

a dextrous intriguer, but never can be a statesman.¹ ("The FRIEND, No. 5)^b

But do you require some one or more particular passage from the Bible, that may at once illustrate and exemplify its applicability to the changes and fortunes of empires? Of the numerous chapters that relate to the Jewish tribes, their enemies and allies, before and after their division into two kingdoms, it would be more difficult to state a single one, from which some guiding light might *not* be struck. And in nothing is Scriptural history more strongly contrasted with the histories of highest note in the present age than in its freedom from the hollowness of abstractions.² While the latter present a shadow-fight of Things and Quantities, the former gives us the history of Men, and balances the important influence of individual Minds with the previous state of the national morals and manners, in which, as constituting a specific susceptibility, it presents to us the true cause both of the Influence itself, and of the Weal or Woe that were its Consequents. How should it be otherwise? The histories and political economy of the present and preceding century partake in the general contagion of its mechanic philosophy, and are the *product*^c of an unenlivened generalizing Understanding.³ In the

^{a-b} SM (1839) omits ^c Copy G: *Artifacts*
Copy R inserts: μορφώματα ἢ μορφῶσιν in contra-distinction from ποιήματα ἢ ποιήσιν

¹ George Berkeley, bp of Cloyne (1685–1753) *Siris, a Chain of Philosophical Reflexions and Inquiries Concerning the Virtues of Tar-Water and Divers Other Subjects*. . . (2nd ed Dublin repr London 1744) 166–7 (§ 350). C was fond of this quotation; rather than the summation of Berkeley's remark, as here and in the 1809 *Friend*, he included the whole passage in his 1818 revision of *The Friend* (see CC 1112–13 and n). For another quotation from *Siris* see *LS*, below, pp 192–4. For C's comparison of *BL* to *Siris* see *BL* ch 13 (1907) 1 201.

² Hume's and Gibbon's were the histories "of highest note" at this time. On Hume see above, p 22 and n 2. C's dislike of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* (which he nevertheless used as source material for articles in the *MPost* and *Courier*) is best exhibited in *TT* 15 Aug 1833. Yet cf a notebook entry of 1810 on Gibbon's "defects", which ends: "Yet with all these faults he is still our greatest Historian. . . & com-

pared with Hume in any light but that of a natural style, he is to be canonized —". *CN* III 3823. C's attitude to abstractions in the mouths of politicians is best illustrated from his essay on the character of Pitt in the *MPost* of 19 Mar 1800: *EOT* II 319–29. "Generalities are apt to deceive us", he told opponents of Peel's Factory Bill of 1818. "Individualize the sufferings which it is the object of this Bill to remedy, follow up the detail in one case with a human sympathy, and the deception vanishes." *Remarks. . . Peel's Bill: IS* 357 (§ 282). For C's interest in Jewish history see e.g. *CN* III 4401, 4402.

³ Besides the Lockian philosophy that underlies the histories, perhaps C is also criticising David Hartley's *Observations on Man* and similar works of the "mechanic philosophy", from whose "contagion" he had not escaped in his earlier years. See *Lects* 1795 (*CC*) Index under Hartley.

Scriptures they are the living *educts*^a of the Imagination;¹ of that reconciling and mediatory power, which incorporating the Reason in Images of the Sense, and organizing (as it were) the flux of the Senses by the permanence and self-circling energies of the Reason, gives birth to a system of symbols, harmonious in themselves, and consubstantial with the truths, of which they are the *conductors*.² These are the Wheels which Ezekiel beheld, when the hand of the Lord was upon him, and he saw visions of God as he sate among the captives by the river of Chebar. *Whithersoever the Spirit was to go, the wheels went, and thither was their spirit to go: for the spirit of the living creature was in the wheels also*.³ The truths and the symbols that represent them move in conjunction and form the living chariot that bears up (for us) the throne of the Divine Humanity. Hence, by a derivative, indeed, but not a divided, influence, and though in a secondary yet in more than a metaphorical sense, the Sacred Book is worthily intitled *the WORD OF GOD*. Hence too, its contents present to us the stream of time continuous as Life and a symbol of Eternity, inasmuch as the Past and the Future are virtually contained in the Present.⁴ According therefore to our relative position on ^bits banks^c the Sacred History becomes prophetic, the Sacred Prophecies historical, while the power and substance of both inhere in its Laws,

^a Copy G: *Produce*
Copy R: *Growth*
^{b-c} Copies B, CL: the banks of this "River of Life,"
Copy G, SM (1839): the banks of this Stream

¹ In Copy G, after altering "*educts*" to "*Produce*", C noted: "Or perhaps these μορφώματα of the mechanic Understanding as distinguished from the ποιήσεις of the imaginative Reason might be named *Products* in antithesis to *Produce*—or *Growths*." Cf the textual nn above, in which C contradistinguishes "shapes or shaping" from "things made or the act of making". C's use of the chemical terms "*educt*" and "*product*" in a figurative sense may have been a reflexion of his reading of the German *Naturphilosophen*; Baader, e.g., in the article cited above (p 24 n 2), speaks of sublimity and humility as the "*educts of love*" and wantonness and baseness as its "*products*", and in "Ueber Starres und Fliessendes" of solid and fluid as not "*educts*" of the living substance but mere "*products*" of their extin-

guished life. *Jahrbücher der Medicin* III i (1808) 123n, 201. On "Music and Poesy" as the "living *Educts*" of "the *Idea* of Supersensual beauty", see below, p 101–2, and on "the living educt of one great man's genius" see *LS* below, p 165n.

² Cf other passages on imagination and reason in App C, below, pp 69–73. On symbols see also below, pp 30, 73, 79, and nn; also L. C. Knights "Idea and Symbol: Some Hints from Coleridge" *Further Explorations* (1965) 155–68, in which this passage is discussed.

