tenance of wholesome, sober, cleanly habits of body and mind. The true revival is not the work of a day, the parade of baseless formulas, but a life of love and effort, conformable to God's most precious and unalterable law, followed, let us not doubt, by an endless career of love and effort and development in the life to come.

How, indeed, are hysteric convulsions and spasmodic howlings, with vitiated senses and sudden perversions of the feelings and intelligence, to propitiate Divine favour or further the temporal and eternal interests of man? For what is spiritual safety, what salvation, other than living active goodness and intelligence, the unaffected untiring love of God and of our kind? No nostrum, then, or short-cut, no instant violent mutation bespoken by hysterical convulsionaries, propagated with real or simulated zeal, in short, a morbid psychical infection, spreading, like the epidemic manias of the Middle Ages and yet later times, from person to person, and from town to town, ever did or can or will, while earth and man endure, induce a real change of soul or turning of the heart to heaven.

G. Combe and his Writings. A Lecture delivered at Bristol. By J. G. Davey, M.D.

It is now many years since I stumbled, by the merest accident, on this very important question:

> "Hath nature's soul,
> That formed this world so beautiful, that spread
> Earth's lap with plenty, and life's smaller chord
> Strung to unchanging unison, that gave
> The happy birds their dwelling in the grove,
> That yielded to the wanderers of the deep
> The lovely silence of the unfathomed main,
> And filled the meanest worm that crawls in dust
> With spirit, thought, and love; *on man alone*
> Partial in causeless malice, wantonly
> *Heaped ruin, vice, and slavery;* his soul
> Blasted with withering curses: placed afar
> The meteor happiness, that shuns his grasp?"

You will doubtless feel with me that this *is* a weighty question, one which concerns, and deeply too, each one of us present.

If we will be at the trouble to contemplate carefully and without prejudice the past history of mankind, from the earliest periods of antiquity to even the very recent treaty between this country and Japan, can we withhold our assent to the appropriateness of the foregoing question of the poet? *I think not.* Some there may be

whom I address who have, up to this time, been unaccustomed to look very attentively or critically into the facts of history; who have not yet felt either the necessity, or keen interest which can alone prompt any one of us, to dive below the mere surface view of things, and so realise the first causes of human conduct, the first impulses to man's thought and action. If there be any such persons present I would entreat them, as they love the truth, to be content no longer with shadows, but to look well for the substance. When they do this, the *ruin, vice, and slavery,* which are named in the foregoing quotation from a great poet (Shelley), will appear but too manifest. Look to the history of any European country—to the histories of France, Austria, and Spain, for example. Is it possible to do so without thinking of the crimes and licentiousness connected with the reign of Louis XVI.; of the vices which begot the Revolution, and of its horrors; and, more especially, of the conduct of the first Napoleon? Can we do so and avoid allusion to the persecutions of the noble Swiss, the injustice heaped on Hungary and Poland, or to the cruelties practised on the South American natives, viz., the Mexicans and Chilians? Dwell, for ever so short a time, on the histories of the Mahomedan and Hindoo empires in the East, on those of ancient Greece and Rome, or on the antecedents of Turkey. Call to mind the unceasing cavils, unholy wars, and personal cruelties which disfigure all histories. Bear in mind the vices which belonged to the feudal times, and the innumerable defects of our own social and political relations which followed on their defection; to say nothing of those of this present time. However painful it may be to many of us to do this, yet may we look at home for a demonstration of the low, and wretched, and vicious condition in which man lived in times gone by, and those times not far distant. Need I mention the period of the Heptarchy in England, when each of the seven kings claiming the divided sovereignty of this fair land, lived rather the lives of brigands and highway robbers than anything else. Is there one among us who can well bear to dwell on the wars and bloodshed, and personal and national crimes, which make up the sum of the histories of England and Scotland and Ireland? I trust not. However, these several histories, you must bear in mind, are not very much else than a record of the countless bad acts of so many men, of so many kings and nobles, of so many priests and charlatans. Such as these devoted their leisure to the constitution of our laws; they did what, to a great extent, our modern and advanced legislators are engaged to undo. Such kings and nobles, such priests and charlatans, created *the good old times* of which we not unfrequently hear. They it was who, ignorant of the demands of an all-sufficing nature and of our responsibilities to the moral laws as from God; who, uninformed of man's motives to thought and action, and unaware of the

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qualities of both his head and his heart; they it was who, in the words of an author to be named presently, "knowing not the *constitution of man considered in relation to external objects,*" sought therefore to govern the masses in a manner consonant with their individual profit and convenience, and harmonizing rather with their own likes and dislikes than with those pure and catholic principles of progress and amelioration which have, by degrees, grown into existence, and are now found taking such firm hold of the thoughts and desires of so many.

It would give me much pleasure to believe that I am quite anticipated by many here when I add that to the late *Mr. George Combe* we are very specially indebted for the promulgation of the best and soundest views on 'The Constitution of Man, considered in relation to External Objects;' that to him we owe our obligations for an exposition of those moral principles, *i. e.* laws, which are not less binding on nations than on individual men and women; and that to his (Combe's) writings we can look for instruction concerning those important "duties of man" so inseparable from him in the social and political aspects of his being. Our forefathers, it is most true, enjoyed not such teaching; but living, as they did, under the guidance of the lower feelings and their brute passions, realised the social and political defects and vices to which allusion is here made; and hence, probably, it was feared that "nature's soul" had "on man alone heaped ruin, vice, and slavery;" and hence, also, it may be assumed, Shelley's very beautiful and eloquent query with which this lecture commences.

I purpose this evening to put before you the philosophical opinions of George Combe, to be found both in 'The Constitution of Man' and in his 'Moral Philosophy;' and from these publications it is necessary, therefore, to quote more or less freely. It will be well, however, to preface my exposition of our author's views with a few remarks of a personal or biographical character.

The late Mr. G. Combe was born in Edinburgh in 1788. One of a large family (seventeen), he was, at an early age, noticed for his intelligence. When in his nineteenth year he became articled to a lawyer, and in his twenty-fourth year commenced practice as a writer to the signet, as solicitors are termed in Edinburgh. We are told that "to the duties of his profession he devoted his energies for upwards of five and twenty years, and amassed, it is understood, a competent, though not a very considerable, fortune." His mind, always of a philosophical tendency, was early impressed with the teachings of Gall and Spurzheim. The latter visited Edinburgh, and numbered George Combe among his most ardent and truth-seeking admirers. Phrenology was George Combe's starting point in science. To Spurzheim he was indebted for his first noble impulse forwards in the great cause of truth and humanity. The mind

first and the body afterwards engaged his attention; though not a medical man he became, ere long, a sound and able physiologist. The investigation of the functions of the living organism, in their entirety and wonderful perfectibility, was to him a labour of deep love; he became impressed—as who would not?—with not only their mutual co-operation, and dependence the one on the other, but with their indissoluble *relation to external objects*. Thus it was, he was led to appreciate so fully "the justice and the beneficence of the Great Creator," and not the less to perceive how and in what way the happiness of mankind and the well-doing of nations result from the obedience to those natural laws to which both man and the world external to him are subject. The first publication of 'The Constitution of Man' by George Combe, in 1828, constitutes an important era in matters of science. It is said that its appearance created a sensation unparalleled by any philosophical work ever published in the language. "It excited great praise and greater blame;" but having attracted the attention of a Mr. Henderson, that gentleman bequeathed a considerable sum to be spent in publishing cheap editions of it in Great Britain and America, and in translating it into foreign languages. It is on record that 90,500 copies of 'The Constitution of Man, considered in relation to External Objects,' have been printed and sold in Great Britain, besides large sales in the United States.

