upon oun 'ivivid life'-mpon the 'political suprematey of . Great Britain.' And what do you think all these are owing to? To what our English sires have: done for us, arid taught us, age after age? No:

* I I do not care to refer to the journal quoted, because the article was unworthy, of its general tone, though in order ta enable the audience to verify the quoted sentence, I left the number containing it on the table, when I gave this lecture.: But a saying of Bavon Liebigs, quoted at the head of a leader on the sqme subject in the Daily Telegraph of January . 11 , 1866, summarily digests and presents the maximum folly of modern thought in this respect. 'Civilisation' says the Baron, 'is the econonsy of power, and English power is coph.' Not: altogether so, my chemical friend. Civilisation is the making of civil persons, which is a kind of distillation of which alembics are incapable. and'does not'at all'imply the turning of a small company of gentlemen into a large company of ironmongers. And English power (what little of it may be left) is by no means coal, but, indeed, of that which; "when the whole world turns to coal, thea chiefly lives']
not to that To. our honesty of heart, or coolness of head, or steadiness of will? No: not to these. To our thinkers, or our statesmen, or our poets, or our captains, or our martyrs, or the petientilabomar. of our poor? No: not. to these; on at least not to these in any chief messure . Nay, says the journal, ' more thian any agency, it is the cheapness and abundapce of our conl which have made us what we are.' If it be so, then 'ashes to: ashes' be our. epitaph rand the sooner the better.

124. Gentlemen of England; if ever you would have. your country. breathe the pure breath of heaven again, and receive again a soul into her body; instead iof rotting into a carcase, blown up in the belly with carbonic acid (and: great that way), you must think, and feel, for your England; as well as fight for her : : you must teach, her that all the true greatness she ever had, she won while her fields were green and her, faces ruddy; and that greatness is still possible for Englishmen, even though the ground be not hollow under their feet, nor the sky black over their heads.
125. And bear with me, you soldier youthe, who are thus in all ways the hope of your country, or must be, if ishe have any hope, if I urge you with rude carnestness to remember: that your fitness for sill future trust depends upon what you are now. No good soldier in his old age was ever careless or indolent in his youth, Many: a zibiddy and thoughtless boy has become' a good bishep, or a good lawyer, or good merchant ; bat no such an one ever bécame ia good general I challenge you, in all history, to find a recond of a good soldier who was not grave and earnest in his youth.' And, in general, I bave no patience with people who talk of "the thoughtlessness of youth' indulgently. I had infinitely rather hear of thoughtless old age, and the indulgence. due to that:: When a mian has done his work, and nothing can any way be materially altered in his fate, let him forget his toil; and jest with his fate, if he wril ; but what excuse can you find for wilfulnets of thought, at the very time when every crisis of future fortune hangs' on'your decisions? A youth thoughtless! when all the happiness of his home for ever depends on the chances,

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the hardship, and the activity of a soldier's life render his powers of thought more accurate than those of other men ; and while, for others, all knowledge is often little more than a means of amusement, there is no form of science which a soldier may not. at some time or other find bearing on business of life and death. A young mathematician may be excused for languor in studying curves to be described only with a pencil; but not in tracing those which are to be described with a rocket. Your knowledge of a wholesome herb may involve the feeding of an, army ; and acquaintance with an obscure point of geography, the success of a campaign. Never waste an instant's time, therefore : the sin of idleness is a thousand-fold greater in you than in other youths; for the fates of those who will one day be under your command hang upon your knowledge ; lost moments now will be lost lives then, and every instant which you carelessly take for play, you buy with blood.
127. But there is one way of wasting time, of all the vilest, because it wastes, not time only, but the interest and energy of your minds. Of all the ungentlemanly habits into
which you can fall, the vilest is betting, or interesting yourselves in the issues of betting. It unites nearly every condition of folly and vice; you concentrate your interest upon a matter of chance, instead of upon a subject of true knowledge; and you back opinions which you have, no grounds for forming, merely because they are your own. All the insolence of egotism is in this; and so far as the love of excitement is complicated with the hope of winning money, you turn yourselves into the basest sort of tradesmen-those who live by speculation. Were there no other ground for industry, this would be a sufficient one; that it protected you from the temptation to so scandalous a vice. Work faithfully, and you will put yourselves in possession of a glorious and enlarging happiness; not such as can be won by the speed of a horse, or marred by the obliquity of a ball.
128. First, then, by industry you must fulfil your vow to your country ; but all industry and earnestness will be useless unless they are consecrated by your resolution to be in. all things men of honour; not honour in the common sense only, but in the highest. Rest
on the force of the two main words in the great verse, 'integor vitæ, scelerisque puous.' You have vowed your life to England; give it her wholly;-a bright, stainless, perfect life -a knightly life. Because you have to fight with machines instead of lances, there may be a necessity for more ghastly danger, but there is none for less worthiness of character, than in olden time. You may be true knights yet, though perhaps not equites; you may have to call yourselves 'canonry' instead of 'chivalry,' but that is no reason why you should not call yourselves true men. So the first thing you have to see, to in becoming soldiers is that you make yourselves wholly true. Courage is a mere matter of course among any ordinarily well-born youths; but neither truth nor gentleness is matter of course. You must bind them like shields about your necks; you must write them on the tables of your hearts. Though it be not exacted of you, yet exact it of yourselves, this vow of stainless truth. Your hearts are, if you leave them unstirred, as tombs in which a god lies buried. Vow yourselves crusaders to redeem that sacred sepulchre. And remember,

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not when the hour of trial first finds you, nor when it verily finds you. You imagine that you are only called upon to wait and to.suffer; to surrender and to mourn. You know that you must not weaken the hearts of your husbands and lovers, even by the one fear of which those hearts are capable,-the fear of parting from you, or of causing you grief. Through weary years of separation; through fearful expectancies of unknown fate ; through the tenfold bitterness of the sorrow which might so easily have been joy, and the tenfold yearning for glorious life struck down in its prime;through all these agonies you fail not, and never will fail. But your trial is not in these. To be heroic in danger is little;-you are Englishwomen. To be heroic in change and sway of fortune is little;-for do you not love? To be patient through the great chasm and pause of loss is little;-for do you not still love in heaven? But to be heroic in happiness; to bear yourselves gravely and righteously in the dazzling of the sunshine of morning ; not to forget the God in whom you trust, when He gives you most ; not to fail those who trust you, when they seem to need
you least; this is the difficult fortitude. It is not in the pining of absence, not in the peril of battle, not in the wasting of.sickness, that your prayer should be most passionate, or your guardianship most tender. Pray, mothers and maidens, for your young soldiers in the bloom of their pride; pray for them, while the only dangers round them are in their own wayward wills; watch you, and.pray, when they have to face, not death, but temptation. But it is this fortitude also for which there is the crowning /reward. Believe me; the whole course and character of your lovers' lives is in your hands: what you would have them be, they shall be, if you not only desire to have them so, but deserve to have them so; for they are but mirrors in which you will see yourselves imaged. If you are frivolous, they will be so also; if you have no understanding of the scope of their duty, they also will forget it; they.will listen,-they can listen,-to no other interpretation of it than that uttered from your lips. Bid them be brave;-they will be brave for you: bid them be cowards:-and how noble soever they. be, they will quail for you. Bid them be wise, and they will be wise for
you'; mock at their counsel, they will be.fools for you : such and so absolute is your rule over them. You fancy, perhaps, as you have been told so often, that a wife's rule should only be over her husband's house, not over his mind. Ah, no ! the true rule is just the reverse of that ; a true wife, in her husband's house, is his servant; it is in his heart that she is queen. Whatever of best he can conceive, it is her part to: be; whatever of highest he can hope, it is hers to promise; all that is dark in him she must purge into purity; all that is failing in him she must strengthen into truth; from her, through all the world's clamour, he must win his praise; in her, through all the world's warfare, he must find his peace.
130. And, now, but one word more. You may wonder, perhaps, that I have spoken all this night in praise of war. Yet, truly, if it might be, I for one, would fain join in the cadence of hammer-strokes that should beat swords into ploughshares: and that this cannot be, is not the fault, of us men. It is your fault. Wholly yours. Only by your command, or by your permission, can any

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killed creatures. Your praying is useless, and your church-going mere mockery of God, if you have not plain obedience in you enough for this. Let every lady in the upper classes of civilized Europe simply vow that, while any cruel war proceeds, she will wear black;-a mute's black, -with no jewel, no ornament, no excuse for, or evasion into, prettiness-I tell you again, no war would last a week.
131. And, lastly. You women of England are all now shrieking with one voice,-you and your clergymen together, ${ }_{2}$-because you hear of your Bibles being attacked. If you choose to obey your Bibles, you will never care, who abtacks them. It is just because you never fulfil a single downright precept of the Book, that you are so careful for its credit : and just because you don't care to obey its whole words, that you are so particular about the letters of them. The Bible tells you to dress plainly,-and you are mad for. finery; the Bible tells you to .have pity on the poor,-and you crush them under your carriage-wheels; the Bible tells you to do judgment and justice, -and you do not know, nor care to know, so much as what the Bible word 'justice' means.