³ Ezek 1. 20 (var), omitting "and the wheels were lifted up over against them".

⁴ Cf the quotation from Heraclitus, above, p 20n; also *The Friend* (*CC*) I 424, 518.

its Promises, and its Comminations. In the Scriptures therefore both Facts and Persons must of necessity have a two-fold significance, a past and a future, a temporary and a perpetual, a particular and a universal application. They must be at once Portraits and Ideals.

Eheu! paupertina philosophia in paupertinam religionem ducit:¹—A hunger-bitten and idea-less philosophy naturally produces a starveling and comfortless religion. It is among the miseries of the present age that it recognizes no medium between *Literal* and *Metaphorical*. Faith is either to be buried in the dead letter, or its name and honors usurped by a counterfeit product of the mechanical understanding, which in the blindness of self-complacency confounds SYMBOLS with ALLEGORIES.² Now an Allegory is but a translation of abstract notions into a picture-language which is itself nothing but an abstraction from objects of the senses; the principal being more worthless even than its phantom proxy, both alike unsubstantial, and the former shapeless to boot. On the other hand a Symbol (ὁ ἔστιν ἄει ταυτηγόρικον)³ is characterized by a translucence of the Special in the Individual or of the General in the Especial or of the Universal in the General. Above all by the translucence of the Eternal through and in the Temporal. It always partakes of the Reality which it renders intelligible; and while it enunciates the whole, abides itself as a living part in that Unity, of which it is the representative. The other are but empty echoes which the fancy arbitrarily associates with apparitions of matter, less beautiful but not less

¹ Lessing "Des Andreas Wissowatius Einwürfe wider die Dreieinigheit" § IX quotes Leibniz: "[Locke] inclinavit ad Socinianos, quorum paupertina semper fuit de Deo et mente philosophia" ("Locke inclined to the Socinians, whose philosophy on God and the mind was always poverty-stricken"). *Sämtliche Schriften* (30 vols Berlin 1784-96) VII 95. On this Lessing work see also *LS*, below, p 177n and n 1.

² On the distinction between symbol and allegory see above, p 29, and below, pp 73, 79, but more particularly *MC* 28-9 and *CN* III 4183, 4498, and nn. See also the next note.

³ The Greek means "which is always tautegorical". *OED* attributes the coinage of "tautegorical" to C. Cf "tautegorical" (i.e. expressing the same subject but with a difference) in contra-distinction from metaphors and

similitudes, that are always allegorical". *AR* (1825) 199. See also C's lecture "On the Prometheus of Aeschylus": "The substance, the *stuff*, is philosophy, the *form* only is poetry. The Prometheus is a *philosopheme* and ταυτηγορικόν: the tree of knowledge of good and evil, an allegory (ἐπίτροπαίδευμα), though the noblest and most pregnant of its kind." *RSL Trans* II (1834) 391. Benjamin Jowett talked to Schelling in Berlin "about Coleridge's plagiarism; he seemed very good-natured about it, and said that Coleridge had expressed many things better than he could himself, that in one word he had comprised a whole essay, saying that mythology was not allegorical but tautegorical". Evelyn Abbott and Lewis Campbell *The Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett, M.A.* (2 vols 1897) I 146.

shadowy than the sloping orchard or hill-side pasture-field seen in the transparent lake below.¹ Alas! for the flocks that are to be led forth to such pastures! "It shall even be as when the hungry dreameth, and behold! he eateth; but he waketh and his soul is empty: or as when the thirsty dreameth, and behold he drinketh; but he awaketh and is faint!" (ISAIAH XXIX. 8.)² O! that we would seek for the bread which was given from heaven, that we should eat thereof and be strengthened! O that we would draw at the well at which the flocks of our forefathers had living water drawn for them,³ even that water which, instead of mocking the thirst of him to whom it is given, becomes a well within himself springing up to life everlasting!⁴

When we reflect how large a part of our present knowledge and civilization is owing, directly or indirectly, to the Bible; when we are compelled to admit, as a fact of history, that the Bible has been the main Lever by which the moral and intellectual character of Europe has been raised to its present comparative height; we should be struck, me thinks, by the marked and prominent difference of this Book from the works which it is now the fashion to quote as guides and authorities in morals, politics and history.⁵ "I will point out a few of the excellencies by which the one is distinguished, and shall leave it to your own judgment and recollection to perceive and apply the contrast to the productions of highest name in these latter days.^b In the Bible every agent appears and acts as a self-subsisting individual: each has a life of its own, and yet all are one life.⁶ The elements of necessity and free-will are reconciled in the higher power of an omnipresent Providence, that predestinates the whole in the moral freedom of the integral parts. Of this the Bible never suffers

^{a-b} Copy G deletes

¹ Cf another reflection in a lake in *The Friend* No 5 (CC) II 70 (I 103), and C's later comment on the image, *ibid* I 103n.

² Isa 29. 8 (var).

³ Cf e.g. Song 4. 5, Jer 2. 13, 17. 13, Zech 14. 8, John 4. 10, 4. 11, 7. 38.

⁴ John 4. 14: "But whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall be in him a well of water springing up into everlasting life." The "well within" is an image deeply personal to C; see *CN* I 980 and n.

⁵ An allusion to Paley's *Principles of*

Moral and Political Philosophy; see above, p 21 n 3.

⁶ This description of the Bible closely resembles C's description of Shakespeare's genius for portraying utterly individual characters, a genius that sprang straight from his footing in the universal: "In all his various characters, we still feel ourselves communing with the same human nature . . . that just proportion, that union and interpenetration of the universal and the particular, which must ever pervade all works of decided genius and true science." *The Friend* (CC) I 457.

us to lose sight. The root is never detached from the ground. It is God everywhere: and all creatures conform to his decrees, the righteous by performance of the law, the disobedient by the sufferance of the penalty.