As may be expected, the pursuits of science and the practice of the law, or, in other words, the contemplation of the glorious works of the Creator, and the study of the legal inventions of our not overwise or too scrupulous forefathers proved, ere long, incompatable. Mr. Combe's great and untiring energies were destined to become absorbed in the former to the exclusion of the latter; he became, well known, as a philosophical and social reformer, but forgotten as a lawyer. Had not this great change in his pursuits taken place, his biographer could hardly have declared Mr. Combe to be "a philosopher in the noblest sense of the word, a benefactor as well as an instructor of his fellow-men." Nor could he have ventured to declare that "it was his gift, his calling, his duty, and his highest pleasure to show the justice and the beneficence of the Great Creator, who made the eye for sight, the ear for hearing, and the brain for the manifestation of intelligence and will; and to prove to a world which had too much neglected, or utterly ignored the fact, that the laws of bodily are those of mental health; and that, in one sense, it is as truly irreligious, and as contrary to the Divine laws by which the world is governed, to live in habitual uncleanliness of person or abode, and to breathe polluted air, as it is to steal, or bear false witness against one's neighbour."

The fact, just now stated, that 90,500 copies of the 'Constitution of Man' have been sold to a reading public, speaks much in its

favour. Can we doubt that the contents of this volume have, in some way, struck a responsive chord in the hearts of many of us? For my own part, I feel that the late Mr. G. Combe not only wrote a great and important book, but that he proved, in the great demand for the same, that there is in the breast of man a larger abundance of good than has been hitherto anticipated. He has made it appear that there exists in mankind an innate and instinctive preference for what is truthful and holy, to the exclusion of what is merely specious; and that the hitherto dormant and more deeply-seated, and purer emotions and the loftier capacities of our kind, must one day, and under more and more favourable circumstances, come well to the surface; and that when the matured seed shall be strewn broad cast over the soil, duly and faithfully prepared, and adapted for its reception—then may we look for a glorious and abundant harvest—and that *then* may we expect no longer to look on the pages of history and find out little else than *ruin, vice, and slavery;* but little else than "unceasing cavils," "unholy wars," and "personal cruelties;" but little else than "the countless bad acts of so many kings and nobles, of so many priests and charlatans;" far otherwise.

With the modesty so characteristic of a superior mind, Mr. Combe tells us in the preface to the 'Constitution of Man' that the only novelty in his book respects the relations which acknowledged truths hold to each other. *Physical laws*, of nature, he says, "affecting our physical condition, as well as regulating the whole material system of the universe, are universally acknowledged to exist, and constitute the elements of natural philosophy and chemical science; physiologists, medical practitioners, and all who take medical aid, admit the existence of *organic laws;* and the sciences of government, legislation, education, indeed our whole train of conduct through life, proceed upon the admission of *laws in morals*. Accordingly, the laws of nature have formed an interesting subject of inquiry to philosophers of all ages; but, so far as I am aware, no author has hitherto attempted to point out, in a systematic form, the relations between those laws and the constitution of man; which must nevertheless be done, before our knowledge of them can be beneficially applied." Now, inasmuch as Mr. Combe's purpose is essentially *practical*, he insists on it that *a theory of mind* forms an essential element in the execution of the plan of his book; because, as he writes "without it no comparison can be instituted between the natural constitution of man and external objects." The "theory of mind" accepted by Mr. Combe is that of Gall and Spurzheim—viz., *phrenology;* and there can be no doubt of the propriety of this selection. Certainly, as Mr. Combe remarks, there *are* individuals who object to all mental philosophy as useless, and argue that as mathematics, chemistry, and botany, have become great sciences,

without the least reference to the faculties by means of which they are cultivated, so morals, religion, legislation, and political economy have existed, have been improved, and may continue to advance, with equal success, without any help from a "theory of mind." Such objectors, however, should consider that lines, circles, and triangles—earth's alkalies and acids—and also corollas, stamens, pistils, and stigmas, are objects which exist independently of the mind, and may be investigated by the application of the mental powers, in ignorance of the constitution of the faculties themselves, just as we practice archery without studying the anatomy of the hand; whereas the objects of moral and political philosophy are the qualities and actions of the mind itself. These objects have no existence independently of mind; and they can no more be systematically or scientifically understood without the knowledge of mental philosophy, than optics can be cultivated as a science in ignorance of the structure and modes of action of the eye.

It is assumed, as a starting point in the argument, that such is the constitution of human nature, and such are its relations to external objects, that the Divine government of the world is to be directly inferred therefrom; and that this government recognises, in an especial manner, the independent existence and operation of the natural laws of creation. In the words of Mr. G. Combe, "the natural laws may be divided into three great and intellectual classes, viz., physical, organic, and moral; and the peculiarity of the new doctrine is, its inculcating that *these operate independently of each other;* that each requires obedience to itself; that each, in its own specific way, rewards obedience and punishes disobedience; and that human beings are happy in proportion to the extent to which they place themselves in accordance with *all* of these Divine institutions." For example, the most pious and benevolent missionaries sailing to civilise and Christianise the heathen, may, if they embark in an unsound ship, be drowned by disobeying a physical law, without their destruction being averted by their morality. "On the other hand," he proceeds, "If the greatest monsters of iniquity were embarked in a staunch and strong ship, and managed it well, they might, and, on the general principles of the government of the world they would, escape drowning in circumstances exactly similar to those which would send the missionaries to the bottom. There appears something inscrutable in these results, if only the *moral qualities* of the men be contemplated; but if the principle be adopted that ships float in virtue of a purely physical law—and that the physical and moral laws operate indepently, each in its own sphere—the consequences appear in a totally different light.

"In like manner, the *organic* laws operate independently; and hence, one individual who has inherited a fine bodily constitution

from his parents, and observes the rules of temperance and exercise, will enjoy robust health, although he may cheat, lie, blaspheme, and destroy his fellow-men; while another, if he have inherited a feeble constitution, and disregard the laws of diet and exercise, will suffer pain and sickness, although he may be a paragon of every Christian virtue. These results are frequently observed to occur in the world; and on such occasions the darkness and inscrutable perplexity of the ways of Providence are generally moralised upon, or a future life is called in as the scene in which these crooked paths are to be rendered straight. But if my views be correct, the Divine wisdom and goodness are abundantly conspicuous in these events, for by this distinct operation of the organic and moral laws order is preserved in creation, and, as will afterwards be shown, the means of discipline and improvement are afforded to all the human faculties.

"The *moral and intellectual* laws also have an independent operation. The man who cultivates his intellect, and habitually obeys the precepts of Christianity, will enjoy within himself a fountain of *moral and intellectual happiness*, which is the appropriate reward of that obedience. By these means he will be rendered more capable of studying, comprehending, and obeying, the physical and organic laws, of placing himself in harmony with the whole order of creation, and of attaining the highest degree of perfection, and reaping the highest degree of happiness, of which human nature in this world is susceptible. In short, whenever we apply the principle of the *independent operation* of the natural laws, the apparent confusion of the moral government of the world disappears."

