

BARBARA E. ROOKE

The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge

The Friend, Volume 4 (Part II)



PRINCETON LEGACY LIBRARY

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE · 4
THE FRIEND · II

General Editor: KATHLEEN COBURN

Associate Editor: BART WINER

THE COLLECTED WORKS

1. LECTURES 1795: ON POLITICS AND RELIGION

2. THE WATCHMAN

3. ESSAYS ON HIS TIMES

4. THE FRIEND

5. LECTURES 1808-1819: ON LITERATURE

6. LAY SERMONS

7. BIOGRAPHIA LITERARIA

8. LECTURES 1818-1819: ON PHILOSOPHY

9. AIDS TO REFLECTION

10. ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE CHURCH
AND STATE

11. SHORTER WORKS AND FRAGMENTS

12. MARGINALIA

13. THE LOGIC

14. TABLE TALK

15. OPUS MAXIMUM

16. POETICAL WORKS

GENERAL INDEX

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF
Samuel Taylor Coleridge

The Friend

II

EDITED BY
Barbara E. Rooke



ROUTLEDGE & KEGAN PAUL

❖ BOLLINGEN SERIES LXXV
PRINCETON UNIVERSITY PRESS

*This edition of the text by Samuel Taylor Coleridge is
copyright © 1969 by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd*

*The Collected Works, sponsored by Bollingen Foundation,
is published in Great Britain*

by Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd

Broadway House, 68-74 Carter Lane, London EC4

and in the United States of America

by Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey

The Collected Works constitutes

the seventy-fifth publication in Bollingen Series

*The present work, number 4 of the Collected Works,
is in two volumes, this being 4: 11*

Designed by Richard Garnett

Printed in Great Britain by

Butler and Tanner Ltd, Frome and London

CONTENTS

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	page vii
Appendix A. <i>The Friend</i> (1809–10, 1812)	1
Title-page	3
No. 1. June 1, 1809	5
Prospectus	16
No. 2. June 8, 1809	21
No. 3. August 10, 1809	38
No. 4. September 7, 1809	51
No. 5. September 14, 1809	64
No. 6. September 21, 1809	79
No. 7. September 28, 1809	97
No. 8. October 5, 1809	110
No. 9. October 12, 1809	122
No. 10. October 19, 1809	134
No. 11. October 26, 1809	146
No. 12. November 9, 1809	159
No. 13. November 16, 1809	172
No. 14. November 23, 1809	184
No. 15. November 30, 1809	197
No. 16. December 7, 1809	209
No. 17. December 14, 1809	222
No. 18. December 21, 1809	233
No. 19. December 28, 1809	248
No. 20. January 4, 1810	260
January 11, 1810	271
No. 21. January 25, 1810	285
No. 22. January 31, 1810	298
No. 23. February 8, 1810	310
No. 24. February 15, 1809 [1810]	321
No. 25. February 22, 1810	334
No. 26. March 1, 1810	347
No. 27. March 15, 1810	359

Appendix B. Colophons of <i>The Friend</i>	371
Appendix C. 1. The Manuscript of <i>The Friend</i>	377
2. Annotated Copies	388
Appendix D. Collation Tables	393
Appendix E. Subscribers to the Periodical <i>Friend</i>	405
Appendix F. Letters Concerning <i>The Friend</i>	469
Appendix G. The Fable of the Madning Rain	505
INDEX	511

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. *The Friend* (1809–10). Title-page of the periodical
facing page 2
2. *The Friend* (1812). Title-page
facing page 4

APPENDIX A
THE FRIEND
(1809–10, 1812)

[The following text is the original periodical *Friend* published at “weekly” intervals from 1 June 1809 to 15 March 1810. Only obvious typographical errors have been corrected. (Despite, or perhaps because of, Coleridge’s assertion, below, that there “is one branch of learning, without which Learning itself cannot be railed at with common decency, namely, *Spelling*”, his spelling idiosyncrasies have been retained.) Except for minor alterations of punctuation, all other changes made in the revised numbers issued in book form in 1812 are given in footnotes. The bracketed numbers within the text indicate the original periodical page numbers (the page numbers of the first twelve revised numbers differ slightly from those of the original); a word divided at the page break is considered part of the previous page. Editorial footnotes seek to elucidate passages found only in the periodical. Those footnotes to passages used again in 1818 are not repeated here: Appendix D, Collation Tables, and the index will help to locate them.]

Ashley 2845.

K. P.P. — Penwith

The Friend;

A LITERARY, MORAL, AND POLITICAL

WEEKLY PAPER,

EXCLUDING PERSONAL AND PARTY POLITICS, AND
THE EVENTS OF THE DAY.

CONDUCTED

By S. T. COLERIDGE,

OF

GRASMERE, WESTMORLAND.

1. *The Friend* (1809-10)

Title-page of the periodical, from a copy in the British Museum.

[1]

THE FRIEND
A LITERARY, MORAL, AND POLITICAL
WEEKLY PAPER,
EXCLUDING PERSONAL AND PARTY POLITICS,
AND THE EVENTS OF THE DAY
CONDUCTED
BY S. T. COLERIDGE,
OF
GRASMERE, WESTMORLAND¹

¹ The 1812 title-page [p iii] reads: "THE FRIEND; A SERIES OF ESSAYS. BY S. T. COLERIDGE", followed by the motto "Accipe principium rursus, corpusque coactum | Desere: mutatâ melior procede figurâ. CLAUDIAN." The imprint is "London: Printed for Gale and Curtis, Paternoster-Row. 1812."

Facing the above title, now a half-title in 1812, is the notice [p iv]: "The first Twenty-eight Sheets of this Work were originally Published as the successive Numbers of a Weekly Paper; which was discontinued from the inconveniences and difficulties of the place, and the mode of Publication."

2. The Friend

THE

FRIEND;

A

SERIES OF ESSAYS.

BY S. T. COLERIDGE.

K

“ Accipe principium rursus, corpusque coactum

“ Desere : mutatâ melior procede figurâ.”

CLAUDIAN.

LONDON :

—

PRINTED FOR GALE AND CURTIS, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1812.

2. *The Friend* (1812)

Title-page, from a copy in the British Museum.