Suffer me to inform or remind you, that there is a threefold Necessity. There is a logical, and there is a mathematical, necessity; but the latter is always hypothetical, and both subsist *formally* only, not in any real object. Only by the intuition and immediate spiritual consciousness of the idea of God, as the One and Absolute, at once the Ground and the Cause, who alone containeth in himself the ground of his own nature, and therein of *all* natures, do we arrive at the third, which alone is a real^a *objective*, necessity. Here the immediate consciousness decides: the idea is its own evidence, and is insusceptible of all other. It is necessarily groundless and indemonstrable; because it is itself the ground of all possible demonstration. The Reason hath faith in itself, in its own revelations. Ο ΛΟΓΟΣ ΕΦΗ. ΙΡΣΕ ΔΙΧΙΤ!¹ So it is: for it is so! All the necessity of causal relations (which the mere understanding reduces, and must reduce to co-existence and regular succession* in the objects of which they are predicated, and to habit and association in the mind predicating) depends on, or rather inheres in, the idea of the Omnipresent and Absolute: for this it is, in which the Possible is one and the same with the Real and the Necessary. Herein the Bible differs from all the

* See Hume's Essays.² The sophist evades, as Cicero long ago remarked, the better half of the predicament, which is not "praeire" but "efficienter praeire."³

^a Copies B, CL: real, an

¹ C in the Greek phrase adapts, in the Latin uses, the saying of the followers of Pythagoras (which became proverbial in both languages), αὐτὸς ἔφη, "he himself said it", "the master said it", thus putting an end to argument. For the Greek see Diogenes Laertius 8. 46, for the Latin Cicero *De natura deorum* 1. 5. 10. Cicero says: "I am not inclined to approve the practice traditionally ascribed to the Pythagoreans... making authority prevail unsupported by reason". C, using Λόγος, "Reason" "the Word", in the theological sense, implies something almost opposite to the original saying. On the necessity of the idea of God as the Absolute One see *The Friend* (CC) I 522n-3.

² *An Inquiry Concerning Human Understanding* § VII ("Of the Idea of Necessary Connexion") in e.g. *Essays and Treatises* (4 vols 1760) III 97-124; also *A Treatise of Human Nature* 1. 3. 14. See *The Friend* (CC) I 499 and n; also CN II 2370 and n.

³ Cicero *De fato* 15. 34: "...non sic causa intellegi debet ut quod cuique antecedit id ei causa sit, sed quod cuique efficienter antecedit". (C uses the verb *praeire* for Cicero's *antecedere*.) "...'cause' is not to be understood in such a way as to make what precedes a thing the cause of that thing, but what precedes it effectively". Tr H. Rackham in Cicero *De oratore*... (LCL 2 vols 1942) II 231.

books of Greek philosophy, and in a two-fold manner. It doth not affirm a Divine Nature only, but a God: and not a God only, but the living God. Hence in the Scriptures alone is the *Jus divinum*,¹ or direct Relation of the State and its Magistracy to the Supreme Being, taught as a vital and indispensable part of all moral and of all political wisdom, even as the Jewish alone was a true theocracy.

^a But I refer to the demand.^b Were it my object to touch on the present state of public affairs in this kingdom, or on the prospective measures in agitation respecting our sister island,³ I would direct your most serious meditations to the latter period of the reign of Solomon, and to the revolutions in the reign of Rehoboam, his successor.⁴ But I should tread on glowing embers.⁵ I will turn to a subject on which all men of reflection are at length in agreement—the causes of the revolution and fearful chastisement of France. We have learned to trace them back to the rising importance of the commercial and manufacturing class, and its incompatibility with the old feudal privileges and prescriptions; to the spirit of sensuality and ostentation, which from the court had spread through all the towns and cities of the empire;^c to the predominance of a presumptuous and irreligious philosophy; to the extreme over-rating of the knowledge and power given by the improvements of the arts and sciences, especially those of astronomy, mechanics, and a wonder-working chemistry; to an assumption of prophetic power, and the

^{a-b} SM (1839) omits ^c SM (1839): kingdom

¹ "Divine Law", enacted by God and made known to man by revelation.

² Of "some one or more particular passage from the Bible, that may at once illustrate and exemplify..."; see above, p 28.

³ The agitation for the repeal of the Act of Union of 1801, although the movement for repeal was not organised by Daniel O'Connell until 1840. Nearer to the time of the writing of SM was Henry Grattan's Catholic Emancipation Bill of 1813, which was defeated at the committee stage in the House of Commons by the narrow majority of 251 to 247. C's view of this kind of legislation was to be expressed in his *C&S* in 1830, the year following the passage of the Catholic Emancipation Bill by the Wellington administration; see esp pt II, "Aids to a Right

Appreciation of the Bill Admitting Catholics to Sit in Both Houses of Parliament". In 1811 C had written three letters to the *Courier* on the Catholic question in answer to "the agitations of party spirit": *EOT* III 891-6, 920-32. See also his letters "To Mr. Justice Fletcher" on the troubles in Ireland, published in the *Courier* Sept-Dec 1814: *EOT* III 677-733.

⁴ See 1 Kings 11. 4-43, Solomon turning away "his heart after other gods", whereupon the Lord told him that He would "rend the kingdom" from him; *ibid* 12-14, Rehoboam punished by war and loss of treasure for the impiety of Judah.