Having sketched in the first chapter the natural laws, in so far as they are revealed to "man's faculties;" having proposed to himself the following questions, viz.:—1st. *What exists?* 2ndly. *What is the purpose or design of what exists?* And 3rdly. *Why was what exists designed for such uses as it evidently subverses;* and having demonstrated that whilst the perceptive faculties of man are adequate to the first proposition, and his reflective faculties to the second, he adds these words, viz., "it may well be doubted if he has powers suited to the third;" and doubting this much, Mr. Combe declines its discussion. The second chapter treats in Section one of *man as a physical being;* it points out the means by which the Creator has placed man in harmony with the physical laws of the universe. It demonstrates how it is that the bones, muscles, and nerves, constructed on the most perfect principles, enable him to preserve his equilibrium, and to adapt his movements to the law of gravitation, &c. In order that man may be found in harmony with the physical laws, he has been provided with intellectual faculties, calculated to perceive their existence, their modes of operation, the relations between them and himself, and the beneficial consequences of observing

these relations, and the painful results of neglecting the same. Mr. Combe illustrates at once the responsibility of man to the physical laws of matter and the importance of a right exercise of his intellectual powers, as a means of appreciating his responsibility, in the following sentence: "When a person falls over a precipice and is maimed or killed, when a ship springs a leak and sinks, or when a reservoir of water breaks down its banks and ravages a valley, the evils, no doubt, proceed from the operation of this law; but we ought to inquire whether they could or could not have been prevented by a due exercise of the physical and mental powers bestowed by the Creator on man to enable him to avoid the injurious effects of gravitation. By pursuing this course we shall arrive at sound conclusions concerning the adaptation of the human body and mind to the physical laws of the creation."

Sec. 2 *treats of man as an organised being;* and as such subject to the organic laws. By an organised being, is meant one which derives its existence from a previously existing organised being, one which subsists on food, which grows, attains maturity, decays, and dies. The organic laws are, according to Mr. G. Combe, of three kinds, he thus explains them:

"The *first* law, then, that must be obeyed, to render an organised being perfect in its kind, is, that the germ from which it springs shall be complete in all its parts, and sound in its whole constitution. If we sow an acorn in which some vital part has been destroyed altogether, the seedling plant, and the full-grown oak, if it ever attain to maturity, will be deficient in the lineaments which are wanting in the embryo roots; if we sow an acorn entire in its parts, but only half ripened, or damaged in its whole texture by damp or other causes, the seedling oak will be feeble, and will probably die early. A similar law holds in regard to man. A *second* organic law is that the organised being, the moment it is ushered into life, and so long as it continues to live, must be supplied with food, light, air, and every other physical element requisite for its support, in due quantity, and of the kind best suited to its particular constitution. Obedience to this law is rewarded with a vigorous and healthy development of its powers; and, in animals, with a pleasing consciousness of existence, and aptitude for the performance of their natural functions; disobedience is punished with feebleness, stinted growth, general imperfection, or early death. A single fact will illustrate this observation. At the meeting of the British Association, held in Edinburgh in 1834, there was read an Abstract, by Dr. Joseph Clarke, of a Registry kept in the Lying-in Hospital of Great Britain Street, Dublin, from the year 1758 to the end of 1833, from which it appeared that, in 1781, when the hospital was imperfectly ventilated, every sixth child died within nine days after birth of convulsive disease, and that, after

means of thorough ventilation had been adopted, the mortality of infants, within the same time, in five succeeding years, was reduced to nearly one in twenty. A *third* organic law, applicable to man, is, that he duly exercise his organs, this condition being an indispensable prerequisite of health. The reward of obedience to this law, is the enjoyment in the very act of exercising the functions, pleasing consciousness of existence, and the acquisition of numberless gratifications and advantages, of which labour, or the exercise of our powers, is the procuring means: disobedience is punished with derangement and sluggishness of the functions, with general uneasiness or positive pain, and with the denial of gratification to numerous faculties."

Sec. 3 considers man in his psychological relations, *i. e.*, as an animal, moral, and intellectual being. Now, as Mr. Combe very properly remarks, in treating of this diversion of his subject, it is, of all things, indispensable to start on right premises. If we would discover the adaptation of the mental parts of man's nature to his external circumstances, we must first know what *are* his various animal, moral and intellectual powers themselves—and to know this much there is but *one* course open to us, viz., to adopt the teachings of Gall and Sperzheim. Mr. Combe, you are well aware, proved himself to be the most able and successful disciple of these great men.

Proceeding with the course of the argument adopted by Mr. G. Combe we come next to the consideration of the *sources of human happiness*. If I have the misfortune to address those whose time hangs heavily on their hands; who have not enough to do, or who are too indolent to seek occupation, or too indifferent in their natures to get up an interest in local matters, or in science or general politics, &c., it is wholly unnecessary for me to say that all such of you are, as a matter of course, far from happy. The idle, or unoccupied must be, more or less, miserable; they are in much the same state of *ennui* and discontent as the infatuated Rasselas in his happy valley, so called; or as the listless occupants of Thompson's famous 'Castle of Indolence.' "*Life demands action*," says the poet, and if this were untrue man would not be found created in such a manner as to invite and encourage exercise of the mental and bodily powers. Life not only demands, but will have, action of some one or other kind. How many gaily and fashionably dressed young men do we meet everywhere, who, without any useful or honourable calling, fill up their time at the toilet-table, and at the billiard and card tables? How numerous are those of Saxon blood and energies, who, with capacities of the best kind, and with hearts of the right sort, devote both their talents and even their affections to fancy dogs and horses. Is it not a real pity, a national grievance, that even *one* of the

wealthy classes, *i. e.*, of the upper ten thousand, should so far fail in his high and important calling. However, the number of the Carlisles, the Broughams, the Russells, the Stanleys, and the Shaftesburys, is, let us hope and believe, on the increase. If either one of the good and great men whom I have named were asked to tell us his experience, in so far as the *sources of human happiness* are concerned he would reply, *in work, in steady but unceasing occupation.*

Are you anatomists? Consider, then, the bones, muscles, and nerves, the digestive and respiratory organs, &c., they are given us for use. Consider the external senses and the internal faculties, these also are given us for use. Each and all of these when exercised in conformity with their nature, furnish the most pleasing sensations, directly or indirectly; and their combined operation in man constitute life, and national existence.

Need I tell you there is generated in every single thing which has life, in man and beast and each creeping thing, in every fragment of the vegetable world, a certain amount of what is called *nerve force;* this must be got rid of, must be expended in some way, either by the body or mind, by the muscles or the brain, in a word, by or through an especial organic apparatus. The supply and the expenditure of this "nerve force," generated in such abundance in the living organism, requires to be equalised. If the supply exceed the expenditure disease is set up in this organ or in that, in the brain or in the stomach, and so on. A kind of morbid sensibility, under these circumstances, is established, which involves, at length, both mind and body. Nature is anxious, as it were, for the restoration of the party afflicted, and she does her best to cut off all further supplies of "nerve force;" and thus it is the appetite fails and the stomach is incompetent to the due performance of its functions. Should the individual continue without a sufficient stimulus to exertion, should the bodily powers and the mental faculties remain habitually inactive, what a lack of human happiness is here!