THE FRIEND

No. 1. THURSDAY, JUNE 1, 1809

Crede mihi, non est parvæ fiduciæ, pollicri opem decertantibus, consilium dubiis, lumen cæcis, spem dejectis, refrigerium fessis. Magna quidem hæc sunt, si fiant; parva, si promittantur. Verum ego non tam aliis legem ponam, quam legem vobis meæ propriæ mentis exponam: quam qui probaverit, teneat; cui non placuerit, abjiciat. Optarem, fateor, talis esse, qui prodesse possem quam plurimis.

PETRARCH: "De vita solitaria"

Believe me, it requires no little Confidence, to promise Help to the Struggling, Counsel to the Doubtful, Light to the Blind, Hope to the Despondent, Refreshment to the Weary. These are indeed great Things, if they be accomplished; trifles, if they exist but in a Promise. I however aim not so much to prescribe a Law for others, as to set forth the Law of my own Mind; which let the man, who shall have approved of it, abide by; and let him, to whom it shall appear not reasonable, reject it. It is my earnest wish, I confess, to employ my understanding and acquirements in that mode and direction, in which I may be enabled to benefit the largest number possible of my fellow-creatures.

IF it be usual with writers in general to find the first paragraph of their works that which has given them the most trouble with the least satisfaction,¹ THE FRIEND may be allowed to feel the difficulties and anxiety of a first introduction in a more than ordinary degree. He is embarrassed by the very circumstances, that discriminate the plan and purposes of the present weekly paper from those of its periodical brethren, as well as from its more dignified literary relations, which come forth at once and in full growth from their parents. If it had been my² ambition to have copied³ its whole scheme and fashion from the great founders of the race, THE TATLER AND SPECTATOR I should⁴ indeed have exposed my⁵ Essays to a greater hazard of unkind comparison. An imperfect imitation is often felt as a contrast. On the other hand, however, the very names and descriptions of the fictitious characters, which I⁶ had proposed to assume in the course of my⁷ work, would have put me⁸ at once in possession of the stage; and my⁹ first act have opened with a procession¹⁰ of masks. Again,

¹ 1812 adds "the Author of".

² For "my" 1812 reads "his".

³ For "to have copied" 1812 reads "to copy".

⁴ For "I should" 1812 reads "he would".

⁵ For "my" 1812 reads "his".

⁶ For "I" 1812 reads "he".

⁷ For "my" 1812 reads "his".

⁸ For "me" 1812 reads "him".

⁹ For "my" 1812 reads "his".

¹⁰ For "procession" 1812 reads "succession".

if I were composing one work¹ on one given subject, the same acquaintance with its grounds and bearings, which had authorized me² to publish my³ [3] opinions, would with its principles or fundamental facts have supplied me⁴ with my⁵ best and most appropriate commencement. More easy still would my task have been, had I planned "THE FRIEND" chiefly as a vehicle for a weekly descant on public characters and political parties. My perfect⁶ freedom from all warping influences; the distance which permitted a distinct view of the game, yet secured me⁷ from its passions; the LIBERTY OF THE PRESS; and its especial importance at the present period from—whatever event or topic might happen to form the great interest of the day; in short, the recipe⁸ was ready to my hand, and it was framed so skilfully and has been practised with such constant effect, that it would have been affectation to have deviated from it. For originality for its own sake merely is idle at the best, and sometimes monstrous.⁹ Excuse me therefore, gentle reader! if borrowing from my title a right of anticipation I avail myself of the privileges of a friend before I have earned them; and waiving the ceremony of a formal introduction, permit me to proceed at once to a subject,¹⁰ trite indeed and familiar as the first lessons of childhood; which yet must be the foundation of my future Superstructure with all its ornaments, the hidden Root of the Tree, I am attempting to rear, with all its Branches and Boughs. But if from it¹¹ I have deduced my strongest moral motives for this¹² undertaking, it has at the same time been applied in suggesting the most formidable obstacle to my success—as far, I mean, as my Plan alone is concerned, and not the Talents necessary for its' Completion.¹³

Conclusions drawn from facts which subsist in perpetual flux, without definite place or fixed quantity, must always be liable to plausible objections, nay, often to unanswerable difficulties; and yet having their foundation in uncorrupted feeling are assented to by mankind at large, and in

¹ For "if . . . work" 1812 reads "if the Author had proposed to himself one unbroken work".

² For "me" 1812 reads "him".

³ For "my" 1812 reads "his".

⁴ For "me" 1812 reads "him".

⁵ For "my" 1812 reads "his".

⁶ For "My perfect" 1812 reads "Perfect".

⁷ For "me" 1812 reads "the Looker-on".

⁸ For "in short, the recipe" 1812 reads "this would have been my recipe! it".

⁹ 1812 omits sentence.

¹⁰ For "subject" 1812 reads "Principle".

¹¹ For "it" 1812 reads "this principle".

¹² For "this" 1812 reads "the present".

¹³ In the specimen pages, this sentence and the last half of the preceding read: ". . . childhood, which yet, or rather my reflections on it, presented one of my strongest motives for this undertaking, and at the same time suggested the most formidable obstacle to its success. Thus too I shall be able more fully to state and explain the proposed difference of *The Friend*, in its plan and object, from my illustrious predecessors. As to the two other forms of publication which I have mentioned, this paper is sufficiently distinguished from the former, by its form and the generality of the title, and from the latter by the exclusion of personal politics and the events of the day already announced in the common title page of this and the future numbers": Forster MS 112 f 116.

all ages, as undoubted truths.¹ As our notions concerning them are almost equally obscure, so are our convictions almost equally vivid,² with those of our life and individuality. Regarded with awe, as guiding principles by the founders of law and religion, they are the favourite objects of attack with mock philosophers, and the demagogues in church, state, and literature; and the denial of them has in all times, though at various intervals, formed heresies and systems, which, after their day of wonder, are regularly exploded, and again as regularly [4] revived, when they have re-acquired novelty by courtesy of oblivion.