⁵ Cf Horace *Odes* 2. 1. 7-8, quoted in Latin in *The Friend* No 2; see CC II 21 and n 2.

general conceit that states and governments might be and ought to be constructed as machines, every movement of which might be foreseen and taken into previous calculation; to the consequent multitude of plans and constitutions, of planners and constitution-makers, and the remorseless arrogance with which the authors and proselytes of every new proposal were ready to realize it, be the cost what it might in the established rights, or even in the lives, of men; in short, to restlessness, presumption, sensual indulgence, and the idolatrous reliance on false philosophy in the whole domestic, social, and political life of the stirring and effective part of the community: these all acting, at once and together, on a mass of materials supplied by the unfeeling extravagance and oppressions of the government, which "shewed no mercy, and very heavily laid its yoke."¹

Turn then to the chapter from which the last words were cited, and read the following seven verses; and I am deceived if you will not be compelled to admit, that the Prophet Isaiah revealed the true philosophy of the French revolution more than two thousand years before it became a sad irrevocable truth of history. "And thou saidst, I shall be a lady for ever: so that thou didst not lay these things to thy heart, neither didst remember the latter end of it. Therefore, hear now this, thou that art given to pleasures, that dwellest carelessly, that sayest in thine heart, I am, and none else besides me! I shall not sit as a widow, neither shall I know the loss of children. But these two things shall come to thee in a moment, in one day; the loss of children, and widowhood; they shall come upon thee in their perfection, for the multitude of thy sorceries, and for the abundance of thine enchantments. For thou hast trusted in thy wickedness; thou hast said, there is no overseer. Thy wisdom and thy knowledge, it hath perverted thee; and thou hast said in thine heart, I am, and none else besides me. Therefore shall evil come upon thee, thou shalt not know * from whence it riseth: and mischief shall fall upon thee, thou

* The Reader will scarcely fail to find in this verse a remembrancer of the sudden setting-in of the frost, a fortnight before the usual time (in a country too, where the commencement of its two seasons is in general scarcely less regular than that of the wet and dry seasons between the "tropics") which caused, and the desolation which accompanied, the flight from Moscow.^b The Russians baffled the *physical* forces of the imperial Jacobin, because they were inaccessible to his *imaginary* forces. The faith in St. Nicholas kept off at safe distance the more

^{a-b} Copies B, CL: tropics). He need not be reminded, that it was seeming Accident, that occasioned the flight from Moscow, and caused the havoc that accompanied it.

¹ Isa 47. 6 (var).

shalt not be able to put it off; and desolation shall come upon thee suddenly, which thou shalt not know. Stand now with thine enchantments, and with the multitude of thy sorceries, wherein thou hast laboured from thy youth; if so be thou shalt be able to profit, if so be thou mayest prevail. Thou art wearied in the multitude of thy counsels: let now the astrologers, the stargazers, the monthly prognosticators stand up, and save thee from these things that shall come upon thee."²

There is a grace that would enable us to take up vipers, and the evil thing shall not hurt us: a spiritual alchemy which can transmute poisons into a panacea.³ We are counselled by our Lord himself to make unto ourselves friends of the Mammon of Unrighteousness:⁴ and in this age of sharp contrasts and grotesque combinations it would be a wise method of sympathizing with the tone and spirit of the Times, if we elevated even our daily newspapers and political journals into COMMENTS ON THE BIBLE.

When I named this Essay a Sermon, I sought to prepare the inquirers after it for the absence of all the usual softenings suggested by worldly prudence, of all compromise between truth and courtesy. But not

pernicious superstition of the Destinies of Napoleon the Great. The English in the Peninsula overcame the real, because they *set at defiance*, and had heard only to despise, the imaginary powers of the irresistible Emperor. Thank heaven, the heart of the country was sound at the *core*.¹

¹ The winter season came later rather than earlier than usual in Russia in 1812, but when it did come (Nov 5/6) it came with unusually severe cold. A great part of the losses suffered by the Grand Army occurred before the intense cold set in, the retreat from Moscow having commenced in the latter part of October; Napoleon left the city on 19 Oct. St Nicholas, in whom the Muscovites had great faith—as C suggests, sufficient to overcome any superstition about Napoleon's "star"—was a fourth-century bishop of Myra, in Asia Minor, and had always been the patron saint of soldiers and children; the winter saint had his feast-day on 6 Dec and was to become "Father Christmas". The English in the Peninsula, whither Sir Arthur Wellesley took a force of 12,300 as early as Aug

1808, seem to have had little faith in saints, though the Spaniards appear to have thought the figure of Britannia on the tunic-buttons of the Royal Norfolk Regiment represented the B.V.M. and often bought them.

² Isa 47. 7-13 (var).

³ St Paul was believed to be a god when he astonished the barbarians at Malta by suffering no harm from a viper which fastened upon his hand. Acts 28. 1-6. George Borrow, in *Lavengro* chs 4-5, tells of how as a child he learnt from an old man how to handle vipers without harm, and how the gipsies gave him the name *sap-engro* in consequence and begged him to stay with them, for they offered: "We'll make you our little God Almighty, and say our prayers to you every morning!"