Do but learn so much of God's truth as that comes to; know what He means when He! tells you to be just ; and teach your sons, that: . their bravery is but a fool's boast and their deeds but a firebrand's tossing, unless they: are indeed Just men, and Perfect in the Fear of God:-and you will soon have no more war, unless it be indeed such as is willed by Him, of whom, though Prince of Peace, it is also written, ' In Righteousness He doth judge, and make war.'

## THE FUTURE OF ENGLAND.

> (Delivered at the R.A. Institution, Woolwich, December 14, 1869.)
132. I would fain have left to the frank expression of the moment, but fear I could not have found clear words-I cannot easily find them, even deliberately,-to tell you how glad I am, and yet how ashamed, to accept your permission to speak to you. Ashamed of appearing to think that I can tell you any truth which you have not more deeply felt than I; but glad in the thought that my less experience, and way of life sheltered from the trials, and free from the responsibilities of yours, may have left me with something of a child's power of help to you; a sureness of hope, which may perhaps be the one thing that can be helpful to men who have done too much not to have often failed in doing all that

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134. Thus the causes of wealth and noblesse are not the same; but opposite. On the other hand, the causes of anarchy and of the poor are not the same, but opposite. Side by side, in the same rank, are now indeed set the pride that revolts against authority, and the misery that appeals against avarice. But, so far from being a common cause, all anarchy is the forerunner of poverty, and all prosperity begins in obedience. So that, thus, it has become impossible to give due support to the cause of order, without seeming to countenance injury ; and impossible to plead justly the claims of sorrow, without seeming to plead also for those of license.

Let me try, then, to put in very brief terms, the real plan of this various quarrel, and the truth of the cause on each side. Let us face that full truth, whatever it may be, and decide what part, according to our power, we should take in the quarrel.
135. First. For eleven hundred years, all but five, since Charlemagne set on his head the Lombard crown, the body of European people have submitted patiently to be governed; generally by kings-always by single leaders
of some kind. . But for the last fifty years they have begun to suspect, and of late they have many of them concluded, that they have been on the whole ill-governed, or misgoverned, by their kings. Whereupon they say, more and more widely, 'Let us henceforth have no kings ; and no government at all.'

Now we said, we must face the full truth of the matter, in order to see what we are to do. And the truth is that the people have been misgoverned;-that very little is to be said, hitherto, for most of their masters-and that certainly in many places they will try their new system of 'no masters':-and as that arrangement will be delightful to all foolish persons, and, at first, profitable to all wicked ones, -and as these classes are not wanting or unimportant in any human society,-the experiment is likely to be tried extensively. And the world may be quite content to endure much suffering with this fresh hope, and retain its faith in anarchy, whatever comes of it, till it can endure no more.
136. Then, secondly. The people have begun to suspect that one particular form of this past misgovernment has been, that their
masters have set them to do all the work, and have themselves taken. all the wages. In a word, that what was called governing them, meant only wearing fine clothes, and living on good fare at their expense. And I am sorry to say, the people are quite right in this opinion also. If you enquire into the vital fact of the matter, this you will find to be the constant structure of European society for the thousand years of the feudal system; it was divided into peasants who lived by working; priests who lived by begging ; and knights who lived by pillaging; and as the luminous public mind becomes gradually cognizant of these facts, it will assuredly not suffer things to be altogether arranged that way any more ; and the devising of other ways will be an agitating business; especially because the first impression of the intelligent populace is, that whereas, in the dark ages, half the nation lived idle, in the bright ages to come, the whole of it may.
137. Now, thirdly-and here is much the worst phase of the crisis. This past system of misgovernment, especially during the last three hundred years, has prepared, by its

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misgovernment, I repeat, we have created in Europe a vast populace, and out of Europe a still vaster one, which has lost even the power and coneeption of reverence; -which exists only in the worship of itself-which can meither see anything beautiful around it, nor conceive anything virtuous above it; which has, towards all goodness and greatness, no other feelings than those of the lowest creatures-fear, hatred, or hunger; a populace which has sunk below. your appeal in their nature, as it has risen beyond your power in their multitude;-whom you can now no more charm than you can the adder, nor discipline, than you can the summer fly.

It is a crisis, gentlemen; and time to think of it. I have roughly and broadly put it before you in its darkness. Let us look what we may, find of light.
138. Only the other day; in a journal which is a fairly representative exponent of the Conservatism of our day, and for the most part not at all in favour of strikes or other popular proceedings; only about three. weeks since,

* Compare Time and Tid, $\$$ 169, and Fors Chavigera, Letter XIV. page 9.
there was a leader, with this, or a similar, title -'What is to become of the House of Lords ?' It startled me, for it seemed as if we were going even faster, than I had thought; when such a question was put as a subject of quite open debate, in a journal meant chiefly for the reading of the middle and upper classes. Open or not-the debate is near. What is to become of them? And the answer to such question depends first on their being able to answer another question-'What is the use of them !' For some time back, I think the theory of the nation has been, that they are useful as impediments to business, so as to give time for second thoughts. But the nation is getting impatient of impediments to business; and certainly, sooner or later, will think it needless to maintain these expensive obstacles to its humours. And I have not heard, either in public, or from any of themselves, a clear expression of their own conception of their use. So that it seems thus to become needful for all, men to tell them, as our one quite clear-sighted teacher, Carlyle, has been telling us for many a year, that the use of the Lords of a country is to govern the country.

If they answer that use, the country will rejoice in keeping them; if not, that will become of them which must of all things found to have lost their servicéableness.
139. Here, therefore, is the one question, at this crisis, for them, and for us. Will they be lords indeed, and give us laws-dukes indeed, and give us yuiding-princes indeed, and give us 'beginning, of truer' fynasty, which shall not be soited by covetousness, mor disordered by iniquity?. Have they themselves sunk so far as not to hope this? Are there yet any among them who can' stand forward with open English brows, and say,-So far as in me lies, I will govern with my might, not for Dieu et mon Droit, but for the first grand reading of the war cry, from which that was cortupted, 'Dieu et Droit'? Among them I know there are some-among you, soldiers of England, I know there are many, who can do this; and in you is our trust. I, one of the lower people of your country, ask of you in their name,-you whom I will not any more call soldiers, but by the truer name of Knights; -Equites of England. How many yet of you are there, knights èrrant now beyond all former

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Gire. 'Govern us,' they cry with one heart, though many minds. They can' be: governed still, these English; they are men still; not gnats, nor serpents. . They love their old ways yet, and their old masters, and their old land. They would fain live in it, as many: as' may stay there, if you will show them how, there, to live ;-or show them even, how, there, like Engtishmen, to die.