Among these universal persuasions we must place the sense of a self-contradicting principle in our nature, or a disharmony in the different impulses that constitute it—of³ a something which essentially distinguishes man both from all other animals, that are known to exist, and from the idea of his own nature, or⁴ conception of the original man. In health and youth we may indeed connect the glow and buoyance of our bodily sensations with the words of a theory, and imagine that we hold it with a firm belief. The pleasurable heat which the Blood or the Breathing generates, the sense of external reality which comes with the strong Grasp of the hand or the vigorous Tread of the foot, may indifferently become associated with the rich eloquence of a Shaftesbury, imposing on us man's possible perfections for his existing nature;⁵ or with the cheerless and hardier impieties of a Hobbes, while cutting the gordian knot he denies the reality of either vice or virtue, and explains away the mind's self-reproach into a distempered ignorance, an epidemic affection of the human nerves and their habits of motion.⁶ "Vain wisdom all, and false philosophy!"⁷ I shall hereafter endeavour to prove, how distinct and different the sensation of positiveness is from the sense of certainty,⁸ the turbulent heat of temporary fermentation from the mild warmth of essential life. Suffice it for the present to affirm, to declare it at least, as my own creed, that whatever humbles the heart and forces the mind inward, whether it be sickness, or grief, or remorse, or the deep yearnings of love (and there have been children of affliction, for whom all these have met and made up one complex suffering) in proportion as it acquaints us with "the thing, we are,"⁹ renders us docile to the concurrent testimony of our fellow-men in all ages and in all nations. From PASCAL¹⁰ in his closet, resting the arm, which

¹ 1812 adds: "Such are all those facts, the knowledge of which is not received from the senses, but must be acquired by reflection; and the existence of which we can prove to others, only as far as we can prevail on them to *go into themselves* and make their own minds the Object of their steadfast attention."

² The first statement of a recurring idea in *The Friend*; see above, I 106n, 179, and below, II 71–2.

³ For "of" 1812 reads "the sense of".

⁴ For "or" 1812 reads "from his

own".

⁵ See Anthony Ashley Cooper, 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury *An Inquiry Concerning Virtue* bk I pt 3 sec 3: *Characteristicks* (1711) II 52–76.

⁶ Hobbes *Leviathan* pt I ch 6, pt II ch 29.

⁷ Milton *Paradise Lost* II 565.

⁸ Another of C's distinctions: see CN II 3095 and CL III 48.

⁹ Shakespeare *The Rape of Lucrece* line 149.

¹⁰ Blaise Pascal (1623–62). C had read *Les Provinciales* (Cologne 1684);

supports his thoughtful brow, on a pile of demonstrations, to the poor pensive Indian, that seeks the missionary in the American wilderness, the humiliated self-examinant feels that there is Evil in our nature as well as Good, an EVIL and a GOOD for a just analogy to which he questions all other natures in vain. It is still the great definition of humanity, that we have a conscience, which no mechanic compost, no chemical combination, of mere appetite, [5] memory, and understanding, can solve; which is indeed an *Element* of our Being!—a conscience, unrelenting yet not absolute; which we may stupify but cannot delude; which we may suspend, but cannot annihilate; although we may perhaps find a treacherous counterfeit in the very quiet which we derive from its slumber, or its entrancement.

Of so mysterious a phenomenon we might expect a cause as mysterious. Accordingly, we find this (cause be it, or condition, or necessary accompaniment) involved and implied in the fact, which it alone can explain. For if our permanent Consciousness did not reveal to us our Free-agency, we should yet be obliged to deduce it, as a necessary Inference, from the fact of our Conscience: or rejecting both the one and the other, as mere illusions of internal Feeling, forfeit all power of thinking consistently with our Actions, or acting consistently with our Thought, for any single hour during our whole Lives. But I am proceeding farther than I had wished or intended. It will be long, ere I shall dare flatter myself, that I have won the confidence of my Reader sufficiently to require of him that effort of attention,¹ which the regular Establishment of this Truth would require.²

After the brief season of youthful hardihood, and the succeeding years of uneasy fluctuation, after long-continued and patient study of the most celebrated works, in the languages of ancient and modern Europe, in defence or denial of this prime Article of human Faith, which (save to the Trifler or the Worldling,) no frequency of discussion can superannuate, I at length satisfied my own mind by arguments, which placed me on firm land. This one conviction, determined, as in a mould, the form and feature of my whole system in Religion, in Morals, and even in Literature. These arguments were not suggested to me by Books, but forced on me by reflection on my own Being, and³ Observation of the Ways of those about me, especially of little⁴ Children. And as they had the power of fixing the same persuasion in some valuable minds, much interested, and not unversed in the controversy, and from the manner probably rather than the substance, appeared to them in some sort original—(for oldest Reasons will put on an impressive semblance of novelty, if they have indeed been drawn from the fountain-head of genuine self-research) [6] and since the arguments are neither abstruse, nor dependent on a long chain of Deduc-

his copy, with a ms note, is in VCL. See CN 1 1647 and n. W. Schrickx has shown—"Coleridge and Friedrich Heinrich Jacobi" *Revue belge de philologie* xxxvi (1958) 818–19—that C's early quotation of Pascal's *Pensées* comes from Jacobi's *Hume and Über die*

Lehre des Spinoza; see above, 1 154 and n 4, 155 and n 4.

¹ See above, 1 16 and n 3.

² For "require" 1812 reads "demand".

³ 1812 adds "by".

⁴ 1812 omits "little".

tions, nor such as suppose previous habits of metaphysical disquisition; I shall deem it my Duty to state them with what skill I can, at a fitting opportunity, though rather as the Biographer of my own sentiments than a Legislator of the opinions of other men.

At present, however, I give it merely as an article of my own faith, closely connected with all my hopes of amelioration in man, and leading to the methods, by which alone I hold any fundamental or permanent amelioration practicable: that there is Evil distinct from Error and from Pain, an Evil in human nature which is not wholly grounded in the limitation of our understandings. And this too I believe to operate equally in subjects of Taste, as in the higher concerns of Morality. Were it my conviction, that our Follies, Vice, and Misery, have their entire origin in miscalculation from Ignorance, I should act irrationally in attempting other task than that of adding new lights to the science of moral Arithmetic, or new facility to its acquirement.¹ In other words, it would have been my worthy business to have set forth, if it were in my power, an improved system of Book-keeping for the Ledgers of calculating Self-love. If, on the contrary, I believed our nature fettered to all its' wretchedness of Head and Heart, by an absolute and innate necessity, at least by a necessity which no human power, no efforts of reason or eloquence could remove or lessen; (no, nor even prepare the way for such removal or diminution) I should then yield myself at once to the admonitions of one of my Correspondents² (unless indeed it should better suit my humour to do nothing than nothings, nihil quam nihili) and deem it even presumptuous to aim at other or higher object than that of *amusing*, during some ten minutes in every week, a small portion of the reading Public. Relaxed by these principles from all moral obligation, and ambitious of procuring Pastime and Self-oblivion for a Race, which could have nothing noble to remember, nothing desirable to anticipate, I might aspire even to the praise of the Critics and Dilettanti of the higher circles of Society; of some trusty Guide of blind Fashion; some pleasant Analyst of TASTE, as it exists both in the Palate and the Soul; some living Guage and Mete-wand of past and present Genius. [7] But alas! my former studies would still have left a wrong Bias! If instead of perplexing my *common sense* with the Flights of Plato, and of stiffening over the meditations of the Imperial Stoic, I had been labouring to imbibe the gay spirit of a CASTI, or had employed my erudition, for the benefit of the favoured Few, in elucidating the interesting Deformities of ancient Greece and India, what might I not have hoped from the Suffrage of those, who turn in weariness from the Paradise Lost, because compared with the prurient Heroes and grotesque Monsters of Italian Romance, or even with the narrative dialogues of the melodious Metastasio, that—"Adventurous Song,