⁴ Luke 16. 9.

even as a Sermon would I have addressed the present Discourse to a promiscuous audience; and for this reason I likewise announced it in the title-page, as exclusively *ad clerum*; i.e. (in the old and wide sense of the word) to men of *clerkly* acquirements, of whatever profession.¹ I would that the greater part of our publications could be thus *directed*, each to its appropriate class of Readers. But this cannot be! For among other odd burs and kecksies,² the misgrowth of our luxuriant activity, we have now a READING PUBLIC³*—as

* Some participle passive in the diminutive form, ERUDITULORUM NATIO for instance, might seem at first sight a fuller and more exact designation;⁴ but the superior force and humor of the former become evident whenever the phrase occurs as a step or stair in a *climax* of irony. By way of example take the following sentences, transcribed from a work *demonstrating* that the New Testament was intended exclusively for the primitive converts from Judaism, was accommodated to their prejudices, and is of no authority, as a rule of faith, for Christians in general. "The READING PUBLIC in this ENLIGHTENED AGE, and THINKING NATION, by its favorable reception of LIBERAL IDEAS, has long demonstrated the benign influence of that PROFOUND PHILOSOPHY which has already eman-

¹ Earlier C had addressed discourses "ad populum", as in *Conciones ad Populum* in 1795. Yet as early as 1796 in *The Watchman* he warned patriots against addressing themselves to a "promiscuous audience" or those whose minds were unsusceptible of reasoning. In *The Friend* No 10 (19 Oct 1809) he said it was "the duty of the enlightened Philanthropist to plead for the poor and ignorant, not to them". *Friend* (CC) II 137. By 1816, however, his avowed intention of delivering his sermon *ad clerum* is premonitory of his increasing concern with a "clerisy", or what he will call "members of the permanent learned class... the immediate agents and instruments in the great and indispensable work of perpetuating, promoting, and increasing the civilization of the nation...". C&S pt I ch 6 (1830) 59. Cf "... the CLERK was the synonyme of the man of learning". C&S pt I ch 5 (1830) 52. See below, *LS*, which opens with several pages of disquisition on the duty of the higher and middle classes to identify themselves with the higher intellectual interests of civilised man. Cf also above, p 3 n 1.

² Cf Shakespeare *Henry V* v ii 51-3:

...nothing teems
But hateful docks, rough thistles,
kecksies, burs,
Losing both beauty and utility.

³ The reading public was a phenomenon that became increasingly ominous to C during the later years of his life, especially in the appearance of the circulating-library and the habit of "desultory reading", which he describes as "a sort of beggarly day-dreaming" or a "kill-time" activity, like swinging on a gate or spitting over a bridge. See *BL* ch 3 (1907) I 34n. Sometimes, in despair about this phenomenon and all it involves in the matter of intellectual vacuity, he hoped for, even prophesied, a return to esotericism. See his letter of 22 Mar 1817 to Street: *CL* IV 713-14. C has some reflexions on "popularity in literature", quoted from the preface to an edition of Plato, in *The Friend* (CC) I 23-4.

⁴ "A nation of trivially learned people". Cf a similar use of a Latin diminutive, for purposes of sarcasm, *Literatuli*, in *CN* III 4134 and an article of 4 Sept 1811 in the *Courier*: *EOT* II 889.

strange a phrase, methinks, as ever forced a splenetic smile on the staid countenance of Meditation; and yet no fiction! For our Readers have, in good truth, multiplied exceedingly, and have

icipated us from so many absurd prejudices held in superstitious awe by our deluded forefathers. But the *Dark Age* yielded at length to the dawning light of Reason and Common-Sense at the glorious, though imperfect, Revolution.¹ THE PEOPLE can be no longer duped or scared out of their *imprescriptible and inalienable* RIGHT to judge and decide for themselves on all important questions of Government and Religion. The *scholastic jargon* of jarring articles and metaphysical creeds may continue for a time to deform our Church-establishment; and like the grotesque figures in the niches of our old gothic cathedrals may serve to remind the nation of its former barbarism; but the *universal suffrage* of a FREE AND ENLIGHTENED PUBLIC,² &c. &c.!

Among the Revolutions worthy of notice, the change in the nature of the introductory sentences and prefatory matter in serious Books is not the least striking. The same gross flattery which disgusts us in the dedications to individuals in the elder writers, is now transferred to the Nation at large, or the READING PUBLIC: while the Jeremiahs of our old Moralists, and their angry denunciations concerning the ignorance, immorality, and irreligion of the *People*, appear (mutatis mutandis,³ and with an appeal to the worst passions, envy, discontent, scorn, vindictiveness, &c.) in the shape of bitter libels on Ministers, Parliament, the Clergy: in short, on the State and Church, and all persons employed in them. "Likewise, I would point out to the Reader's attention the marvellous predominance at present of the *words*, Idea and Demonstration. Every talker now a days has an *Idea*;⁴ aye, and he will demonstrate it too! A few days ago, I heard one of the READING PUBLIC, a thinking and independant smuggler, *euphonize* the latter word with much significance, in a tirade against the planners of the late African expedition:—"As to *Algiers*, any man that has half an IDEA in his skull, *must know*, that it has been long ago *dey-monstered*, I should say, *dey-monstrified*, &c."⁵ But, the phrase, which occasioned this note, brings to my mind the mistake of a lethargic Dutch traveller, who returning highly gratified from a showman's caravan, which he had been tempted to enter by the words, THE LEARNED PIG, gilt on the pannels, met another caravan of a similar shape, with THE

a-a (v 28) Copy CL deletes; SM (1839) omits

¹ The Revolution of 1688.

² Source untraced (if indeed a quotation and not a pastiche of current catch-phrases).

³ "What has to be changed being changed".

⁴ On "idea" see below, pp 100-14.