Let us look at this picture from another point of view. That man who is well and usefully employed day by day, who expends the nerve-force generated within him as he ought to do; who takes a sufficiency of exercise, and dedicates a certain number of hours each day to the exercise of his nervous and muscular systems; whose knowing and reflecting faculties are provided with their necessary normal excitants, and whose sympathies are kept alive by social intercourse with his fellow-man; that man, I say, is in the very best position to realise *happiness.* The exercise of mind and body, which the daily routine of such a man involves is, in itself, a high source of enjoyment. His firm and elastic step assures you that the contraction of each muscle gives him a real pleasure; his

bright eye and happy expression of countenance tell you of a mind well disciplined and in harmony with surrounding objects. His whole physique is the type of health and happiness. In activity of mind and body he obeys the organic laws as they obtain in man and animals, and he is happy; happy, not only in the mode of expenditure of his "nerve-force," but in its renewal, *i. e.*, the mode of its supply; for he eats well and sleeps well. Such are among his rewards for time well spent, for days well occupied. "It is delightful," writes Mr. Combe, "to repair exhausted nervous and muscular energy by wholesome aliment, and the digestive organs have been so constituted as to afford us frequent opportunities of enjoying the pleasures of eating." But there are no pleasures of eating for him who is indolent—a fact from which it is argued that labour is the birthright of man; further, "the body has been created destitute of covering, yet standing in need of protection from the elements of heaven; and nature has been so constituted that raiment can be easily provided by moderate exercise of the mental and corporeal organs." That the sources of human happiness must be looked for in the full activity of our various powers of mind and body is undeniable. Ask the painter or musician, the astronomer or statesman, the physiologist, the geologist or the poet, from what source he draws the grand luxuries of life. Ask our present Prime Minister, or Mr. Bright; ask Dr. Brown-Séquard, or Professor Owen; ask Dr. Lyell, ask Alexander Smith, or the Poet Laureate (Tennyson) to enumerate his happiest hours, his brightest periods of existence. Can you doubt what each and all of these great men, now living, would tell you? Not one but would acknowledge that his happiness has been, and is, in the exercise of his calling. This is a great fact, and speaks favorably of the truth of Mr. Combe's opinions, as set forth with so much beauty, and force, and completeness in his voluminous writings.

A comparison has been made between the instincts of the lower animals, and the mental acquirements of man, and it has been concluded that the advantages are on the side of the former, because in them knowledge may be said to be intuitive, and what is more perfect from the first; whilst in ourselves it is the result of hard experience and of a long course of education. However, you will perceive that the relations to the external world of the lower animals and ourselves is by no means alike or parallel; and what is more, man is so evidently a responsible being that any such comparison becomes really odious. Mr. Combe has treated of this "comparison" in these words, viz.:

"Supposing the human faculties to have received their present constitution, two arrangements for their gratification may be fancied: first, infusing into the intellectual powers, at birth, *intuitive knowledge* of every object which they are fitted ever to comprehend; and

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directing every propensity and sentiment by an infallible instinct to its best mode and degree of gratification; or, secondly, constituting the intellectual faculties only as *capacities* for gaining knowledge by exercise and application, and surrounding them with objects bearing such relations towards them, that, when these objects and relations are observed and attended to, high gratification shall be obtained, and, when they are unobserved and neglected, the result shall be uneasiness and pain; giving at the same time to each propensity and sentiment a wide field of action, comprehending both use and abuse, and leaving the intellect to direct each to its proper objects, and to regulate its degrees of indulgence. And the question occurs, Which of these modes would be more conducive to enjoyment? The general opinion will be in favour of the first; but the second appears to me to be preferable. If the first meal we had eaten had for ever prevented the recurrence of hunger, it is obvious that all the pleasures of satisfying a healthy appetite would then have been at an end; so that this apparent bounty would have greatly abridged our enjoyment. In like manner, if (our faculties being constituted as at present) unerring desire had been impressed on the propensities and sentiments, and intuitive knowledge had been communicated to the understanding, so that, when an hour old, we should have been, morally, as wise and virtuous, and, intellectually, as thoroughly instructed as we could ever become, all provision for the sustained activity of our faculties would have been done away with. When wealth is acquired the miser's pleasure in it is diminished. He grasps after *more* with increasing avidity. He is supposed irrational in doing so; but he obeys the instinct of his nature. What he possesses no longer satisfies acquisitiveness. The miser's pleasure arises from the *active state* of this faculty, and only the pursuit and obtaining of *new treasures* can *maintain that state.* The same law is exemplified in the case of love of approbation. The enjoyment which it affords depends on its *active state;* and hence the necessity for *new incense,* and for *mounting higher* in the scale of ambition, is constantly felt by its victims. Napoleon, in exile, said, 'Let us live upon the past;' but he found this impossible; his predominant desires originated in love of approbation and self-esteem, and the past did not stimulate them, or maintain them in constant activity. In like manner, no musician, artist, poet, or philosopher, would reckon himself happy, however extensive his attainments, if informed, 'Now you must stop and live upon the past;' and the reason is still the same; the pursuit of new acquirements, and the discovery of new fields of investigation, excite and maintain the faculties in activity; and activity is enjoyment."

It will probably occur to the minds of some who hear me that these new *acquirements* and *new fields of investigation* must come to

an end; must, after the lapse of time, cease to be. The idea is specious, nothing more. As well may he insist on it that our emotions and affections in time yet to come will lack their natural stimuli. Rely on it that the intellectual not less than the moral faculties will be ever maintained in activity; neither will languish for want of opportunity. This world is not yet old, or rather, according to geologists, it has to run a much longer course than it has yet done; and as to man, he can be regarded at this time as but a comparative stranger to it—with his maturity, *i. e.* his perfectibility, very far in the future.

Mr. Combe is quite right in saying that "At present man is obviously only in the beginning of his career. Although," he continues, "a knowledge of external nature, and of himself, is indispensable to his advancement to his true station as a rational being, yet four hundred years have not elapsed since the arts of printing and engraving were invented, without which knowledge could not be disseminated through the mass of mankind; and, up to the present hour, the art of reading is by no means general over the world—so that even now the *means* of calling man's rational nature into activity, although discovered, are but very imperfectly applied. It is only five or six centuries since the mariner's compass was known in Europe, without which even philosophers could not ascertain the most common facts regarding the size, form, and productions of the earth. It is but three hundred and forty-three years since one-half of the habitable globe, America, became known to the other half; and considerable portions of it are still unknown even to the best informed inquirers. It is little more than two hundred years since the circulation of the blood was discovered; previously to which it was impossible even for physicians to form any correct idea of the uses of many of man's corporeal organs, and of their relations to external nature. Haller, who flourished in the early part and middle of the last century, may be regarded as the founder of human physiology as a science of observation. It is only between forty and fifty years since the true functions of the brain and nervous system were discovered; before which we possessed no adequate means of becoming acquainted with our mental constitution and its adaptation to external circumstances and beings. It is no more than sixty-one years since the study of chemistry, or of the constituent elements of the globe, was put into a philosophical condition by Dr. Priestley's discovery of oxygen; and hydrogen was discovered so lately as 1766, or sixty-nine years ago. Before that time people in general were comparatively ignorant of the qualities and relations of the most important material agents with which they were surrounded. At present this knowledge is still in its infancy, as will appear from an enumeration of the dates of several other important discoveries. Electricity was discovered in 1728, galvanism in 1794, gas-light

about 1798, and steamboats, steam-looms, and the safety-lamp, in our own day.

"It is only of late years that the study of geology has been seriously begun; without which we could not know the past changes in the physical structure of the globe—a matter of much importance as an element in judging of our present position in the world's progress. This science also is still in its infancy. An inconceivable extent of territory remains to be explored, from the examination of which the most interesting and instructive conclusions will probably present themselves. In astronomy, too, the discoveries of the two Herschels promise to throw additional light on the early history of the globe.

"The mechanical sciences are at this moment in full play, putting forth vigorous shoots, and giving the strongest indications of youth, and none of decay.