"Which justifies the ways of God to Man,"

has been found a poor Substitute for a Grimaldi, a most inapt medicine for

¹ For "acquirement" 1812 reads "acquirements".

² Probably Thomas Poole (see *CL* III 234); perhaps Daniel Stuart (see *CL* III 213).

an occasional propensity to yawn. For, as hath been decided, to fill up pleasantly the brief intervals of fashionable pleasures, and above all to charm away the dusky Gnome of Ennui, is the chief and appropriate Business of the Poet and—the *Novellist*! This duty unfulfilled, Apollo will have lavished his best gifts in vain; and Urania henceforth must be content to inspire Astronomers alone, and leave the Sons of Verse to more amusive Patronesses.

I must rely on my Readers' Indulgence for the pardon of this long and, I more than fear, prolix introductory explanation. I knew not by what means to avoid it without the hazard of becoming unintelligible in my succeeding Papers, dull where animation might justly be demanded, and worse than all, dull to no purpose. The Musician may tune his instrument in private, ere his audience have yet assembled: the Architect conceals the Foundation of his Building beneath the Superstructure. But an Author's Harp must be tuned in the hearing of those, who are to understand it's after harmonies; the foundation stones of his Edifice must lie open to common view, or his friends will hesitate to trust themselves beneath the roof. I foresee too, that some of my correspondents will quote my own opinions against me in confirmation of their former advice, and remind me that I have only in sterner language re-asserted the old adage,

*Ille sinistrorsum, hic dextrorsum, unus utrique
Error, sed variis illudit partibus omnes;*¹

that the Will or Free Agency, by which I have endeavoured [8] to secure a retreat, must needs be deemed inefficient if error be universal; that to amuse, though only to amuse, our Visitors, is both Wisdom and Goodness, where it is presumption to attempt their amendment. And finally they will ask, by what right I affect to stand aloof from the crowd, even were it prudent; and with what prudence, did I even possess the right?²

This formidable Objection, (which however grounds itself on the false assumption, that I wage war with all amusement unconditionally, with all

¹ Horace *Satires* 2.3.50–1 (var). C seems to have been reading Burton's *Anatomy* (cf above, I 40–1 n 3, 249 n 1, and below, II 21 n 2, 30), for his quotation is given in the same words in Burton, where the lines are translated (3rd ed 1628) p 22 ("Democritus to the Reader"): "One reeles to this, another to that wall. | 'Tis the same Error that deludes them all."

² 1812 adds: "—'One of the later Schools of the Grecians (says Lord Bacon) is at a stand to think what should be in it that men should love Lies, where neither they make for pleasure, as with poets; nor for Advantage, as with the merchant; but for the Lie's sake. I cannot tell why, this same Truth is a naked and open day-light,

that doth not shew the Masques and Mummeries and Triumphs of the present World half so stately and daintily, as Candle-lights. Truth may perhaps come to the Price of a Pearl, that sheweth best by day, but it will not rise to the price of a Diamond or Carbuncle, which sheweth best in varied lights. A mixture of Lies doth ever add pleasure. Doth any man doubt, that if there were taken from mens' minds vain opinions, flattering hopes, false valuations, imaginations *as one would*, and like the vinum Dæmonum (as a Father calleth poetry) but it would leave the minds of a number of men poor shrunken things, full of melancholy and Indisposition, and unpleasing to themselves?"

delight from the blandishments of style, all interest from the excitement of Sympathy or Curiosity, when in truth I protest only against the habit of seeking in books for an idle and barren amusement) this objection of my friends brings to my recollection a fable or allegory, which I read during my Freshman's Term in Cambridge, in a modern Latin Poet: and if I mistake not, in one of the philosophical Poems of B. Stay, which are honoured with the prose commentary of the illustrious Boscovich.¹ After the lapse of so many years, indeed of nearly half my present Life, I retain no more of it than the bare outlines.

It was toward the close of that golden age (the tradition of which the self-dissatisfied Race of Men have every where preserved and cherished) when Conscience, or the effective Reason, acted in Man with the ease and uniformity of Instinct; when Labor was a sweet name for the activity of sane Minds in healthful Bodies, and all enjoyed in common the bounteous harvest produced, and gathered in, by common effort; when there existed in the Sexes, and in the Individuals of each Sex, just variety enough to permit and call forth the gentle restlessness and final union of chaste love and individual attachment, each seeking and finding the beloved *one* by the natural affinity of their Beings; when the dread Sovereign of the Universe was known only as the universal Parent, no Altar but the pure Heart, and Thanksgiving and grateful Love the sole Sacrifice—in this blest age of dignified Innocence one of their honored Elders, whose absence they were beginning to notice, entered with hurrying steps the place of their common assemblage at noon, and instantly attracted the general attention and wonder by the perturbation of his gestures, and by a strange Trouble both in his Eyes and over his whole Countenance. After a short but deep Silence, when the first Buz of varied Inquiry was becoming audible, [9] the old man moved toward a small eminence, and having ascended it, he thus addressed the hushed and listening Company.