⁵ A British expedition under Lord Exmouth was sent in the spring of 1816 to negotiate with the Barbary States for, among other things, the abolition of Christian slavery (i.e. captives made slaves). Tunis and Tripoli agreed, but the Dey of Algiers made excuses for

refusing, attacked a British fishing station at Bona, and in consequence Algiers was attacked 27 Aug by a fleet under Exmouth. Three days later the Dey agreed to British demands for the abolition of Christian slavery and for the return of all slaves in his dominions. "The noble Admiral, at his departure with his whole fleet on Sept. 3d, was gratified with the heart-felt triumph, that he had not left a single Christian prisoner in Algiers." "British Expedition to Algiers" *A Reg for 1816* LVIII (1817) 97-105.

waxed proud. It would require the intrepid accuracy of a Colquhoun² to venture at the precise number of that vast company only, whose heads and hearts are dieted at the two public *ordinaries* of Literature, the circulating libraries and the periodical press.³ But what is the result? Does the inward man thrive on this regime? Alas! if the average health of the consumers may be judged of by the articles of largest consumption; if the secretions may be conjectured from the ingredients of the dishes that are found best suited to their palates; from all that I have seen, either of the banquet or the guests, I shall utter my *Profaccia*⁴ with a desponding sigh. From a popular philosophy and a philosophic populace, Good Sense deliver us!⁵

READING FLY on it, in letters of the same size and splendour.¹ "Why, dis is voonders above voonders!" exclaims the Dutchman, takes his seat as first comer, and soon fatigued by waiting, and by the very hush and intensity of his expectation, gives way to his constitutional somnolence, from which he is roused by the supposed showman at Hounslow, with a "In what name, Sir! was your place taken? Are you booked all the way for Reading?"—Now a Reading Public is (to my mind) more marvellous still, and in the third tier of "Voonders above Voonders."^a

^a See p 37

¹ For the "Reading Fly" and the "Learned Pig" see *CN* i 569 and n.

² Patrick Colquhoun (1745–1820), manufacturer, metropolitan police-magistrate, collector of statistics, whose *Treatise on the Police of the Metropolis*, published 1796, had gone through many editions, and who had recently (1814) published *A Treatise on the Wealth, Power, and Resources, of the British Empire, in Every Quarter of the World*. But perhaps C is thinking (in conjunction with "ordinaries of Literature") of a less comprehensive work—if C knew him to be the author—i.e. *Observations and Facts Relative to Public Houses in the City of London and Its Environs* "by a Magistrate" (1794). On Colquhoun see also *LS*, below, p¹158 n³, p 204 n 5.

³ On circulating-libraries see above, p 36 n 3. An "ordinary" was the old-fashioned term for the *table d'hôte*, or the ordinary meal, served for the farmers at hostleries in market-towns. There was nothing new about the circulating-library at this time; the term appears to have been invented in 1742. Dr Johnson observed that in his time

the nation had become "a nation of readers". The habit of deploring circulating-libraries is confined to no one century. See Q. D. Leavis *Fiction and the Reading Public* (1932). For C's own habits as a user of circulating-libraries in his youth see John Beer's contribution to *N&Q* ccr (1956) 264. On the periodical press see *BL* chs 2 and 3. In an "age of literary and political Gossiping" C had hoped, through his periodical *The Friend*, to find four or five hundred readers who wanted not merely amusement and information, but "fundamental instruction", and would expend the effort on its essays that "a Card Party of Whist-Players often expend[ed] in a single Evening". See *The Friend* No 10 and the super-numerary (*CC*) ii 138 (i 210–11), 276–7 (i 14–17).

⁴ Good wishes offered before a meal, or a toast before drinking; cf *OED* under "proface".

⁵ C was to deliver himself on the subject in the 1818 *Friend* (*CC*) i 447 and in *C&S* pt i ch 7 (1830) 82. But cf the "learned and philosophic Public" asked for in *LS*, below, p 170.

At present, however, I am to imagine for myself a very different audience. I appeal exclusively to men, from whose station and opportunities I may dare anticipate a respectable portion of that "sound book learnedness,"¹ into which our old public schools still continue to initiate their pupils. I appeal to men in whom I may hope to find, if not philosophy, yet occasional impulses at least to philosophic thought. And here, as far as my own experience extends, I can announce one favorable symptom. The notion of our measureless superiority in good sense to our ancestors, so general at the commencement of the French Revolution, and for some years before it, is out of fashion. We hear, at least, less of the jargon of this *enlightened age*.² After fatiguing itself, as performer or spectator in the giddy figure-dance of political changes, Europe has seen the shallow foundations of its self-complacent faith give way; and among men of influence and property, we have now more reason to apprehend the stupor of despondence, than the extravagancies of hope, unsustained by experience, or of self-confidence not bottomed on principle.

In this rank of life the danger lies, not in any tendency to innovation, but in the choice of the means for preventing it. And here my apprehensions point to two opposite errors; each of which deserves a separate notice. The first consists in a disposition to think, that as the Peace of Nations has been disturbed by the diffusion of a false light, it may be re-established by excluding the people from all knowledge and all prospect of amelioration.³ O! never, never! Reflection and stirrings of mind, with all their restlessness, and all the errors that result from their imperfection, from the *Too much*, because *Too little*, are come into the world.⁴ The Powers, that awaken and foster the spirit of curiosity, are to be found in every village: Books are in every hovel. The Infant's cries are hushed with *picture-books*: and the Cottager's child sheds his first bitter tears over pages, which render it impossible for the man to be treated or

¹ Cf "strong book-mindedness" in *WW The Prelude* iii 395, quoted in *The Friend* No 10 (*CC*) ii 138 (i 212).

² C has already had his fling at "the enlightened eighteenth century" (above, p 11). This passage (beginning two sentences earlier, "And here..."), to the end of the paragraph) is a reworking of one from *The Friend* No 6 (*CC*) ii 85; it does not reappear in the 1818 *Friend*. Cf also *ibid* No 4 (*CC*) ii 52 (i 61) and see i 61 n 1.

³ This sentence and the remainder

of the paragraph (except for the final sentence) reworked from *The Friend* No 6 (*CC*) ii 86; the passage does not reappear in the 1818 *Friend*.