14I. 'To live in it, as many as may 1 ' How many do you think may? How many can? How many do you want to live there? As masters, your first object must be to 'increase your power; and in what does the power of a country consist? Will you have dominion over its stones, or over. its clouds, or over its souls? What do you mean by a great nation, but a great multitude of men who are true to each other; and strong, and of worth ? Now you can increase the multitude only definitely-your island has only: so much standing room-but 'you can increase the worth indefinitely. : It is but a little island;suppose, little as it is, you were to fill it with friends? You may, and that: easily. You must, and that speedily; ;or there will be an
end to this England of ours, and to all its loves: and enmities:
142. To fill' this little istand with true friends-men brave, wise, and happy! Is it so impossible, think you, after the world's. eighteen hurdred: years of Christianity, and our own thousand years of toil, to fill only this little white gleaming crag with happy creatures, :helpful to each other? Africa, and India, and the Brazilian wide-watered plain, are these not wide enough for the ignorance of our race? have they not space enough for its pain? Must we remain here also savage,-herv: at enmity with each other, -here foodless, houseless, in rags, in dust, and without hope, as thousands and ten's of thou:sands of us are lying? Do not think it, gentlemen. The thought that it is inevitable is the last infidelity; infidelity not to God only, but to every creature and every law that. He has made. 'iAre we to think that the earth was onily shaped to be a" globe of: torture ; and: that: there "cannot be one spot of it where peace can rest, or' justice reign? Where are men ever to be happy, if not in England ? by whom shall they ever be taught-
to. do right, if not by youif . iAre we not: of a race first among the strong ones of the earth ; the blood in us.incapable of weariness, unconquerable by grief?.. Have. we not a history of which we can hardly think without becoming insolent in our just pride of it? Can wt:dare,. without passing every limit of courtesy. to; other nations, to say how much more: we have to be proud of in our anceators than they? Aming our ancient monarchs, great crines atand out. as monstrous and strange, But their valour, and, according to their understanding, their beaevolence, are constant. : The . Wars of the Roses, which are: as a fearful crimson! shadow on aur land, represent the normal condition of other nations; while from the days of the Heptarchy downwards we have had examples given us, in all ranks, of the most varied and exalted' virtue; a beap of treasure that wo moth can corrupt, and which even our traitorship, if we are to become traitors to it, cannbt sully.

- 143. And this is the racd, thed, that we know not any mope how to govern! and this the history which we are to behold broken off by setition I. and this is the country; of all athers,


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literature to lust. It is, on the contrary, training them into the perfect exercise 'and kingly continence of their bodies and souls: It is a painful, continual, and difficult work; to be done by kindness, by watching, by warning, by precept, and by praise;-but above all-by example.
145. Compulsory! Yes, by all means ! 'Go ye out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in.' Compulsory l' Yes, and gratis also. Dei Gratia, they must be taught, as, Dei Gratia, you are set to teach them. I hear strange talk continually, 'how difficult it is to make people pay for being educated!' Why, I should think so! Do you make your children pay for their education, or do you give it them compulsorily, and gratis? You do not expect them to pay you for their teaching, except by becoming good children. Why should you expect a peasant to pay for his, except by becoming a good man ?-payment enough, I think, if we knew it. Payment enough to himself, as'to us. For that is another of our grand popular mistakes-people are always thinking of education as a means of livelihood. Education is not a profitable
business, but a'costly one; nay; even the best attainments of it are always unprofitable, in any terms of coin. Nb nation ever made its bread either by its great arts, or its great wisdoms. By its minor arts or manufactures, by its practical knowledges, yes : but its noble scholarship, its noble philosophy, and its noble art, are always to be bought as a treasure, not sold for a fivelihood. You do not learn that you may live-you live that you may learn. You are to sperid on National Education, and to be spent for it, and to make by it, not more money, but better men;-to get into this British Island the greatest possible number of good and brave Englishmen. They are to be your 'money's worth.' '

But where is the money to come from? Yes, that is to be asked. Let us, as quite the first business in this our national crisis, look not only into our affairs, but intó our accounts, and obtain some general notion how we annually spend our money, and what'we are getting for 'it:' Observe, I do not mean to enquire into the public revenue only; of that some account is rendered already. 'But let us do the best wé ican to set down the items of
the national private expenditure; and know what we apend altogether, and how.
146. To begin with this matter of education, You probably haye nearly all sqen the admirable lecture lately given py, Captain Maxse, at Southampton.: It contains a clear statement of the facts 'at. present ascertained as to our expenditure in that respect. It appears that of our • public moneys, for every pound that we spend on education we spend twelve either in charity ar punishment;-ten millions a year in pauperism and crime, and eight hundred thausand in instruction. Now, Captain Maxse adds to this estimate of ten millions publio money spent on crime and want, a more or less conjectural sum of eight millions for private charities. My impression is, that this is much beneath the truth, but. at all events it leaves out of consideration much the heaviest and saddest form of charity-the maintenance, by the working members of families, of the unfqrtunate or ill-conducted persons whom the general course of misrule n甲w leaves helpless to be the burden of the rest.
147. Now I want to get first at some, I do not say approximate, but at all events some

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our money. If our right hand is not to know what our left does, it must not be because it would be ashamed if it did.... .

That is, therefore, quite the first practical thing to be done. Let every man who wishes well to his country, render it yearly an account of his income, and of the main heads of his expenditure; or, if he is ashamed to do so, let him no more impute to the poor their poverty as a crime, nor set them to break stones in order to frighten them from committing it. To lose money ill is indeed often a crime; but to get it ill is a worse one, and to spend it ill, worst of all. You object, Lords of England, to increase, to the poor, the wages you. give them, because they spend them, you say, unadvisedly. Render them, therefore, an account of the wages which they give you; and show them, by your example, how to spend theirs, to the last farthing advisedly.
148. It is indeed time to make this an acknowledged subject of instruction, to the working man,-how to spend his wages. For, gentlemen, we must give that instruction, whether we will or no, one way or the other. We have given it in years gone by; and now
we 'find fault with our peasantry for having been too docile, and profited too shrewdly by our tuition. Only a few .days since I had a letter from the wife of a village rector, a man of common sense and kindness, who was greatly troubled in his mind because it was precisely the men who .got highest wages in summer that came destitute to his door in the winter. Destitute, and of riotous temper-for their method of spending wages in their period of prosperity was by sitting two days a week in the tavern parlour, ladling port wine, not out of bowls, but out : of buckets. Well, gentlemen, who taught them that method of festivity? Thirty years ago, $I$, a most inexperienced freshman, went to my first college supper; at the head of the table'sat a nobleman of high promise and of admirable powers, since dead of palsy; there also we had in the midst of us, not buckets, indeed, but bowls as large as buckets; there also, we helped ourselves with ladles. There (for this beginning of college education was compulsory), I choosing ladlefuls of punch instead 'of. claret, because I was then able, unperceived, to pour them .into my waistcoat instead of down my throat, stood it out to the
end, and helped to carry four of my fellow students, one of them the son of the head of a college, head foremost, down stairs and home.
149. Such things are no more; butithe fruit of them remains, and will for insing a day to come. The labourers whom you cannot now shut out of the ale-house are only the too faithful disciples of the gentlemen who were wont to shut themselyes into the diningroom. The gentlemen have not thought it necessary, in order to correct their own habits, to diminish their incomes; and; believe me, the way to deal with your drunken workman is not to lower his wages,-but to mend his wits."

I 50. And if indeed we do not yet sate quite clearly how to deal with the sins of our poor brother, it is possible that our dimness of sight may still have other causes that can be cast out. There are two opposite, eries of the great Liberal and Conservative parties, which are both most right, and worthy to be'nallying cries. On their side 'let' every man have his chance;' on yours 'let every man stand in * Compare $\S$ yo of Time iand Tille.