"In the warmth of the approaching Mid-day as I was reposing in the vast cavern, out of which from its' northern Portal issues the River which² winds through our vale, a Voice powerful, yet not from its' loudness, suddenly hailed me. Guided by my Ear I looked toward the supposed place of the sound for some Form, from which it had proceeded. I beheld nothing but the glimmering walls of the cavern—again, as I was turning round, the same voice hailed me, and whithersoever I turned my face, thence did the voice seem to proceed. I stood still therefore, and in reverence awaited its' continuance. 'Sojourner of Earth! (these were its words) hasten to the meeting of thy Brethren, and the words which thou now hearest, the same do thou repeat unto them. On the thirtieth morning³ from the morrow's sunrising, and during the space of thrice three Days and Nights, a thick cloud will cover the sky, and a heavy rain fall on the earth. Go ye therefore, ere the thirtieth sun ariseth, retreat to the Cavern of the River and there abide, till the Cloud⁴ have passed away and the Rain be over and gone. For know ye of a certainty that whomever that Rain wetteth,

¹ See above, 19 and n 1. Ruggiero Giuseppe Boscovich (1711-87), Jesuit mathematician and physicist; like Stay, born in Dalmatia.

² For "which" 1812 reads "that".

³ For "morning" 1812 reads "morn".

⁴ For "Cloud" 1812 reads "Clouds".

on him, yea, on him and on his Children's Children will fall—the spirit of Madness.' Yes! Madness was the word of the voice: what this be, I know not! But at the sound of the word Trembling¹ and a Feeling, which I would not have had, came upon me,² and I remained even as ye beheld and now behold me."

The old man ended, and retired. Confused murmurs succeeded, and wonder, and doubt. Day followed day, and every day brought with it a diminution of the awe impressed. They could attach no image, no remembered sensations to the Threat. The ominous Morn arrived, the Prophet had retired to the appointed Cavern, and there remained alone during the space of the nine Days and Nights. On the tenth, he emerged from his place of Shelter, and sought his Friends and Brethren. But alas! how affrightful the change! Instead of the common Children of one great Family, working toward the same aim by Reason even as the Bees in their hives by Instinct, he looked and beheld, here a miserable wretch watching over a heap of hard and unnutritious [10] small substances, which he had dug out of the earth, at the cost of mangled limbs and exhausted faculties, and appearing to worship it with greater earnestness, than the Youths had been accustomed to gaze at their chosen Virgins in the first season of their choice. There he saw a former Companion speeding on and panting after a Butterfly, or a withered Leaf whirling onward in the breeze and another with pale and distorted countenance following close behind, and still stretching forth a dagger to stab his Precursor in the Back. In another place he observed a whole Troop of his fellow-men famished, and in fetters, yet led by one of their Brethren who had enslaved them, and pressing furiously onwards in the hope of famishing and enslaving another Troop moving in an opposite direction. For the first time, the Prophet missed his accustomed power of distinguishing between his Dreams, and his waking Perceptions. He stood gazing and motionless, when several of the Race gathered around him, and enquired of each other, Who is this fellow?³ how strangely he looks! how wild!—a worthless Idler! exclaims one: assuredly, a very dangerous madman! cries a second. In short, from words they proceeded to violence: till harrassed, endangered, solitary in a world of forms like his own, without sympathy, without object of Love, he at length espied in some foss or furrow a quantity of the mad'ning water still unevaporated, and uttering the last words of Reason, "It is in vain to be sane in a World of Madmen," plunged and rolled himself in the liquid poison, and came out as mad and not more wretched than his neighbours and acquaintance.⁴

To such objections it would be amply sufficient, on my system of faith, to answer,⁵ that though all men are in error, they are not all in the same

¹ For "Trembling" 1812 reads "Trembling came upon me,".

² 1812 deletes phrase.

³ For "fellow" 1812 reads "Man".

⁴ 1812 adds a new paragraph: "This tale or allegory seems to me to contain the objections to the practicability of my plan in all their strength. Either, says the Sceptic, you are the Blind

offering to lead the Blind, or you are talking the language of Sight to those who do not possess the sense of Seeing."

⁵ 1812 adds: "that we are not all blind, but all subject to distempers of 'the mental sight,' differing in kind and in degree;".

error, nor at the same time; and that each therefore may possibly heal the other (for the possibility of the cure is supposed in the free-agency) even as two or more physicians, all diseased in their general health yet under the immediate action of the disease on different days, may remove or alleviate the complaints of each other. But in respect to the *entertainingness* of moral writings, if in entertainment be included whatever delights the imagination or affects the generous passions, so far from rejecting such a mean of persuading the human soul, or of declaring it with Mr. Locke¹ a mere imposture, my very system compels me to defend not only the propriety but the [11] absolute necessity of adopting it, if we really intend to render our fellow-creatures better or wiser.

Previous to my ascent of Etna, as likewise of the Brocken in North Germany, I remember to have amused myself with examining the Album or Manuscript presented to Travellers at the first stage of the Mountain, in which on their return their Fore-runners had sometimes left their experience, and more often disclosed or betrayed their own characters. Something like this I have endeavoured to do relatively to my great predecessors in periodical Literature, from the *Spectator* to the *Mirror*,² or whatever later work of excellence³ there may be. But the distinction between my proposed plan and all and each of theirs⁴ I must defer to a future Essay. From all other works the *FRIEND* is sufficiently distinguished either by the very form and intervals of its Publication, or by its avowed exclusion of the Events of the Day, and of all personal Politics.

For a detail of the principal subjects, which I have proposed to myself to treat in the course of this work, I must refer to the Prospectus, printed at the end of this Sheet. But I own, I am anxious to explain myself more fully on the delicate subjects of Religion and Politics.⁴ Of the former perhaps it may, for the present, be enough to say that I have confidence in myself that I shall neither directly or indirectly attack its Doctrines or Mysteries, much less attempt basely to undermine them by allusion, or tale, or anecdote. What more I might dare promise of myself, I reserve for another occasion. Of Politics⁵ however I have many motives to declare my intentions more explicitly. It is my object to refer men to PRINCIPLES in all things; in Literature, in the Fine Arts, in Morals, in Legislation, in Religion. Whatever therefore of a political nature may be reduced to general Principles, necessarily indeed dependant on the circumstances of a Nation internal and external, yet not especially connected with this year or the preceding—this I do not exclude from my Scheme. Thinking it a sort of Duty to place my Readers in full possession both of my opinions and the only method in which I can permit myself to recommend them, and aware too of many calumnious accusations, as well as gross misapprehensions, of my political creed, I shall dedicate my second number entirely to the views, which a

¹ See *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* bk III ch 10 sec 34.