⁴ Cf C's own criticism of *SM*: "I fear that your general Censure will be that I have lost my Cause between Justice Nimis and Justice Parum—that I have said too much of my peculiar code of philosophic Belief, having said so little." To George Frere [5] Dec 1816: *CL* iv 695. Cf also the "spirit of Trade" in *LS*, below, p 195.

governed as a child. Here as in so many other cases, the inconveniences that have arisen from a thing's having become too general, are best removed by making it universal.

The other and contrary mistake proceeds from the assumption, that a national education will have been realized whenever the People at large have been taught to read and write. Now among the many means to the desired end, this is doubtless one, and not the least important. But neither is it the most so. Much less can it be held to constitute Education, which consists in *educing*¹ the faculties, and forming the habits; the means varying according to the sphere in which the individuals to be educated are likely to act and become useful. I do not hesitate to declare, that whether I consider the nature of the discipline adopted,* or the plan of poisoning the children of the poor with a sort of *potential* infidelity under the "*liberal idea*" of teaching those points only of religious faith, in which all denominations agree, I cannot but denounce the so called Lancasterian schools³ as pernicious beyond all power of compensation by the

* See Mr. Southey's Tract on the New or Madras system of Education: especially toward the conclusion, where with exquisite humor as well as with his usual poignancy of wit he has detailed Joseph Lancaster's disciplinarian Inventions.² But even in the schools, that used to be called Lancasterian, these are, I believe, discontinued. The true perfection of discipline in a school is—The maximum of watchfulness with the minimum of punishment.

¹ Cf *The Friend* (CC) I 540n, C&S pt I ch 5 (1830) 56. On "educts" see above, p 29 and n 1. C's views on the general principles of education are well presented in William Walsh *The Use of Imagination* (1959) ch 1, "Coleridge and the Age of Childhood", and ch 3, "Coleridge and the Education of Teachers". See also Walsh *Coleridge, the Work and the Relevance* (1967) ch 4.

² RS *The Origin, Nature, and Object of the New System of Education* (1812). C had delivered his Royal Institution lecture on education on 3 May 1808 (CL III 98), in a discourse that lasted more than two hours, and he regarded RS's book as "a dilution" of it (CL III 474). Lancaster's "disciplinarian Inventions" (see the next note, on the Lancasterian schools) included setting a girl to wash a dirty boy and the hauling of disorderly children up to the schoolroom ceiling—out of the way—in a basket. Lancaster had a way

with children, whom he deeply understood on account of his love of them, and was extremely popular with them. C thought the Lancasterian discipline a mockery of human nature that hardened the heart. Cf his lecture of 1808, in which he said: "No boy who has been subject to punishments like these will stand in fear of Newgate, or feel any horror at the thought of a slave ship!" CN III 3291n. Cf also CN III 4181 and n.

³ Schools founded by Joseph Lancaster (1799–1838), author of *Improvements in Education*, and by the British and Foreign School Society, which was formed in 1814 to promote his work, especially in the "monitorial" method of teaching. A similar but rival system was instituted by Dr Andrew Bell (1753–1832), on which C delivered eulogistic lectures in 1808 and 1813; see *ShC* I 20–1, 288–96, also CN III 3291, 4181, and nn. Strife between the fac-

new acquirement of Reading and Writing.—But take even Dr. Bell's original and unsophisticated plan, which I myself regard as an especial gift of Providence to the *human race*; and suppose this incomparable machine, this vast moral steam-engine to have been adopted and in free motion throughout the Empire;¹ it would yet appear to me a most dangerous delusion to rely on it as if this of itself formed an efficient national education. We cannot, I repeat, honor the scheme too highly as a prominent and necessary part of the great process; but it will neither supersede nor can it be substituted for sundry other measures, that are at least equally important. And these are such measures too, as unfortunately involve the necessity of sacrifices on the side of the rich and powerful more costly, and far more difficult than the yearly subscription of a few pounds! such measures as demand more self-denial than the expenditure of time in a committee or of eloquence in a public meeting.

tions of Lancaster and Bell (who claimed for himself the invention of the "Madras" system of student monitors and the encouragement of student initiative) ran high, embittered by numerous contestants such as Sarah Trimmer, a pioneer in the Sunday-school movement, who in 1805 published her book attacking Lancaster's system for leading to "infidelity" (*A Comparative View of the New Plan of Education Promulgated by Mr. J. Lancaster*). Although the conflict often centred on the claims of priority between the two systems, the heart of it lay in the opposition between supporters of schools for the poor run by Dissenters (Lancasterian) and those run by the Church of England (Bell's). In an article in the *Courier* of 25 Jul 1816, C was more explicit in his reasons for supporting Bell: "...if attempts were made to bury the original honours and services of Dr. Bell under the trumphy and apish sophistication of a Lancaster; if from antipathies rendered more glaring by the raw varnish of modern liberality, and under the pretence of inculcating those points only in which all sects agree, a too large portion of our sectaries consented to have the minimum of faith, i.e. Socinianism taught to the children of

the labouring class, rather than hazard the least prepossession in favour of a venerable Church, from which they differed only in modes of discipline or admitted non-essentials...". *EOT* (CC ms). For a quotation from this article reprinted in *LS* see below, pp 164n–6; for passages reworked in *LS* see below, pp 159, 161, 162.

¹ The "moral steam-engine", i.e. the "monitorial" method of training large classes cheaply, "one master...to the superintendance of one thousand children", as RS wrote in his essay "On the Means of Improving the People" (1818). "Dr Bell's discovery for the multiplication of power and the division of labour, in the great business of education, has been so timed, that... schools might be established throughout the whole kingdom upon his system, with the utmost economy... The mechanism is ready, tried, proved, and perfect." *Essays, Moral and Political* (2 vols 1832) II 161–2. It was in fact frequently vaunted at the time as comparable to the most ingenious devices of the industrial age. C's earlier use of the term "moral steam-engine", however, was in 1809 as a description of Thomas Clarkson, a leading figure in the abolition of the slave-trade; see *CL* III 179.