"The sciences of morals and of government are still in many respects in a crude condition.

"In consequence, therefore, of his profound ignorance, man, in all ages, has been directed in his pursuits by the mere impulse of his strongest propensities, formerly to war and conquest, and now to accumulating wealth; without having framed his habits and institutions in conformity with correct and enlightened views of his own nature, and its real interests and wants. Up to the present day the mass of the people in every nation have remained essentially ignorant, the tools of interested leaders, or the creatures of their own blind impulses, unfavorably situated for the development of their rational nature; and they, constituting the great majority, necessarily influence the condition of the rest. But at last the arts and sciences seem to be tending towards abridging human labour, so as to force leisure on the mass of the people; while the elements of useful knowledge are so rapidly increasing, the capacity of the operatives for instruction is so generally recognised, and the means of communicating it are so powerful and abundant, that a new era may fairly be considered as having commenced.

"From the want of a practical philosophy of human nature, multitudes of amiable and talented individuals are at present anxious only for preservation of the attainments which society possesses, and dread retrogression in the future. If the views now expounded be correct, this race of moralists and politicians will in time become extinct, because, progression being the law of our nature, the proper education of the people will render the desire for improvement universal."

The consideration of the sources of human misery will very naturally follow that of the sources of human happiness. The many calamities of life, whether of a personal or national character, are plainly enough referable to an infringement of the laws of nature.

These calamities are due, if not to an infringement of the physical laws, to either a non-observance or neglect of the organic laws or of the moral law. Now it is quite impossible to do the commonest justice to this question of the sources of human misery in a single lecture; you will therefore bear with me if I touch lightly on this division of my subject. The evils resulting from infringement of the physical laws are a matter of every day demonstration.

When we compare the means of protection from harm, under the physical laws, possessed by the lower animals, with those proper to man, we may be disposed to conclude that the monkey, goat, and some birds, &c., are the better off. Their admirable adaptation to the laws of gravitation, whereby they are guaranteed from the consequences of their infringement is self-evident. However, let it not be supposed that man is less the object of a Creator's care and beneficence. His means of protection are different, but when understood and applied they will, doubtless, be found not less complete. Man's seeming disadvantages of *physique* are well compensated by certain mental faculties, viz., those of constructiveness and reflection. With their aid he bends the very elements to his will, and whilst he avoids the evils resulting from infringement of the physical laws, he realises to the full, as is well known to you, the glorious consequences of obedience to them.

The organic laws are so much and so commonly infringed that the miseries resulting are ever present to us. If this were not the case your medical friends and neighbours in Bristol and its neighbourhood would not be so plentiful as we find them. Obey the organic laws as you should, and so preserve your health, and so avoid disease and doctors. Health *is*, without doubt, within the capabilities of the human race. Provided any one of us had a fair start in life, *i. e.*, provided any person here sprung from a normal germ, one complete in all its parts, and sound in its whole constitution; assuming also that from the first moment of his or her existence, and as long as life is continued, he or she is supplied with food, light, and air, and every other aliment necessary for the support of life, and further that he or she shall duly exercise the several functions of this complex organism of ours; provided all this, I say, then is *health* in great part an inevitable sequence. Unhappily there are very few of us who enjoy this fair start I have imagined, and very few of us for whom the provisions just named abound; we must then accept the fact as we find it, and make the best of it. The subject of physiology, as applied to health and education (physical and mental), is one of the first importance. To understand it fully and practically, we must become anatomists and physiologists; that is to say, we must know the organic constitution of our body. Before we can become acquainted with its relations to external objects, we must learn the existence and qualities of

these objects, as unfolded by chemistry, natural history, and natural philosophy. Nor is this all—we must compare these same external objects with the constitution of the human body. Such are the preliminaries necessary to the due observance of the organic laws. Such are the preliminaries imposed on us if we would avoid the calamities or miseries consequent on the infringement of the organic laws.

Mr. Combe has these words, viz. :—"If, then, we sedulously inquire, in each particular instance, into the *cause* of the sickness, pain, and premature death, or the derangement of the corporeal frame in youth and middle life, which we see so common around us; and endeavour to discover whether it originated in obedience to the physical and organic laws, or sprang from infringement of them, we shall be able to form some estimate as to how far bodily suffering is justly attributable to imperfections of nature, and how far to our own ignorance and neglect of Divine institutions.

"The foregoing principles, being of much practical importance, may, with propriety, be elucidated by a few actual cases. Two or three centuries ago, various cities in Europe were depopulated by the plague, and, in particular, London was visited by an awful mortality from this cause, in the reign of Charles II. Most people of that age attributed the scourge to the inscrutable decrees of Providence, and some to the magnitude of the nation's moral iniquities. According to the views now presented, it must have arisen from infringement of the *organic laws*, and have been intended to enforce stricter obedience to them in future. There was nothing inscrutable in its causes or objects. These, when clearly analysed, appear to have had no direct reference to the moral condition of the people; I say *direct* reference to the moral condition of the people—because it would be easy to show that the physical, the organic, and all the other natural laws, are connected indirectly, and constituted in harmony, with the moral law; and that infringement of the latter often leads to disobedience of other laws, and brings a double punishment on the offender. The facts recorded in history exactly correspond with the theory now propounded. The following is a picture of the condition of the cities of Western Europe in the 15th Century :—'The floors of the houses being commonly of clay, and strewed with rushes or straw, it is loathsome to think of the filth collected in the hovels of the common people, and sometimes in the lodgings even of the superior ranks, from spilled milk, beer, grease, fragments of bread, flesh, bones, spittle, excrements of cats, dogs, &c. To this Erasmus, in a letter 432, c. 1815, ascribes the plague, the sweating sickness, &c., in London, which in this respect resembled Paris and other towns of any magnitude in those times.'—Ranken's 'History of France,' vol. v, p. 416. The streets of London were excessively narrow, the habits of the people dirty, their food

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inferior, and no adequate provision was made for introducing a plentiful supply of water, or removing the filth unavoidably produced by a dense population. The great fire in that city, which happened soon after the pestilence, afforded an opportunity of remedying, in some degree, the narrowness of the streets; and habits of increasing cleanliness abated the filth: these changes brought the people to a closer obedience to the organic laws, and no plague has since returned. Again, till very lately, thousands of children died yearly of the smallpox; but, in our day, vaccine inoculation saves ninety-nine out of a hundred, who, under the old system, would have died."

Already is it a matter of demonstration that the average duration of human life is increasing year by year throughout England and Wales. Now this is due, in some measure, to the advance of medical science; but principally to improved habits of life among the masses of the people. That we hear more at this time than we ever did of draining, ventilation, education, temperance, &c., is most true, and that the attention of the various classes of people is being yet more and more directed to the subject of hygiéne is certain. The laws which subserve health and disease claim the best and most earnest attention of the Legislature. Our national greatness, Britain's supremacy, is indissolubly dependent on the rapid increase of our numbers; on our largely increasing population. This fact it is which will be found to tell so well for the advancement of a sound civilisation. If the past be any criterion of the future, if the population of Great Britain *has* doubled itself in a little more than fifty years, then may we expect that before our successors shall enter on the 21st century, or, which is the same thing, within the next 150 years, these sea-girt isles will be the residence of something *over* a hundred millions of souls. Our national strength will have increased with our numbers; and we shall then be in a position to take the *very* first position—the lead—among nations; and therefore to dictate to our continental neighbours the arts of peace and progress, the principles of religion and of morals. I doubt not it is the high and glorious destiny of the Saxon to pilot the other races of mankind through the broad ways of science to the fertile plains of civilisation. Already has the good work commenced; and the proof of this lies in the appointment of *officers of health* in our large towns, and in the large share of attention given everywhere to sanitary matters, *i.e., to the organic laws.*

In the last book of Mr. G. Combe's, entitled "The Relation between Science and Religion," we learn that "the records of mortality, when arranged according to the different classes of society, and different localities of the ame country," demonstrate the dependence of both health and life or the converse, disease and death, on the habits of a people, *i. e.*, on ventilation, drainage, air, exercise, diet, and so on.