² An Edinburgh weekly modelled on the *Spectator*, written by members of a literary club. Of its 110 numbers, from 23 Jan 1779 to 27 May 1780, Henry Mackenzie (1745–1831) wrote forty-

two.

³ For “excellence” 1812 reads “merit”.

⁴ For “Religion and Politics” 1812 reads “RELIGION AND POLITICS”.

⁵ For “Of Politics” 1812 reads “Concerning POLITICS,”.

British Subject in the present state of his Country ought to entertain of its actual and existing Constitution of Government.¹ If I can do no positive [12] good, I may perhaps aid in preventing others from doing harm. But all intentional allusions to particular persons, all support of, or hostility to, particular parties or factions, I now and for ever utterly disclaim. My Principles command this Abstinence, my Tranquillity requires it.

TRANQUILLITY! thou better Name
Than all the family of Fame!
Thou ne'er wilt leave my riper age
To low Intrigue, or factious Rage:
For O! dear Child of thoughtful Truth,
To thee I gave my early youth,
And left the bark, and blest the steadfast shore,
Ere yet the Tempest rose and scar'd me with its' Roar.

Who late and lingering seeks thy shrine,
On Him but seldom, Power divine,
Thy Spirit rests! Satiety
And Sloth, poor Counterfeits of Thee,
Mock the tir'd Worldling. Idle Hope
And dire Remembrance interlope,
And vex the fev'rish Slumbers of the Mind:
The Bubble floats before, the Spectre stalks behind!

But me thy gentle Hand will lead,
At morning, through th' accustom'd Mead;
And in the sultry Summer's Heat
Will build me up a mossy Seat;
And when the Gust of Autumn crowds
And breaks the busy moonlight Clouds,
Thou best the Thought canst raise, the Heart attune,
Light as the busy Clouds, calm as the gliding Moon.

The feeling Heart, the searching Soul,
To Thee I dedicate the whole!
And while within myself I trace
The Greatness of some future Race,
Aloof with Hermit Eye I scan
The present Works of present Man—
A wild and dream-like trade of Blood and Guile
Too foolish for a Tear, too wicked for a Smile!²

¹ In No 2, C defers this "great Theme" to No 3, where it is also not carried out.

² *Ode to Tranquillity* (var; first published in the *M Post* 1801): *PW* (EHC) 1361–2. EHC's notes indicate the vari-

ants, but he is incorrect about "Slumbers" (line 15); the ms and *Friend* (1809 and 1812) all read "Slumbers". Copy R contains two interesting notes: C underlines the word "interlope" (line 14) and comments: "O Rhyme!

But I have transgressed from a Rule, which I had intended [13] to have established for myself, that of never troubling my Readers with my own Verses.

*Ite hinc, CAMÆNÆ! vos quoque, ite, suaves,
Dulces Camænæ! Nam (fatebimur verum)
Dulces fuistis: et tamen meas chartas
Revisitote; sed pudenter et raro.*

VIRGIL: Catalect. vii¹

I shall indeed very rarely and cautiously avail myself of this privilege. For long and early Habits of exerting my intellect in metrical composition have not so enslaved me, but that for some years I have felt and deeply felt, that the Poet's high Functions were not my proper assignment; that many may be worthy to listen to the strains of Apollo, neighbors of the sacred choir, and able to discriminate, and feel, and love its genuine harmonies; yet not therefore called to receive the Harp in their own hands, and join in the concert. I am content and gratified, that Spenser, Shakespere, Milton, have not been born in vain for me: and I feel it as a Blessing, that even among my Contemporaries I know one at least,² who has been deemed worthy of the Gift; who has received the Harp with Reverence, and struck it with the hand of Power.

Let me be permitted to conclude this prefatory Apology, or *Catalogue raisonné* of my future work, by addressing myself more particularly to my learned and critical Readers. And that I may win the more on them, let me avail myself of the words of one, who was himself at once a great Critic and a great Genius:

Sic oportet ad librum, presertim miscellanei generis, legendum accedere lectorem, ut solet ad convivium conviva civilis. Convivator annititur omnibus satisfacere: et tamen si quid apponitur, quod hujus aut illius palato non respondeat, et hic et ille urbane dissimulant, et alia fercula probant, ne quid contristent convivatorem. Quis enim eum convivam ferat, qui tantum hoc animo veniat ad mensam, ut carpens quæ apponuntur nec vescatur ipse, nec alios vesci sinat! et tamen his quoque reperias incivilliores, qui palam, qui sine fine damnant ac lacerant opus, quod nunquam legerint. Ast hoc plusquam sycophanticum est damnare quod nescias.

ERASMUS

Rhyme! what hast thou not to answer for!"'; he also marked the last couplet, commenting: "These two lines were composed during sleep.—S. T. Coleridge." See J. Wordsworth "Margin-alia" 369.

¹ *Catalepton* 5.11–14 (var). Cf *CN* II 3200 and n. Tr H. R. Fairclough (LCL 1920): "Get ye hence, ye Muses! yea,

away now even with you, ye sweet Muses! For the truth we must avow—ye have been sweet. And yet, come ye back to my pages, though with modesty and but seldom!"

² That is, Wordsworth. As early as 1800 C had felt the loss of his own poetic powers (*CL* I 623, II 831).

[14]

PROSPECTUS¹

OF

THE FRIEND,

A WEEKLY ESSAY, By S. T. COLERIDGE(Extracted from a Letter to a Correspondent.)²

It is not unknown to you, that I have employed almost the whole of my Life in acquiring, or endeavouring to acquire, useful Knowledge by Study, Reflection, Observation, and by cultivating the Society of my Superiors in Intellect, both at Home and in foreign Countries. You know too, that at different Periods of my Life I have not only planned, but collected the Materials for, many Works on various and important Subjects: so many indeed, that the Number of my unrealized Schemes, and the Mass of my miscellaneous Fragments, have often furnished my Friends with a Subject of Raillery, and sometimes of Regret and Reproof. Waiving the Mention of all private and accidental Hindrances, 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,³ which made it more pleasant to me to continue acquiring, than to reduce what I had acquired to a regular Form. Add too, that almost daily throwing off my Notices or Reflections in desultory Fragments, I was still tempted onward by an increasing Sense of the Imperfection of my Knowledge, and by the Conviction, that, in Order fully to comprehend and develope any one Subject, it was necessary that I should make myself Master of some other, which again as regularly involved a third, and so on, with an ever-widening Horizon. Yet one Habit, formed during long⁴ Absences from those, with