Nay, let Dr. Bell's philanthropic end have been realized, and the proposed modicum of learning^a universal: yet convinced of its insufficiency to stem^b up against^c the strong currents *set in* from an opposite point, I dare not assure myself, that it may not be driven backward by them and become confluent with the evils, it was intended to preclude.¹

What other measures I had in contemplation, it has been my endeavour to explain elsewhere.² But I am greatly deceived, if one preliminary to an efficient education of the laboring classes be not the recurrence to a more manly discipline of the intellect on the part of the learned themselves, in short a thorough re-casting of the moulds, in which the minds of our Gentry, the characters of our future Land-owners, Magistrates and Senators, are to receive their shape and fashion.³ O what treasures of practical wisdom would be once more brought into open day by the solution of this problem! Suffice it for the present to hint the master-thought. *The first man, on whom the Light of an IDEA dawned,*⁴ did in that same moment receive the spirit and the credentials of a Law-giver: and as long as man shall exist, so long will the possession of that antecedent^d knowledge (the

^a *SM* (1839) adds: have become ^{b-c} Copies B, G, CL delete; *SM* (1839) omits
^d Copies B, CL delete

¹ C has a note here in Copy G: "Alas the almost general confusion of Instruction, a relative and conditional Benefit, with Education, a positive and universal Good!" A footnote in *SM* (1839) reads: "See the Report of the House of Commons' Committee on the increase of crimes;—within the last twenty years quintupled over all England, and in several counties decupled. 28th September, 1828."

² C may mean *LS*, which was to come out only four months later and must have been in the forefront of his mind at this time. It was, according to his own account, intended to be much more concerned with practical points of policy than was *SM*. Or does he refer to passages on education in *The Friend*, of which "Education in its widest Sense, private, and national", had been one of the announced topics? See *ibid* (*CC*) II 18; also I 499–500, of the education of the mind of the race, both of which, in a different form, were passages from his introduction to the *Encyclopaedia Metropolitana*.

Cf also his attack on the statesmen who, in their educational plans, proceeded "in the belief, that the closer a nation shuts its eyes, the wider it will open its hands". "Public Instruction" *Omniana* (1812) I 189.

³ On the re-education of the gentry see also *C&S* pt I ch 5 (1830) 82.

⁴ C has a note at this point in Copy G: "Give a Dog a bad name: and you hang him or worse, have him hunted with a black kettle at his tail. So has it been with me with in relation to the black charge of *Metaphysics*—and then 'his jargon about Ideas!—Poor Ignoramus! he should be informed, that long before he began to scribble or even breathe, there was a John Locke who had blown up all his ideal trash![] Nevertheless, S. T. C. begs leave to observe, that he had read Locke and read him *all through* more than once some 25 or 30 years ago— which is more, he ventures to believe, than 19 out of 20 of his *compassionate* Critics can truly affirm of themselves! S. T. C. 1830."

maker and master of all profitable Experience)^a which exists only in the power of an *Idea*, be the one lawful qualification of all Dominion in the world of the senses. Without this, Experience itself is but a cyclops walking backwards, under the fascination of the Past:¹ and we are indebted to a lucky coincidence of outward circumstances and contingencies, least of all things to be calculated on in times like the present, if this one-eyed Experience does not seduce its worshipper into practical anachronisms.

But alas! the halls of old philosophy have been so long deserted, that we circle them at shy distance as the haunt of Phantoms and Chimerae. The sacred Grove of Academus is held^b in like regard with the unfoodful trees in the shadowy world of Maro that had a dream attached to every leaf.² The very terms of ancient wisdom are worn out, or (far worse!) stamped on baser metal: (e)³ and whoever should have the hardihood to reproclaim its solemn Truths must commence with a Glossary.

In reviewing the foregoing pages, I am apprehensive that they may be thought to resemble the overflow of an earnest mind rather than an orderly premeditated composition.⁴ Yet this imperfection of form will not be altogether uncompensated, if it should be the means of presenting with greater liveliness the feelings and impressions under which they were written. Still less shall I regret this defect if it should induce some future traveller engaged in the like journey to take the same station and to look through the same medium at the one main object which amid all my discursions I have still held in view. The more, however, doth it behove me not to conclude this address without attempting to recapitulate in as few and as plain words as possible the sum and substance of its contents.

^a Copies B, CL add: —of that antecedent knowledge
^b *SM* (1839): holden

¹ Another note in Copy G at this point reads: "Mere Experience <(I mean a Statesman so endowed)> unenlightened by Philosophy a Cyclops with one eye, and that in the back of his head. Such a Statesman was Mr PITT—hinc nostrae Lacrymae!—" (C's Latin, "Hence our tears", is a variation on the proverbial "Hinc illae lacrymae": Terence *Andria* line 125 and Horace *Epistles* 1. 19. 41.) Cf the Cyclops "State-policy" in *C&S* pt I ch 7 (1830) 79.

² Virgil *Aeneid* bk 6, in which Aeneas

visits the underworld. See esp lines 282–4, on the elm with false dreams clinging under every leaf.

³ See below, pp 100–14.

⁴ Cf the Prospectus of *The Friend*: "...I am inclined to believe, that this Want of Perseverance has been produced in the Main by an Over-activity of Thought, modified by a constitutional Indolence, which made it more pleasant to me to continue acquiring, than to reduce what I had acquired to a regular Form." *Friend* (*CC*) II 16.