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151. So much for the master's motto, 'Every man in his place?' Next for the labourer's motto, 'Every man his chance.' Let us mend that for them a' little, and say, 'Every man his certainty'-certainty, that if he does well, he will be honoured, and aided; 'and advanced in such degree as may be fitting for his faculty and. consistent with his peace ; and equal certainty that if he does ill, he will by sure justice be judged, and by sure, punishment be. chastised ; if it may be, corrected ; and if that may not be, condemned. That is the right roading of the Republican motto, 'Every. man his chance.' And then; with such a. system of government, pure, watchful 'and just, you may approach your gieat problem of national education, or in other words, of national employment. : For all education begins. in work. What we think, or what we know, or what we believe, is in the end, of 1 little consequence. The only thing of consequence is what we.do: and for man, woman, or child, the first point of education is to make them do their best. It is the law of good economy to make the best of everything. How much more make the best of every creature! Therefore, when your
pauper comes to you and asks for bread, ask of him instantly—What faculty have you? What can you do best? Can you drive a nail:into wood? Go and mead the parish fences. Can you lay a brick? Mend the walls of the cottages where the wind comes in. Can you lift a spadeful of earth? Turn this field up three feet deep all over. Can you only drag a weight with your shoulders? Stand at the bottom of this hill and help up the overladen horses. Can you weld iron and chisel stone.? Fortify this wreck-strewn, coast into a harbour ; and change these' shifting: sands into fruitful ground. Wherever death was, bring life; that is to be your work; that your parish refuge; that your education: So. and no otherwise can we meet existent distress. But for the continual education of the whole. people, and for their future happiness, they must have such consistent employment as shall develop all the powers of the fingers, and the limbs, and the brain : and that development is only to be obtained by hand-labour, of which you have these four great divisions-hand-labour on the earth, hand-labour on the sea, hand-labour in art, hand-labour in war. Of the last two of
these I cannot speak to-night, and of the first two only with extreme brevity.
152. I. Hand-labour on the earth, the work of the husbandman and of the shepherd;-to dress the earth and to keep the flocks of it-the first task of man, and the final one-the education always of noblest lawgivers, kings and teachers ; the education of Hesiod, of Moses, of David, of all the true strength of Rome; and all its tenderness : the pride of Cincinnatus, and the inspiration of Virgil. Hand-labour on the earth, and the harvest of it brought forth with singing :-not steam-piston labour on the earth, and the harvest of it brought forth with steamwhistling. You will have no prophet's voice accompanied by that shepherd's pipe, and pastoral symphony. Do you know that lately, in Cumberland, in the chief pastoral district of England,-in Wordsworth's own home,a procession of villagers on their festa day provided for themselves, by way of music, a steam-plough whistling at the head of them.
153. Give me patience while I put the principle of machine labour before you, as clearly and in as short compass as possible; it is one that should be known at this juncture.

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them, however he spends them. That is mainly true (not altogether so), for food and fuel are in ordinary circumstanices personally wasted by rich people, in quantities which would save many lives. One of my. own great luxuries, for instance, is candielight-and I probably burn, for myself: alone, as many candles during the winter, as .would comfort the ofd eyes, or spare the young ones, of a whole rushlighted country village. Still, it is mainly true that it is not by their personal waste that rich people prevent the lives of the poor. This is the way they do it. Let me go back to my farmer. He has got his machine made, which goes creaking; screaming, and occasionally exploding, about modern Arcadia. He has turned off his fifty men to starve; Now, at some distance from his own farm, there is another. on which the labourers were working for their bread in the same way, by tilling the land. The machinist sends over to these, saying-' I have got food enough for you without your digging or ploughing any more. "I can maintain you in other occupations instead of ploughing that land ; if you rake in its gravel you will find some hard stones-you shall grind those
on mills till they glitter; then, my wife shall wear a necklace of them. Also, if you turn up the meadows below you will find some fine white clay, of which you shall make a porcelain service for mes and the rest of the farm I want for pasture for horses for my carriageand you shall, groom them, and some of you ride behind the carriage with staves in your hands, and I. will keep you much fatter for doing that than you can keep yourselves by digging.'
155. Well—but it is answered, are we to have no diamonds, nor china, nor pietures, nor footmen, then $-b u t$ all to be farmers? I am not saying what we ought to do, I want only to show you with perfect, clearness first what we are doing; and that, I repeat, is the upshot of machine-contriving in this country. And observe. its effect, on the national strength Without machines, ypu have a hundred and fifty yeomen ready: to join for defence of the land. :You get your machine; starve fifty of them, make djampnd-cutters or footmen of as many mone, and for your national defence against an enemy, you have now, and can have, only fifty men, instead of a hundred
and fifty; these also now with minds much alienated from you as their chief,* and the rest, lapidaries or footmen;-and a steam plough.
156. That is one effect of machinery ; but at all events, if we have thus lost in men, we have gained in riches ; instead of happy human souls, we have at least got pictures, china, horses, and are ourselves better off than we were before. But very often, and in much of our machine-contriving, even that result does not follow. We are not one whit the richer for the machine, we only employ it for our amusement. For observe, our gaining in riches depends on the men who are out of employment consenting to be starved, or sent out of the country. But suppose they do not consent passively to be starved, but some of them become criminals, and have to be taken charge of and fed at a much greater cost than if they were at work, and others, paupers, rioters, and the like, then you attain the real outcome of modern wisdom and ingenuity. You had your hundred men honestly at country

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and shepherd and pastoral husbandry, are to be the chief schools of Englishmen. And this most royal academy of all academies you have to open over all the land, purifying your heaths and hills, and waters, and keeping them full of every kind of lovely natural organism, in tree, herb, and living creature, All land that is waste and ugly, you must redeem into ordered fruitfulness ; all ruin, desolateness, imperfectness of hut or habitation, you must. do-away with; and throughout every willage and city, of your English dominion, there, must not be a hand that cannot find a helper, nor a heart that cannot find a comforter.
. 158: 'How impossible !' I knaw, you are thinking. Ah! So far from impossible, it is easy, it is natural; it is necessary, and I declare to you that, sooner or later, it must be done, at our peril. If now our English lords of land will fix this idea steadily before them; take the people to their hearts, trust to their loyalty, lead their labour; -then indeed there will be princes again in the midst of $\mu \mathrm{s}$, worthy of the island ṭhrone,
> 'This royal throne of kings-this soeptred isleThis fortrede buily by, nature for herself

> Against infection, and the hand of war;
> This precious stone set in the silver sea;
> This happy breed of men-tibis little world:
> This other Eden-Demi-Paradise.'

But if they refuse to do this, and hesitate and equivocate, clutching through the confused catastrophe of all things only at what they can still keep stealthily for themselves,-their doom is nearer than even their adversaries hope, and it will be deeper than even their despisers dream.
159. That, believe me, is the work you have to do in England; and out of England you have room' for everything else you care to do. Are her dominions in the world so narrow that she can find no place to spin cotton in but Yorkshire.? We may organise emigration into an infinite power. We may assemble troops of the more adventurous and ambitious of our youth; we may send them on truest foreign service, founding new seats of authority, and centres of thought, in uncultivated and unconquered lands; retaining the full affection to the native country no less in our colonists than in our armies, teaching them to maintain, allogiance to their fatherland in
labour no less than in battle; aiding them with free hand in the prosecution of discovery, and the victory over adverse natural powers; establishing seats of every manufacture in the climates and places best fitted for it, and bringing ourselves into due alliance and harmony of skill with the dexterities of every 1ace, and the wisdoms of every tradition and every tongue.
160. And then you may make England itself the centre of the learning, of the arts, of the courtesies and felicities of the world. You may cover her mountains with pasture; her plains with corn, her valleys with the lily, and her gardens with the rose. You may bring together there in peace the wise and the pure, and the gentle of the earth, and by their word, command through its farthest darkness the birth of 'God's first creature, which was Light.' You know whose words those are; the words of the wisest of Englishmen. He , and with him the wisest of all other great nations, have spoken always to men of this hope, and they would not hear. Plato, in the dialogue of Critias, his last, broken off at his death,-Pindar, in passionate singing of

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into what I conceive to be a better mind. But, on the other hand, I know certaınly that the most beautiful characters yet developed among men have been formed in war;-that all great nations have been warrior nations, and that the only kinds of peace which we are likely to get in' the present age are ruinous alike to the intellect, and the heart.
162. The last lecture. * ip . phas. volume, addressed to young sqldiers, had for, its object to strengthen their, trust in'the, virtue of their profession. It is inconpistent with ifself, in its closing appeal to women $n_{1}$, praying: theom to use their influence to bring wars to an end. And I have been, hindered from completing my long intended notes on the econgary, of the Kings of Prussia by continually ingreaqing doubt how far, the machinery, and discipline of war, under which they learned the art of government, was essential for such lasson; and what the honesty $\pm$ and $d_{1}$ sagacity lof' the Friedrich who se pobly: repaired, his ruined Prussia ${ }_{r:}$ might haye done for the happipess of his Prussia, unruiped.