¹ There are three (slightly variant) versions of the Prospectus: the earlier two printed in Kendal, the third (in two sizes, some with a flyleaf) in London, dated 2 Feb 1809; see above, Introduction, i xxxix–xliv. In adding the Prospectus at the end of *Friend* No 1, C has made additional alterations in the London version. Some of the variant readings of these Prospectuses, as well as C's ms emendations in the Kendal copies sent to Poole and Stuart, are given in subsequent notes. The Poole Prospectus is in BM Add MS 35343 f 357; on f 358 is C's letter to Poole 4 Dec 1808 given in *CL* iii 130–2. Three Prospectuses sent to Stuart are in BM Add MS 34046 ff 53 (first Kendal), 74–5 (second Kendal), 80–1 (second Kendal); f 53 is followed by the letter dated c 6 Dec 1808 in *CL* iii 133–4; on f 75 (the flysheet of the Prospectus) is C's letter dated c 7 Feb 1809 in *CL* iii 176; on f 81 (the

flysheet) the letter dated [8 Jan 1809] in *CL* iii 162–5. The last corrected Prospectus was sent to Stuart with a "short advertisement for the Newspapers", in SH's hand; see *CL* iii 163 and n and below, i 20 n 2.

² "I wrote in the form of an Extract from a letter to a Correspondent . . . in some measure to cover over the indelicacy of speaking of myself to Strangers and to the Public . . .": *CL* iii 151.

³ Though friends chided, C is the most persistent of his accusers; see also below, ii 36. For a list of some of C's "unrealized Schemes" see *CN* i and ii Index 1: Coleridge: Projected Works.

⁴ In the Kendal Prospectuses this read "Year-long"; C deleted the word "Year" in copies sent to Stuart. BM Add MS 34046 ff 53, 74. Jeffrey seems to have objected to "Year-long"; see C's letter to him 14 Dec 1808: *CL* iii 150.

whom I could converse with full Sympathy, has been of Advantage to me—that of daily noting down, in my Memorandum or Common-place Books, both Incidents and Observations; whatever had occurred to me from without, and all the Flux and Reflux of my Mind within itself. The Number of these Notices, and their Tendency, miscellaneous as they were, to one common End (“*quid sumus et quid futuri gignimur*,”¹ *what we are and what we are born to become; and thus from the End of our Being to deduce its proper Objects*) first encouraged me to undertake the Weekly Essay, of which you will consider this Letter as the Prospectus.

Not only did the plan seem to accord better than any other with the Nature of my own Mind, both in its Strength and in its Weakness; but conscious that, in upholding some² Principles both of Taste and Philosophy, adopted by the great Men of Europe from the Middle of the fifteenth till toward the Close of the seventeenth Century, I must run Counter to many³ Prejudices of many of my readers (*for old Faith is often modern Heresy*)⁴ I perceived too in a periodical Essay the most likely Means of winning, instead of forcing my Way. [15] Supposing Truth on my Side, the Shock of the first Day might be so far lessened by Reflections of the succeeding Days, as to procure for my next Week’s Essay a less hostile Reception, than it would have met with, had it been only the next Chapter of a present volume. I hoped to disarm the Mind of those Feelings, which preclude Conviction by Contempt, and, as it were, fling the Door in the Face of Reasoning by a *Presumption* of its Absurdity. A Motive too for honourable Ambition was supplied by the Fact, that every periodical Paper of the Kind now attempted, which had been conducted with Zeal and Ability, was not only well received at the Time, but has become permanently, and in the best Sense of the Word, popular. By honorable Ambition I mean the strong Desire to be useful, aided by the Wish to be generally acknowledged to have been so. As I feel myself actuated in no ordinary Degree by this Desire, so the Hope of realizing it appears less and less presumptuous to me, since I have received from Men of highest Rank and established Character in the Republic of Letters, not only strong Encouragements as to my own Fitness for the Undertaking, but likewise Promises of Support from their own Stores.⁵

¹ Persius *Satires* 3.67 (altered: C changed *victuri* to *futuri*, noted by the Bishop of Llandaff in his letter subscribing to *The Friend* 4 Dec 1808: DCL Folder C; see below, App F, II 473); quoted in the Introduction to Jeremy Taylor *Ductor dubitantium* (1660) xvi, where C may have seen it. C quotes the passage correctly in a letter to his brother George [10 Mar 1798]: CL I 397.

² The Kendal Prospectuses read “the”; C changed to “some” in those sent to Stuart. BM Add MS 34046 ff 74, 80.

³ In one Stuart copy “many” was

altered to “the”. Ibid f 74.

⁴ Cf Michael Drayton *Legend of T. Cromwell, Earl of Essex* line 909 (*B Poets* III 225): “What late was Truth, now turn’d to Heresy”.

⁵ In the Kendal Prospectuses the paragraph concluded: “I have even been authorized to mention their Names; but I dare not avail myself of the Permission, till the Nature of the Impression, made by my own Papers on the Readers of ‘THE FRIEND,’ shall have enabled me to conjecture, whether or no this, their Co-operation and Patronage, will tend to detract from their own well-earned Reputation

The *Object* of "THE FRIEND," briefly and generally expressed, is—to uphold those Truths and those Merits, which are founded in the nobler and permanent Parts of our Nature, against the Caprices of Fashion, and such Pleasures, as either depend on transitory and accidental Causes, or are pursued from less worthy Impulses. The chief *Subjects* of my own Essays will be:

The true and sole Ground of Morality, or Virtue, as distinguished from Prudence. The Origin and Growth of moral Impulses,¹ as distinguished from external and immediate Motives.

The necessary Dependence of Taste on moral Impulses and Habits: and the Nature of Taste (relatively to Judgement in general and to Genius) defined, illustrated, and applied. Under this Head I comprize the Substance of the Lectures given, and intended to have been given, at the Royal Institution, on the distinguished English Poets, in illustration of the general Principles of Poetry;² together with Suggestions concerning the Affinity of the Fine Arts to each other, and the Principles common to them all: Architecture; Gardening; Dress; Music; Painting; Poetry.³

The opening out of new Objects of just Admiration in our own Language; and Information of the present State and past History of Swedish, Danish, German, and Italian Literature (to which, but as supplied by a Friend,⁴ I may add the Spanish, Portuguese and French) as far as the same has not been already given to English Readers, or is not to be found in common French Authors.