The following results are presented by a report of the mortality in Edinburgh and Leith for the year 1846:

"The mean age at death of the 1st class, composed of gentry and professional men, was 43½ years.

"The mean age at death of the 2nd class, composed of merchants, master tradespeople, clerks, &c., was 36½ years.

"The mean age at death of the 3rd class, composed of artizans, labourers, servants, &c., was 27½ years."

In reference to the foregoing facts, Mr. Combe makes the following very just remarks, viz., "It is a reasonable inference that, inasmuch as God is no respecter of artificial rank, that the differences in these proportions were the result of the individuals in the first and second classes having fulfilled more perfectly than those in the third, the conditions on which He proffers to continue with them His boon of life."

We come now to the consideration of the 'Calamities arising from the Infringement of the Moral Law.' The personal histories of individuals—the antecedents of any single person in this room—if gone into with care and discrimination, would abundantly prove how certainly "*guilt,*" of every shade, "the avenging fiend follows close behind, to punish those who err." If our lawgivers recognised the principle insisted on, they would legislate with greater discrimination than they now do, knowing as they then would that nations, like individuals, are strictly responsible for acts both of omission and commission.

A survey of the moral and religious codes of different nations, and of the moral and religious opinions of different philosophers, will strike every reflecting mind with undoubted evidences of their great and remarkable diversities. Now, without the aid of phrenology, these differences appear more or less insurmountable; however, the doctrines of Gall and Spurgheim, by demonstrating the differences of combination of the several primitive faculties of the mind, enable us to account for all varieties of sentiment and for every diversity of moral and religious opinion. "The code of morality," observes Mr. G. Combe, "framed by a legislator in whom the animal propensities were strong and the moral sentiments weak, would be very different from one instituted by another lawgiver in whom this combination was reversed. In like manner, a system of religion, founded by an individual in whom destructiveness, wonder, and cautiousness were very large, and veneration, benevolence, and conscientiousness deficient, would present views of the Supreme Being widely dissimilar to those which would be promulgated by a person in whom the last three faculties and intellect decidedly predominated. Phrenology shows that the particular code of morality and religion *which is most completely in harmony with the whole faculties of the individual,* will necessarily appear to him to be the best *while he refers only to the*

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dictates of his individual mind as the standard of right and wrong. But if we are able to show that the *whole scheme of external creation is arranged in harmony with certain principles, in preference to others,* so that enjoyment flows upon the individual from without when his conduct is in conformity with them, and that evil overtakes him when he departs from them, we shall then obviously prove that the former is the morality and religion established by the Creator, and that individual men, who support different codes, must necessarily be deluded by imperfections in their own minds. That constitution of mind, also, may be pronounced to be the best which harmonises most completely with the morality and religion established by the Creator's arrangements. In this view, *morality becomes a science,* and departures from its dictates may be demonstrated as practical follies, injurious to the real interest and happiness of the individual, just as errors in logic are capable of refutation to the satisfaction of the understanding."

It is very much to be feared that the *practical follies* named by Mr. Combe are of too universal an application. There is mighty little honesty in this world. Mankind lives, as a general rule, in open defiance of the moral law, realising to the full the "incoherent state of society," named by Fourier. The *eye to business* is seldom or ever closed; men of every religious creed, of whatever political opinions or calling, seem, as a too general rule, ever awake to the consideration of pounds, shillings, and pence. Let each person present ask himself what his own experience amounts to. How seldom is it that we are brought into contact with really superior people. How unceasingly are we required to be on our guard lest we become the dupes of artful, selfish, and designing men. Nothing is more true than that we live on each other; the opposing interests of man, as things are at present constituted, would seem to allow of no alternative. It is indeed difficult to see one's way out of this chaos of selfishness; but assuming the existence of a government of the world, in harmony only with an unfailing supremacy of the moral sentiments and the intellect, surely such a *chaos of selfishness* must, one day, come to an end. It is, indeed, lamentable to reflect on certain events belonging to the last few years; on the abuses of the banking system, on the vices of the railway mania, and on our Crimean defects, &c. However, these blots on our national escutcheon have developed their own dark features; and their discovery has led to a better order of things. As it has been and is, both with individuals and with banking companies, with railway monopolists, and with political officials, ever too careful of their own *Dowb's,* so has it ever been with the various classes of society regarded in their social relations. The poor and not less the rich, with some glorious exceptions, have to this time lived, and continue so to do, in the gratification, more especially, of their lower feelings, *i. e.* their self-

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esteem and their acquisitiveness—the one struggling not a little against the other, for it may be more labour or more pay. Our very relaxations or amusements partake of a kind of selfishness; *e. g.*, the poor man plays at skittles, and the rich man devotes his leisure to cards and horse-racing, and all for money. The "bubbles" of this day have a similar origin to those of *Mississippi* celebrity; the object of each bubble is *money, money*, or, which is the same thing, the extravagant gratification of certain of the primitive faculties of the human mind—of self-esteem and acquisitiveness, more especially. The following words are from the pen of Mr. George Combe, viz.:—"'The inhabitants of Britain generally are devoted to the acquisition of wealth, of power and distinction, or of animal pleasure: in other words, the great object of the labouring classes is to live and gratify the inferior propensities; of the mercantile and manufacturing population, to gratify acquisitiveness and self-esteem; of the more intelligent class of gentlemen, to gratify self-esteem and love of approbation, by attaining political, literary, or philosophical eminence; and of another portion, to gratify love of approbation by supremacy in fashion; and these gratifications are sought by means not in accordance with the dictates of the higher sentiments, but by the joint aid of the intellect and animal powers. If the supremacy of the moral sentiments and intellect be the natural law, then, as often observed, every circumstance connected with human life must be in harmony with it: that is to say, *first*, after rational restraint on population and proper use made of machinery, such moderate labour as will leave ample time for the systematic exercise of the higher powers will suffice to provide for human wants; and, *secondly*, if this exercise be neglected, and the time which ought to be dedicated to it be employed in labour to gratify the propensities, direct evil will ensue; and this, accordingly, appears to me to be really the result."

A considerable portion of the 'Constitution of Man,' and of the 'Moral Philosophy' of Mr. Combe, is devoted to the consideration of the legitimate uses of mechanical inventions, regarded as partial substitutes for manual labour. If all the wants of life, "every imaginable necessary and luxury," can be obtained by means of machinery and the aids derived from science, with the addition of but a moderate share of personal or manual labour, then is there good reason why men should rest satisfied at this point, and devote a portion of their time daily to education, to moral and intellectual advancement. I need hardly remind you that excessive bodily toil is altogether incompatible with educational pursuits. The body having exhausted the *nerve-force* before spoken of in this lecture, there can be none left for the mind. Now, "labour," in the words of Mr. Combe, "if pursued till it provides abundance, but not superfluity, would meet with a certain and just reward, and would also

yield a vast increase of happiness; for no joy equals that which springs from the moral sentiments and intellect excited by the contemplation, pursuit, and observance of the Creator's laws. Farther, morality would be improved; for men, being happy, would become less vicious; and, lastly, there would be improvement in the organic, moral, and intellectual capabilities of the race; for the active moral and intellectual organs of the parents would tend to increase the volume of these in their offspring, so that each generation would start not only with greater stores of acquired knowledge than those which its predecessors possessed, but with higher natural capabilities of turning them to account."