[^11]In wars, howiever, or in peace, the character which Carlyle chiefly loves him for, and.iw which Carlyle has shown him to differ from all kings up to this time succeeding him; is his constant purpose to, use, every power ena trusted to him: for the good of his people; and be, not in name only, but in heart and hand, their king:

Not in ambition, but in natural instimet of duty. Friedrich, born' to govern. determines to govern' the best of his faculty. That 'best' may sometimes be unwise; and. .self. will, or love of glory; may have their oblique hold on his mind, and warp it this way. or that; but they are never principal with him. He believes that war is necessary, and maintains it ; sees that peace is necessary, and calmly persists in the work of it to the day. of his death, net olaiming therein more praise than the bead of any ordinary household. who rules it simply because it is his place, and he must not yield, the mastery of it to another.
163. How far in the future, it may be possible for men to gain the strength necessary for kingship without either fronting death, or inflicting it, seems to me not at present
determinable. The historical facts are that, broadly speaking, none but soldiers, or persons with a soldierly faculty, have ever yet shown themselves fit to be kings; and that no other men are so gentle, so just, or so clear-sighted. Wordsworth's character of the happy warrior cannot be reached in the height of it but by a warrior; nay, so much is it beyond common strength that I had supposed the entire meaning of it to be metaphorical, until one of the best soldiers of England himself read me the poem,* and taught me, what I might have known, had I enough watched his own life, that it was entirely literal. There is nothing of so high reach distinctly demonstrable in Friedrich : but I see more and more, as I grow older, that the things which are the most worth, encumbered among the errors and faults of every man's nature, are never clearly demonstrable ; and are often most forcible when they are scarcely distinct to his own conscience,-how much less, clamorous for recognition by others !

Nothing can be more beautiful than Carlyle's showing of this, to any careful reader of Friedrich. But careful readers are but one in

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reference first'to the latgest edition, in six (volumes (1858-1865) ; then, in parenthesis,; to the smallest or 'people's edition'. (1872-1873). The pieces which I have quoted ini my , own text are for the use of readers who may not have ready access to the book; and are onough for the explanation of the points to which. I wish them to direct their thoughta: in reading such histories of soldiers or soldier-kingdoms.
I.

Year 928 to 936.—Dawn of Order in Christian Germainy.
Book II. Chap. 1., p. 67 (47).
16,5. Henry the Fowler, 'the begipning of German kings,' is a mighty soldier in the cause of peace; his essential work the building and organization of.fortified towns for the protection of men.

Read page 7.2 with utmost care (5I), ' He fortified towns,' to end of: small print. I :have added some notes on the matter in my lecture on Giovanni. Pisano; but : whether you can glance at them or not, fix in your mind this institution of truly civily or civic building. in Germany, as distinct from the building of
. Herrial eastles for the security of nobbets: and of a standing 'armin coinsisting iof every ninth man, ، 'called a 'ibúrgher' ('townsman') -a soldier, appointedscilearn that profession that he may griapd the wallsu-the exact reverse of our notions of a burgher.
$\because$ Frederiekt's finali idea df. his, army is, indeed, only:this.

Brannibar, ${ }^{\text {a }}$ chlef fortress of the. Wends, is thus !takemy' and' further strengthened by Henry: the Fowler; 'wapdens appointed for it ; and: thus the 'history ibf: Brandenburg begins. On all'frontiets, jalso, this "béginning of German khegs','tias his :9Markgraf!: 'Ancient of the marked place' Read page 73, measuredly, learning'it by heart, if it may be. ( 5 r-2.)

## II.

936-1000.-History of Nascent Brandenburg. 166. The passage I last desired you to read ends with this sentence: "The sea-wall you build; and what main floodgates you establish is it, will depend on the state of the outer sea."
'. From this time forwand you have to keep clearly separate in your minds, (A) the history
of that outer sea, Pagan Scandinavia, Russia, and Bor-Russia, or Prussia proper; (B) the history of Henry the Fowler's Eastern and Western Marches; asserting themselves gradually as Austria and the Netherlands; and (c) the history of this inconsiderable fortress of Brandenburg, gradually becoming considerable, and the capital city of increasing district between them. That: last :history, however, Carlyle is obliged to lesue vagye and gray for two hundred years after Henry's death. Absolutely dim for the first century, in which nothing is evident but that its .wardens or Markgraves had no peaceable possession of the place. . Read the second'paragraph in page 74 (52-3), 'in old books.' to ' 'reader,' and the first in page 83 (59), 'meanwhile' to 'substantial,' consecutively. They bring the story of Brandenburg itself down, at any rate, from 936 to 1000.

## III.

936-1000.-State of the Outer Sea.
167. Read now Chapter II. beginning. at page 76 (54), wherein you will get account of the beginning of vigorous missionary work on

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precibus.; nevertheless, the missionary work 'itself you find is wholly vain. ' The: difference of opinion between St. Adalbert and the Wends, on Divine matters, does : not sighify :to the Fates. They will, not have it disputed .about; and end the..dispute adversely.; to St. Adalbert,-adversely, even, to Brandenburg and its civilising power, as you will immediately see.
which has its: supporters! ' It is wonderful,this Tripod and Triglyph,-three-footed, threecut faith of the North and South, the leaf of the oxalis, and strawberry, and clover, fostering the same in: their simple:manner. I suppose it to be the most savagerand matural of notions about Deity; a prismatic idol-shape of Him, rude as a triangular: log, as a trefoil grass. I do not. find how long Triglaph, held his state on St. Mary's Hill. 'For a time,' says Carlyle, 'the priests all slain or, fled,-shadowy Markgraves the like-church and state lay in ashes, and Triglaph, like a triple porpoise under the influence of laudanum, stood, I know not whether on his head or his tail; aloft on the Harhungsberg, as the Supneme of this Universe for the time being $\because$. $\because$...
V. ...

1030-1130.-Brandenburg under the Ditmarsch Markgraves, or Ditmarsch-Stade Markgraves.

Book II. Chap. iii. p. 85 (60).
169. Or:Anglish;ior Saxion breed. They attack Brandenburg, under' its Triglyphic' protector,
take it-dethrone him, and hold the town for a hundred years, their history 'stamped beneficially on the face of things, Markgraf after Markgraf getting killed in the business. "Erschlagen,". "slain," fighting with the Heathen-say the old books, and pass on to another.' If we allow seven years to Triglaph-we get a clear century for these -as above indicated. They die out in 1130.

## VI.

II30-I170.-Brandenburg under, Albert the Bear.

Book II. Chap. iv. p. 91 (64).
170. He is the first of the Ascanien Markgraves, whose castle of Ascanica is on the northern slope of the Hartz Mountains, 'ruins still dimly traceable.' ،

There had been no soldier or king of note among the Ditmarsch Markgraves, so that you will do well to fix in your mind successively the three men, Henry the Fowler, St. Adalbert, and Albert the Bear.': A soldier again, and a strong one. Named the Bear ondy from the device on his shield, first. wholly definite

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peaceably among the Hacty .Wrountains at last, in the year xir70, age abonet, sixty frfive. , 'ry' : : : ...

Now, note in all this the steady gain of soldiership enforcing order and agriculture, with St.. Adalbert giving; higher, strain to the imagination. Henry the Fowler, establishes walled towns, fighting for mere peace, Albert the Bear plants the country with cabbages, fighting for his cabbage-fields.- 'An'd the disciples of St. Adalbert, generally, have succeeded in substituting some idea of Christ for the idea of Triglaph .Some, idea, only; other ideas than of Christ haunt, jevien to this day: those Hartz Mountains among which Albert the Bear died so peacefully. Mephistopheles, and all his ministers, inhabit there'; 'commanding mephitic clouds and earth-born dreams.
sand : intrusive chaos, and Triglaph held at bay by-them,' till at last in 1240 , seventy years after the great Bear's death; they fortify a new. Burg;' a 'little rampart,': Wehrlin, diminutive of Wehr (or vallum), gradually smoothing itself, with a little echo" of "tie Bear in it too, "into Ber-lin, the oily river Spree flowing' by, ' in which you catch various fish;' while trade över the flats and by the dull streams, is widely possible. Of the Ascanien race, the riotablest is Otto with the 'Arrow, whose story 'see; pp.' 138-141 ( $98-100$ ), noting that Otto is one of the first Minnesingers; that, being a prisoner to the Archbishop of Magdeburg, his wife rescues him, selling her jewels to bribe the canons;' and that the Knight, set free on parole and 'promise of farther ransom, rides back with his 'own'"price in' his hand; holding himself thereat cheaply bought, though no angetic legerdemain happens to the scales now. His' own estimate of his price-ur Rain gold ducats on my war-horse and me, till you cannot see the point of my spear atop.?

Emptiness of utter pride, you think?
Not so. "Consider with yourself, reader, how much you dare to say, aloud, you are worth.

If you have no courage to name any price whatsoever for yourself, believe me, the cause is not your modesty, but that in very truth you feel in your heart there would be no bid for you at Lucian's sale of lives, were that again possible, at Christic and Manson's.
172. Finally (1319 exactly;'say 1320, for memory), the Ascanien line expired in Brandenburg, and the.little town and its electorate lapsed to the Kaiser: meantime other economical arrangements had been in progress ; but observe first how far we have got.

The Fowler, St. Adalbert, and the Bear have established order, and some sort of Christianity ; but the established persons begin to think somewhat too well of themselves. On quite honest terms, a dead saint or a living knight ought to be worth their true 'weight in gold.' But a pyramid, with only the point of the spear seen at top, would be many times over one's weight in gold. And.although men were yet far enough from the notion of modern days, that the gold is better than the flesh, and from buying it with the clay of one's body, and even the fire of one's soul, instead of soul and bpdy with it, they were beginning to fight for

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former Knighta Hospitallers, as .being entirely German : yet soonj as, the German Dinder of St . Mary, eclipsing in. importance Templars, Hospitallers, and every;othen chivalric onder then extant ; no purpase ' of battie:..in. ithem, ', but much strength for it; their purpose only the helping of German pilgrims. To this only they are bound by their vow, 'gelubde,' and become one of the usefullest of clubs in all the Pall Mall of Europe.

Finding pilgrimage in Pälestitte falling slack, and more need for thetn, onl the homewant side of the sea, thein. Hochmeister; Hermann of the Salza, goes oper to Venice in: 1210 . There, theititular bishop of still unconverted' Preussen advises hith of that field of worle for his idle knights: :Hermainn',thinks well' of dit: sets his St, Mary's riders: at Triglaph, with the sword in one hand and:a-missal in the; other.
$\therefore$ Not:i your modern way of , effecting conversion ! .. Too illiberal, you think ; :and what would Mr. J. S. Mill say?
474. But if Triglaph; had. beern wenly 'three whale's cubs combined by boiling; you:would yourself have, promoted attack : uppan him for the sake of .his, oil , would, nott you ?: The

Teutsch Ritters, fighting him for charity, are they so mucht inferior to you ?"

They built, and;burnt, innumerable stockades for and againist: built' wooden. forts which are now stone towns. .They foaght much and prevalently; galloped !desperately to and fro, ever on the alert: In peaceabler ulterior times, whey fenced in the Nogat and the. Weichsel with dams; whereby unlimited quagmire might become grassy meadow-i as it contintes to this day. Marienburg (Mary's Burg), with its grand stone-Schloss still visible and even 'habitable: this.' was at 'length 'their headquärter. 'But how many: Bufgs of wood and stone they built, in' different parts; what revolts, surprisals; furious fights in woody; boggy places they had, no man has counted.

But always some preaching by zealous monks; accompanied the chivalrous 'fighting. 'And colonists came in from Germany; trickling in, or at times streaming. Victorious Ritterdom offers terms to the beaten heathen': : terms not of tolerant nature, but which will be punstually kept by Ritter dom. When the flame of revolt or general conspiracy burnt up again to extensively, high pepsomages came on crusade to them. Ottocar, King of Bohemia, with his extensive far-shining chivalry, 'conquered Samland in a month;' tore up the Romova where Adalbert had been massacred, and burnt it from the face of the earth. A certain
fortress was founded at that time, in Qttocar's presence ; and in honour. of him. they named it King's Fortress, ' Königsberg.' Among King Ottocar's esquires, or subaltem junior officials, on this occasion, is one Rudolf, heir of a poor Swiss lordship and gray hill : osstle, called Hapsburg, rather in reduced ciroumstances, whom Ottocar likes for his prudent, handy ways; a stott, modest, wise young man, who may channe: to redeem Hapsburg a little, if he lixes.

Conversion, and complete conquest once come, there was a happy time for Prussia; ploughshare instead of sword : busy sea-havens, German towns, getting built; churches everywhere nising; grass growing, and peaceable cows, where:Iformerly had been quagmire and snakes, and for the Order a happy time. On the whole, this Teutsch Ritterdom, for the first century and more, was a grand phenomenon, and flamed like a bright blessed beacon through the night of things, in those Northern countries. For, above, a century, we perceive, it was the rallying place of all brave men who had a career to seek on-terms: other than vulgar. The noble soul, siming, beyond money, and seasible to more than hunger in this world, had a beacon burning (as. we say), if the night chanced to overtake it, and the earth to: grow too intricate, as is not uncommon. Better, than the career of stump-oratory, I shculd fancy, and its Hesperides apples, golden, and of gilt horse-dung.

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: Towns are built, . Königsberg (King Ottocar's town), Thoren (Thorn, City of the Gates), with many others ; so that the wild population and the tame now lived tolerably together, under Gospel and Lübeck law; and all was ploughing and trading.
. But Brandeaburg itself, what of it?
The Ascanien Markgraves rule it on the whole prosperously down to 1320 , when their line expires, and it falls into the power of Imperial Austria.

## IX. .

$$
\begin{gathered}
\text { 1320-1415.-Brandenburg under the } \\
\text { Austrians. }
\end{gathered}
$$

176. A CENTURY -the fourteenth-of miserable anarchiy and decline 'for 'Brandenburg, its Kurfursts, in deadly.saccession, making what they can out of it for their own pockets. The city itself and its territory utterty helpless. Read pp. 180, 181 (129, 130). 'The towns suffered much, any trade they might have had going to wreck. Robber castles flourished, all else decayed, no highway safe. What are Hamburg pedlars made for but to be robbed ?'

1415-1440:-Brandenburg under Friedrich of Nüremberg.
177. This is the foufth of the men. whom you are to remember as creators of the Prussian monarchy, Henry the Fowler, St Adalbert, Albert the'Raar, of Ascanien, :and Friedrich: of Nuremberg; ( (of Hetienzollern; by name; and by country, of the Black Forest, north of the Lake of Constance).