Both the manufacturer and the labourer have, in times gone by, most seriously infringed both the organic and moral laws; and, what is more, both have incurred the penalties or calamities of such infringement. The manufacturer and his labourer have alike misunderstood the legitimate uses of mechanical inventions; the first was led with their aid to overstock the market with his goods, to seek the gratification of his acquisitiveness at the expense of his neighbour, and so he got himself into difficulties; the second looked on each machine as a source of ruin to himself and starvation to his children, and no wonder, therefore, that he prayed for their discontinuance. Both the manufacturer and the labourer ignored the proper use of the *spinning jenny*, for example sake, and to gratify their mistaken but selfish passions, they, each in a particular manner, suffered the consequences thereof. When the manufacturer and the artisan shall perceive that the dedication of their whole lives to the service of the selfish propensities must necessarily terminate in punishment; then, but not before, will they perceive the right uses of machinery, as applied to the arts. The first has yet to learn that life has other and more ennobling hopes and aspirations than those connected with making money; and the second has to be taught that his lot admits of great amelioration; that he has claims to a higher position than his present; and that he is destined to profit much by the exercise of his intellectual and moral faculties, to this time but disproportionately gratified. The annexed remarks of Mr. Combe are so much to the point that I cannot forbear their quotation. He says:

"Ordinary observers appear to conceive a man's chief end, in Britain at least, to be to manufacture hardware, broadcloth, and cotton goods, for the use of the whole world, and to store up wealth. They forget that the same impulse which inspires the British with so much ardour in manufacturing will, sooner or later, inspire other nations also; and that, if all Europe shall follow our example, and employ efficient machinery and a large proportion of their population in our branches of industry, which they are fast doing, the four quarters of the globe will at length be deluged with manu-

factured goods, only part of which will be required. When this state of things shall arrive—and in proportion as knowledge and civilisation are diffused, it will approach—men will be compelled by dire necessity to abridge their toil, because excessive labour will not be remunerated. The admirable inventions which are the boast and glory of civilised men, are believed by many persons to be at this moment adding to the misery and degradation of the people. Power-looms, steam-carriages, and steam-ships, it is asserted, have all hitherto operated directly in increasing the hours of exertion, and abridging the reward of the labourer! Can we believe that God has bestowed on us the gift of an almost creative power, solely to increase the wretchedness of the many, and minister to the luxury of the few? Impossible! The ultimate effect of mechanical inventions on human society appears to be not yet divined. I hail them as the grand instruments of civilisation, by giving leisure to the great mass of the people to cultivate and enjoy their moral, intellectual, and religious powers."

There can be no doubt that Mr. G. Combe is quite right in his estimate of the aim and objects of *mechanical inventions*. What a glorious future does the "leisure" here mentioned promise to us. What a glorious opportunity does it recognise of permanently ameliorating the condition of man, regarded as an intellectual, moral, and religious being. But if we would ever realise the climax of so much good—a climax hedged around at this time by so many prejudices and difficulties—we must not fail to look well after and appreciate the many "consequences of the present system of departing from the moral law, on the middle orders of the community, as well as on the lower." It has been remarked that "Uncertain gains, continual fluctuations in fortune, the absence of all reliance in their pursuits on moral and intellectual principles, a gambling spirit, an insatiable appetite for wealth, alternate extravagant joys of excessive prosperity and bitter miseries of disappointed ambition—render the lives of manufacturers and merchants, to too great an extent, scenes of mere vanity and vexation of spirit." As the *chief occupations* of the British nation, manufactures and commerce are disowned by reason; for, as now conducted, they imply the permanent degradation of the great mass of the people. "They already constitute England's weakness," says Mr. Combe, "and, unless they shall be regulated by sounder views than those which at present prevail, they will involve their population in unspeakable misery. The oscillations of fortune, which almost the whole of the middle ranks of Britain experience, in consequence of the alternate depression and elevation of commerce and manufactures, are attended with extensive and severe individual suffering. Deep, though often silent, agonies pierce the heart, when ruin is seen stealing by slow but certain steps on a young and helpless

family; the mental struggle often undermines the parent's health, and conducts him prematurely to the grave. No death can be imagined more painful than that which arises from a broken spirit, robbed of its treasures, disappointed in its ambition, and conscious of failure in the whole scheme of life. The best affections of the soul are lacerated and agonised at the prospect of leaving their dearest objects to struggle, without provision, in a cold and selfish world. Thousands of the middle ranks in Britain unfortunately experience these miseries in every passing year. Nothing is more essential to human happiness than fixed principles of action, on which we can rely for our present safety and future welfare; and the Creator's laws, when seen and followed, afford this support and delight to our faculties in the highest degree. It is one, not the least, of the punishments that overtake the middle classes for neglect of these laws, that they do not, as a permanent condition of mind, feel secure and internally at peace with themselves. In days of prosperity, they continue to fear adversity. They live in a constant struggle with fortune; and when the excitement of business has subsided, vacuity and craving are felt within. These proceed from the moral and intellectual faculties calling aloud for exercise; but, through ignorance of human nature, either pure idleness, gossiping conversation, fashionable amusements, or intoxicating liquors, are resorted to, and with these a vain attempt is made to fill up the void of life. I know that this class ardently desires a change that would remove the miseries here described, and will zealously co-operate in diffusing knowledge, by means of which alone it can be introduced.

"The punishment which overtakes the higher classes is equally obvious. If they do not engage in some active pursuit, so as to give scope to their energies, they suffer the evils of *ennui*, morbid irritability, and excessive relaxation of the functions of mind and body; which carry in their train more suffering than even that which is entailed on the operatives by excessive labour. If they pursue ambition in the senate or in the field, in literature or philosophy, their real success is in exact proportion to the approach which they make to observance of the supremacy of the moral sentiments and intellect. Sully, Franklin, and Washington, may be contrasted with Sheridan and Buonaparte, as illustrations. Sheridan and Napoleon did not systematically pursue objects sanctioned by the higher sentiments and intellect as the end of their exertions; and no person, who is a judge of human emotions, can read the history of their lives, and consider what must have passed within their minds, without coming to the conclusion that, even in their most brilliant moments of external prosperity, the canker was gnawing within, and that there was no moral relish of the present, or reliance on the future, but a mingled tumult of inferior pro-

pensities and intellect, carrying with it an habitual feeling of unsatisfied desires."