Brandenburg is sold to him at Con'stance. during the great Council, for abput 200,000 . of our money, worth perhaps a million in that day; still, 'with its capabilities;' 'dog pheap:' Admittirg, what no one at the time denied, the. general marketabléness of states as private property, this is the one practical result, thinks Carlyle, (not likely to think wrong, ) of that cecumenical deliberation, four years long, : of the 'elixir. of the intellect, and dignity of Europe. : And ,that one thing was not., its doing; but a pawnbroking job, - intercalated,' putting, however, at last, 'Brandenburg' again under the will of one strong man. On St. John's day, 1412, he first set foot in his town.
'and Brandenburg, under its wise Kurfurst, begins to be cosmic again.' The story of Heavy Peg, pages 195-198 ( 138,140 ), is one of the most brilliant and important passages of the first volume; page 199, specially to our purpose, must be given entire':-

The offer to be Kaiser was made him in his old days; but he wisely declined that too... It was in Brandenburg, by what he silently founded there, that he did his chief benefit to Germany and mankind. He understood the noble art of governing men; had in him the justness, clearness, valour, and patience needed for that. A man of sterling probity, for one thing.' Whicht' indeed' is the first requisite in said art:--If you, with have your laws obeyed without muting, see, well that they be pieces of God Almighty's law; otherwise all the artillery in the world will not keep down mutiny.

Friedrich 'travelled much over Brandenburg;' looking into everything with his own eyes ; making, I`can well fancy, innumerable crooked things straight; reducing more and more that famistring dog-kennel of a Brandenburg into a, fruitful arable field. His portraits represent a square-headed, mild-looking, solid gentleman, with a certain twinkle of mirth in the serious eyes of him. Except in those Hussite wars for Kaiser Sigismund

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absolute : barrenness'rof emumeration, for our momentary convenience, here :

Friedrich ist of Brandenburg (6th of Nüremberg),
Friedrich II., called 'Iron Teeth,' . 'i440-1472
Albert, . . . : . . . 1472 -1486
Johann, . .. ... . . . 1486-1499
Joachim I., . . . . . 1499-1535
Joachim II., . . . . . . $1535-157 \mathrm{I}$
Johann George, . : . . . 1571-1598
Joachim Friedrich, . . .. . . i598-1608
Johann Sigismund, ". ... . . 1608-1619
George Wilhelm,: : , !. : : $\quad . \quad 1619-1640$
Friedrich Wilhelm (the Great Elector), 1640-1688 Friedrich, first King ; ,crowned 18th :

January, . . . . . 1701

Of this line of princes we have to say they followed generally in : their ancestor's stepps, and had success of the like kind more or less; Hohenzollerns all of them, by character and behaviour as well as by descent. No lack of quiet energy, of thrift, :sound sense.. There was likewise solid fair-play in general, no founding of yourself, on ground that will not carry, and there was instant, gentle, but inexarable crushing of mutiny, if it showed itself, which, after the Second Elector, or at most the Third,' it hàd altogether ceased to do.
179. This is: the general account of them; of special, matters note the'following:-
II. Friedrich, called 'i.Iron-tecth', from his: firmness, proves a notable manager $i$ and. governor. . Builds the palace at Berlin in its first form, and makesion his chief residence. Buys Neumark from the fallen Teutsch Ritters, and generally establishes things on securer footing
III. Albert, 'a fiery, tough old Gentleman,' called the. Achilles of Germany in his day; has half-a-century of fighting with his own Narembergers; with . Bavaria, ' France, Burgundy, and its fiery Charles, besides being head constable to the Kaiser' among any disorderly persons in the East. His skull, long shown on his tomb, 'marvellous for strength and with no visible sutures.'
IV. John, the orator of his race; (but the orations 'unrecorded).' His second son, Archbishop of • Maintz, for whose plece of memorable work see page 223 (143), and read in connection with that the history of Margraf George, pp. $237-241$ (152-I54), and the 8th chapter of the third book.
V. Joachim I., of httle note; thinks there
has been enough iReformation: and checks proceedings in a dull; stubbornness,' cauşing him at least grave domestic difficuities.-Páge 271 (173).
: VI. Joachim II. ':Agrain active in the Reformation, and staunch;
though generally in: a cautious, weighty, never in a rash, swift way, to the great cause of Protestantism and to all good causes. . He was himself a solemnly devout man ;' déep,' áwe-strickèen reverence dwelling in his view of this universe. Most serious, though with a jbcose dialect, commonly having a cheerful witin spieaking to men, Luther's books he called his Seelenschatz, (soul's treasure); Luther and the. Bible were his chief reading. Fond of profane learning, too, and of the useful or ornamental arts ; given to music, and 'would himself sing aloud' 'when he had a melodious leisure hour.
180. VII. Johann George, a prudent thrifty Herr ; no mistresses notluxuries allowed ; at the sight of a new-fashioned coat he would fly out on an unhappy youth and pack him from his presence. Very strict in point of justice; a peasant once appealing to him in one of his inspection journeys ghrough the country-

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of. Preussen .and :". its. imbecile Duke, which was his by right?
'For miny own padrt, I do not trouble myself much about these rights, never being able to make out any: single, one, to begin with, except the right to keep eyerything and eqyery place about you in as good order. as :you canPrussia, Poland, or. what else. I should much like, for .instance, just, nowi to hear of any honest Cornish :gentleman of the :old Drake breed taking a fancy to: land in Spain, and trying what he could make of his rights as far round Gibraltar as he could enforce them. At all events: Master: Joachim has, somehow. got hold of Prussia; and means to keep it. 182. IX. Johann Sigismund. . Only notable for our economical purposes, as getting the 'guardianship' of 'Prussia confirmed to him. The story at page ' 317 (226). 'a strong flame of choler,' indicates a new order of things among the knights of Europe-'princely etiquettess melting 'all into smoke.' Tó literally so, that being one of the calamitous' functions of the plain lives we are living; and of the' busy life our country' is 'living." In the Duchy of Cleve, especially, concerning whichlegal dispute

Beging in Stgismund'si times: And it is 'well worth the lawyers :trouble, it seems. i: :

It, amounted, 'perhaps, to two' Yorkshires in extent. A naturally opulent country of fertile meadows, shipping capabifities, metalliferous hills, and at this'time, in consequence of the 1 Dutchs Spanish war, sand the: mulcitude of :Protestant refugees; it was. getting filled with -ingenious industries, and rising to be what it still, is, the busiest quarter of Germany. A country lowing with kine ; the hum of the flax-spindle heard, in its cottages in those old days-' much of the linen called Hollands is made in Jülich, and only bleached, stamped, and sold b'y the Dutch," says Büsching, A country in our days which is shrouded at short intervals. with' the "due canopy of coal-smoke, and loud with sounds of the anvil and the loom.

The lawyers took two hundred and six years to settle the question concerning this Duchy, and the thing Johann Sigismund had claimed legally in 1609 was actupally handed over to Johann Sigismund's descendant in the seventh generation. 'These litigated duchies are now the Prussian provinces,' Jalich, Berg, Cleve, and the nucleust of Prussia's possessions. in the Rhine country.'
r s83. X. Geerge Wiltielm. Read pp. 325 to 327 (23I; 333) on this Elector, and German Protestantism, now fallen cold, and somewhat too little dangerous. But George Wilhelm is the only weak prince of all the twelye. For another example how the heart and life of a country depence upon its prince, : not on its council, read this, of Gustatus Adolphus, demanding the cession of 'Spandau and'Kustrin :

Which cession Kurfürst George Wilhelm, though giving all his prayers to the good cause, could by no means grant. Gustav had to insist, with more and more emphasis, advancing at last with military menace upon Berlin itself. He was met by George Wilhelm and his Council, 'in the woods of Cöpenick,' short way to the east of that city : there George Wilhelm and his Council wandered about, sending messages, hopelessly consulting, saying among each other, 'Que, faire? ils ont des canons.' For many hours so, round the inflexible Gustav, who was there like a fixed milestone, and to all questions and comers had only one answer.

On our special question of war and its consequences, read this of the Thirty. Years' one :

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184. 'We have now arrived at the lowest nadir point' (says Carlyle) ' of the history of Brandenburg under the Hohenzollerns.' Is this then all that Heavy Peg and our nine Kurfursts have done for us?

Carlyle does not mean that: but even he, greatest of historians since Tacitus, is not enough careful to mark for us the growth of national character, as distinct from the prosperity of dynasties.

A republican historian would think of this development only, and suppose it to be possible without any dynasties.

Which is indeed in a measure so, and the work now chiefly needed in moral philosophy, as well as history, is an analysis of the constant and prevalent, yet unthought of, influences, which, without any external help from kings, and in a silent and entirely necessary manner, form, in Sweden, in Bavaria, in the Tyrol, in the Scottish border, and on the French seacoast, races of noble peasants; pacific, poetic, heroic, Christian-hearted in the deepest sense, who may indeed perish by sword or famine in any cruel thirty years' war, or ignoble thirty years peace, and yet leave such strength to
their children that the country, apparently ravaged into hopeless ruin, revives, under any prudent king, as the cultivated fields do under the spring rain. How the rock to which no seed can cling, and which no rain can soften, is subdued into the good ground which..can bring forth its hundredfold, we forget to watch, while we follow the footsteps of the sower, or mourn the catastrophes of storm. All this while, the Prussian earth,-the Prussian soul, -has been thus dealt upon by successive fate; and now, though laid, as it seems, utterly desolate, it can be revived by a few years of wisdom and of peace.
185. Vot. I. Book III. Chap. xviii.-The Great Elector, Friedrich Wilhelm. Eleventh of the dynasty :-

There hardly ever came to sovereign power a young man of twenty under more distressing, hopeless-looking circumstances. Political significance Brandenburg had none; a mere. Protestant appendage, dragged about' by a Papist Kaiser, His father's Prime Minister, 'as we have seen, was in the interest of his enemies; not Brandenburg's servant, bat Austria's. The very. commandants of his fortresses, Commandant of Spandau :more
especially, refused to obey Friedrich Wilhelm on his accession ; 'were bound to obey the Kaiser in the first place.?

For twenty years past Brandenburg had been scoured by hostile armies, which, especially the Kaisers part of which, committed outrages new in human history. In a year or two hence, Brandenburg became again the theatre of business, Austrian Gallas advancing, thither again (1644) with intent 'to shut up Torstenson and his Swedes in Jutland.' Gallas could by no means do what he intended ; on the contrary, he had to run from Torstenson-what feet could do ; was hunted, he and his Merode Brüder (beautiful inventors of the 'marauding' art), till they pretty much all died (crepirten) says Köhler. No great loss to society, the death of these artists, but we can fancy what their life, and especially what the process of their dying, may have cost poor Brandenburg again!

Friedrich Wilhelm's aim, in this as in other emergencies, was sun-clear to himself, but for most part dim to everybody else. He had to walk very warily, Sweden on one hand of him, suspicious Kaiser on the other: he had to wear semblances, to be ready with evasive words, and advance noiselessly by many circuits. More delicate operation could not be imagined. But advance he did; advance and arrive. With extraordinary talent, diligence, and felicity the young man wound himself out of this first fatal position,

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shone much in the battle of Warsaw, into which he was dragged against his will, changed sides. An inconsistent, treacherous man? Perhaps not, O reader! perhaps a man advancing 'in circuits,' the only way he has; spirally, face now to east, now to west, with his own reasonable private aim sun-clear to him all the while?

The battle of Warsaw, three days long, fought with Gustavus, the grandfather of Charles XII., agaunst the Poles, virtually ends the Polish power :

Old Johann Casimir, not long after that peace of Oliva, getting tired of his unruly Polisn chivalry and their ways, abdicated-retired to Paris, and 'lived much with Ninon de l'Enclos and her circle,' for the rest of his life. He used to complain of his Polish chivalry, that there was no solidity in them ; nothing but outside glitter, with tumult and anarchic noise; fatal want of one essential talent, the talent of obeying; and has beer. heard to prophesy that a glorious Republic, persisting in such courses, would arrive at results which would surprise it.

Onward from this time, Friedrich Wilhelm figures in the world; public men watching his procedure; kings anxious to secure him-Dutch print-sellers sticking up his portraits for a hero-worshipping
public. Fighting hero, had the public known it, was not his essential character, though he had to fight a great deal. He was essentially an industrial man; great in organizing, regulating, in constraining chaotic heaps to become cosmic for him. He drains bogs, settles colonies in the waste places of his dominions, cuts sanals; unweariedly encourages trade and work. The Friedrich Wilhelm's Canal, which still carries tonnage from the Oder to the Spree, is a monument of his zeal in this way ; creditable with the means he had. To the poor French Protestants in the Edict-of-Nantes affair, he was, like an express benefit of Heaven; one helper appointed' to whom the help itself was profitable. He munificently welcomed them to Brandenburg; showed really a noble piety and human pity, as well as judgment; nor did Brandenburg and he want their reward. Some 20,000 nimble French souls, evidently of the best French quality, found a home there; made 'waste sands about Berlin into potherb gardens;' and in spiritual Brandenburg, too, did something of horticulture which is still noticeable.
187. Now read carefully the description of the man, p. 352 (224-5); the story of the battle of Fehrbellin; 'the Marathon of Brandenburg,' p. 354 (225) ; and of the winter campaign of 1679, p. 356 (227), beginning with its week's
marches at sixty miles a day; his wife, as always, being with him:

Louisa, honest and loving Dutch girl, aunt to our William of Orange, who trimmed up her own 'Orange-burg' (country-house), twenty miles north of Berlin, into a little jewel of the Dutch type, potherb gardens, training-schools for young girls, and the like, a favourite abode of hers when she was at liberty for recreation. But her life was busy and earnest ; she was helpmate, not in name only, to an ever busy man. They were married young; a marriage of love withal. Young Friedrich Wilhelm's courtship; wedding in Holland; the honest, trustful walk and conversation of the two sovereign spouses, their journeyings togecher, their mutual hopes, fears, and manifold vicissitudes, till death, with stern beauty, shut it in ; all is human, true, and wholesome in it, interesting to look upon, and rare among sovereign persons.

Louisa died in 1667, twenty-one years before her husband, who married again-(little to his contentment)-died in 1688 ; and Louisa's second son, Friedrich, ten years old at his mother's death, and now therefore thirtyone, succeeds, becoming afterwards Friedrich I. of Prussia.

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fulfilment, the hereditary one of these German princes, 'Rich in Peace $i$ ' and that their coronation will be with Wild olive, not with gold.

I N D E X.

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[^0]:    - 'A fearful occurrence took place a'few days since, near Woiverhampton. Thomas Snape, aged nineteen, was on duty as the "keeper" of a blast furnace at Deepfield, assisted by John Gardner, aged eighteen, and Joseph Swift, aged thirty-seven. The furnace contained four tons of molten

[^1]:    

[^2]:    - The subject is pursued at some length in Fiors Clavigera for March, 1873 ; but I have not yet properly stated the opposite side of the question, nor insisted on the value of uncultivated land to the national health of bods and mind.

[^3]:    Compare § 57.

[^4]:    * [And all other arts, for the most part; even of incredulous and secularly-minded commonalties.]

[^5]:    - [Please think over this paragraph, too briefly and antithetically put, but one of those which I am happiest in having written.]

[^6]:    * [Meaning, fully, ' We have brought our pigs to it.']

[^7]:    * [I imagine the Hebrew chant merely intends passionate repetition, and not a distinction of this somewhat fanciful kind; yet we may profitably make it in reading the English.]

[^8]:    * [The modern, observe, because we have lost all inheritance from Florence or Venice, and are now pensioners upon the Greeks only.]

[^9]:    * [A wholesome calamity, observe; not to be shrunk from, though not to be provoked. But soe the opening of the notes on Prossia 8 r6x. 1

[^10]:    * [They were deserting, I am informed, in the early part of this year, 1873 , at the rate of a regiment a week.]

[^11]:    * Now the last lecturre bat'one ; 'it was the last in the original edition.

[^12]:    * The 'late Sir Herbert Edwardes.