Now it is by no means difficult to prove, that, as it is with individuals, so it is with nations. The question is one of mere numbers; both individuals and nations are bound by indissoluble links to the moral law. The conduct and actions of both, it is ordained, shall recognise its principles. Whenever this union is attempted to be dissevered, or whenever the relationship insisted on, would be put on one side, then do the corresponding miseries, or calamities, most certainly develop themselves. Let us see how far this assertion is borne out by history. The American war is referred to by Mr. Combe as an instance both of the Divine government of the world, and as affording a demonstration of a well-marked national calamity, the consequence of an infringement of the moral law. Great Britain had run into debt. The cost of the wars, in which she was engaged during the greater part of the last century, was something more than she could well afford. She borrowed, within the space of sixty-five years, close on 834 millions of pounds; besides raising other moneys by taxes amounting to 1189 millions, making altogether a total expenditure, for the purposes of war, of 2023 millions of pounds sterling. Where to find more money was the question of the day. It occurred to some sapient lawgiver to make, what were then our colonial possessions across the Atlantic, and are now the United States of America, help us over the difficulties. Certain taxes were imposed, and one very unpopular one on *tea*. These taxes were, at first, thought rather hard to bear; they set people grumbling, as taxes do to this day on *this* side of the Atlantic waters. More taxes followed, and this grumbling grew louder and deeper. Remonstrance was in vain; the parent country would not be dictated to by its colonial bantling, but insisted on having its own way. An agitation was commenced, meetings were convened, and resolutions were carried, and our brothers on the great continent away west were unanimous; they adopted but one opinion, and resolved on but one line of conduct; and this was explained by one word—*resistance*. There is a time when the son throws off the control and guidance of the father, and there is a time when colonies become independent of the parent country; that time had come to America. The conduct of Britain roused the animal resentment of British America; the self-esteem and the acquisitiveness of both countries were brought into contact. "Britain," in the words of Mr. Combe, "to support a dominion in direct hostility to the principles which regulate the moral government of the world, in the expectation of becoming rich and powerful by success in that enterprise; the Americans, to assert the supremacy of the higher sentiments, and to become free and independent. According to the principles which I am now unfold-

ing, the greatest misfortune that could have befallen Britain would have been success, and the greatest advantage, failure in her attempt; and the result is now acknowledged to be in exact accordance with this view. If Britain had subdued the colonies in the American war, every one must see to what an extent her self-esteem, acquisitiveness, and destructiveness, would have been let loose upon them. This, in the first place, would have roused the animal faculties of the conquered party, and led them to give her all the annoyance in their power; and the expense of the fleets and armies requisite to repress this spirit, would have far counterbalanced all the profits she could have wrung out of the colonists by extortion and oppression. In the second place, the very exercise of these animal faculties by herself, in opposition to the moral sentiments, would have rendered her government at home an exact parallel of that of the carter in his own family. The same malevolent principles would have overflowed on her own subjects: the Government would have felt uneasy, and the people rebellious, discontented, and unhappy; and the moral law would have been amply vindicated by the suffering which would have everywhere abounded. The consequences of her failure have been the reverse. America has sprung up into a great and moral nation, and actually contributes ten times more to the wealth of Britain, standing as she now does in her natural relation to this country, than she ever could have done as a discontented and oppressed colony. This advantage is reaped without any loss, anxiety, or expense; it flows from the Divine institutions, and both nations profit by and rejoice under it. The moral and intellectual rivalry of America, instead of prolonging the ascendancy of the propensities in Britain, tends strongly to excite the moral sentiments in her people and Government; and every day that we live, we are reaping the benefits of this improvement in wiser institutions, deliverance from endless abuses, and a higher and purer spirit pervading every department of the administration of the country. Britain, however, did not escape the penalty of her attempt at the infringement of the moral laws. The pages of her history during the American war are dark with suffering and gloom; and at this day we groan under the debt and difficulties then partly incurred."

Let me refer you to Carlyle's 'History of the French Revolution,' and to the acts of the first Napoleon; these are pregnant with illustrations of an almost unceasing infringement of the moral law, and its consequent calamities. If the principles advocated in this lecture be sound, Britain would have done well, being fully prepared for an emergency, and quite competent to resist any actual aggression, to wait patiently the issue of French infatuation and grossness, as manifested in the early part of this century, and have left to the Ruler of the Universe the fulfilment of His laws *and* the

punishment of our allies. But the reader of history need never be in want of illustrations of the present argument; thus, by mere accident, some few days since, I took up a book entitled 'British India, its Races and its History,' by Mr. Ludlow. If the author's facts and reasoning are worth anything—and it strikes me they are very valuable—they go to prove that the late East India Company originated the slave trade—the identical trade—towards the abolition of which this country contributed the large sum of twenty millions sterling; the first example, as Mr. Combe calls it, of a nation appropriating a considerable sum of money for the advancement of pure benevolence and justice. The late East India Company then led this country into a very considerable expense; but we have paid the debt, and that after the most praiseworthy and honorable fashion. Our acknowledgments, however, such as they are, are due to the Honorable Company. The words of Mr. Ludlow are these: "The cotton plant was imported from India into the United States. It could never have been cultivated there but for the enormous freights which the short-sighted cupidity of the East India Company laid upon Indian exports in the last century. Its cultivation could never have developed itself there on its present national scale, but through our manifold misgovernment of India by that body to which we have farmed her from time to time; through the land-tax which has sapped the agriculture of the country to its vitals; through the neglect of roads, means of water communication, irrigation, and all those other public works by which the abstraction of capital from the subject can be in part supplied. Yes," proceeds Mr. Ludlow, "it is an ugly fact, but one which we cannot overlook without hypocrisy, that the two mainstays of slavery and the slave trade—the cotton cultivation of the United States, the cultivation of the sugar cane in Cuba and Brazil—could not have grown into existence, still less have subsisted with success, but for English misrule of India." You are, of course, aware that "the cotton plant, and the sugar cane, are both indigenous to the East Indies." Further on Mr. Ludlow observes, "We have well nigh annihilated the cotton manufacture of India. Dacca is, in a great measure, desolate; its most delicate muslins almost things of the past. We imposed prohibitory duties on the import of Indian manufactures into this country. We imported our own at nominal duties into India. The slave-grown cotton of America, steam woven into Manchester cheap and nasties, displaced, on their native soil, the far more durable and more costly products of the free Indian loom; whilst these were debarred from their natural market at the hands of the more wealthy and tasteful classes of the mother country."

Upon the evidence, then, of Mr. Ludlow, it is evident that the late East India Company were not only guilty of very serious infringements of the moral law, but that they realised to the full the

consequences, *i.e.* the calamities of their disobedience. The late East India Company, acting under the guidance of their lower or selfish feelings, *i. e.* their self-esteem and acquisitiveness, sought through long years to enrich themselves at the expense of their fellow-man; with what success we are now much better able to understand than at any former period. The East India Company is now no more, but numbered with the things of a past date.

In a famous speech of Mr. Bright's, delivered at Birmingham not very long since, are these words, viz.:

"May I ask you, then, to believe, as I do most devoutly believe, that the moral law was not written for men alone in their individual character, but that it was written as well for nations, and for nations great as this of which we are citizens. If nations reject and deride that moral law there is a penalty which will inevitably follow. It may not come at once, it may not come in our lifetime; but, rely upon it, the great Italian is not a poet only, but a prophet, when he says—

> "'The sword of Heaven is not in haste to smite,
> Nor yet doth linger.'"

To conclude. It will be inferred from the foregoing remarks that the character of man is not so much made by him as for him; that his individuality here is a sequence, more especially, of acts which co-existed with even his embryotic life; and not less an effect of acts and circumstances in his early years, over which he could have neither control nor preference. It becomes us, then, to look alike with compassion and sympathy on all, whether of this or of any other clime, who fall short of either the physical or moral standard; on the lame, both those of body and of mind: knowing, as we so well do, that

> "In Faith and Hope, the world *will* disagree,
> But all mankind's concern *is* CHARITY;
> All must be false that thwart this one great end;
> And all of God, that bless mankind, or mend."
>
> *Pope.*

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