Characters met with in real Life:—Anecdotes and Results of my own Life and Travels, &c. &c. as far as they are illustrative of general moral Laws, and have no immediate Bearing on personal or immediate Politics.

Education in its widest Sense, private, and national.

Sources of Consolation to the afflicted in Misfortune, or Disease, or Dejection of Mind,⁵ from the Exertion and right Application of the Reason, the Imagination, and the moral Sense; and new Sources of Enjoyment opened out, or an

or at least from the Opinion of their Taste and Judgment." C deleted this from two copies sent to Stuart. BM Add MS 34046 ff 74, 80.

¹ Jeffrey objected to "moral Impulses"; see C's letter to him 14 Dec 1808: CL III 150.

² The lectures ("On the Principles of Poetry") began 15 Jan 1808; the date of the last lecture is uncertain, but was probably mid-June (see CL III 117 and n).

³ The last six words were deleted from the London Prospectus, as they had been in Stuart's copies (BM Add MS 34046 ff 74^v, 80^v); "Dancing" had also been included in the earlier Prospectuses. Clarkson had written to C 7 Dec 1808: "I would strike out the Words 'Architecture, Gardening, Dress, Dancing, Music, Poetry, Painting'—The Sentence and Sentiment preceding does not need it—or, if all the

Words are not to be struck out, I would strike out Dress, Dancing, & Music, and add the others with &c &c at the End—My reason for the Alteration or Rejection is, that Quakers, to whom I might hand the Prospectus, might take fright—Such do not know the Liberality of your Views and w^d be fearful, lest their Children should see these Essays, presuming that you might take the fashionable Side of the Question—": DCL Folder B. Here C omits only "Dancing". See C's letter to Pim Nevins c 31 Dec 1808: CL III 158–9.

⁴ Probably Southey.

⁵ In the Kendal Prospectuses this was "speculative Gloom"; in one Stuart Prospectus C altered this to "mental Gloom" (BM Add MS 34046 f 74^v), in another, to "Distress of Mind" (f 80^v).

Attempt (as an illustrious Friend once expressed the Thought to me) to add Sunshine to Daylight, by making the Happy more happy. In the words "Dejection of Mind" I refer particularly to [16] Doubt or Disbelief of the moral Government of the World, and the grounds and arguments for the religious Hopes of Human Nature.¹

Such² are the chief Subjects, in the Developement of which I hope to realize, to a certain Extent, the great Object of my Essays. It will assuredly be my Endeavour, by as much Variety as is consistent with that Object, to procure *Entertainment* for my Readers, as well as *Instruction*: yet I feel myself compelled to hazard the Confession, that such of my Readers as make the *latter* the paramount Motive for their Encouragement of "THE FRIEND," will receive the largest Portion of the *former*. I have heard it said of a young Lady—if you are told before you see her, that she is handsome, you will think her ordinary; if that she is ordinary, you will think her handsome. I may perhaps apply this Remark to my own Essays—If Instruction and the Increase of honorable Motives and virtuous Impulses be chiefly expected, there will, I would fain hope, be felt no Deficiency of Amusement; but I must submit to be thought dull by those, who seek Amusement only. "THE FRIEND" will be distinguished from its celebrated Predecessors, the SPECTATOR, &c. as to its plan,³ chiefly by the greater Length of the separate Essays, by their closer Connection with each other, and by the Predominance of one Object, and the common Bearing of all to one End.⁴

It would be superfluous to state, that I shall receive with Gratitude any Communications addressed to me: but it may be proper to say, that all Remarks and Criticisms in Praise or Dispraise of my Contemporaries (to which however nothing but a strong Sense of a moral Interest will ever lead me) will be written by myself only; both because I cannot have the same Certainty concerning the Motives of others, and because I deem it fit, that such Strictures should always be attended by the Name of their Author, and that one and the same Person should be solely responsible⁵ for the Insertion as well as Composition of the same.⁶

¹ This sentence did not appear in the Kendal Prospectuses, and in the two Stuart copies mentioned in the above note C added in ms: "By the words, 'mental Gloom', I refer especially to Doubt or Disbelief of the moral Government of the world, and the Hopes connected with our religious Nature" (f 74v); "In 'Distress of Mind' I refer particularly to gloomy Doubt or Disbelief of the moral Government of the world and the Hopes given to Human Nature by Religion" (f 80v). Jeffrey had disliked "speculative Gloom"; C wrote him that the phrase was "almost as bad as picturesque Eye" and did not know how he "came to pass it". See C to Jeffrey 14 Dec

1808: CL III 149–50.

² 1812 omits this paragraph and the following two paragraphs.

³ For this phrase the first Kendal Prospectus read "RAMBLER, WORLD, &c.".

⁴ In the margin alongside this paragraph C wrote to Stuart: "I leave the insertion or omission of this § to *your* Judgment" (f 74v); "If you think this § might as well be omitted, omit it" (f 80v).

⁵ The first Kendal Prospectus read "amenable".

⁶ The first Kendal Prospectus concluded (before giving details of size and cost): "Let me conclude this Prospectus with a Quotation from Petrarch 'De

Each number will contain a stamped Sheet of large Octavo, like the present: and will be delivered, free of expence, by the Post, throughout the Kingdom, to Subscribers. The Price each Number one Shilling.¹

Orders for the FRIEND received by the Publisher, J. BROWN, PENRITH; by Messrs. LONGMAN, HURST, REES, and ORME, Paternoster Row; by CLEMENT, Bookseller, opposite St. Clement's, Strand; LONDON.

Orders likewise, and all Communications, to be addressed to S. T. COLERIDGE, Grasmere, KENDAL.

The mode of payment by Subscribers will be announced in a future Number: as soon as the arrangements have been completed.²

Vita Solitaria'', followed by the quotation used as the motto of No 1. C altered "Let me" to "I may not inaptly" on the Prospectuses sent to Poole and Stuart; it is also the reading of the revised Kendal version.

¹ The Kendal Prospectuses ended: "Each Number will contain a Sheet and a quarter, large Octavo, and will be regularly delivered, free of Expence, to Subscribers, living in Cities or Towns that have Communication with London by the Post. The Price, each Number one Shilling. Names of Subscribers, and Communications, to be addressed (Post paid) to Mr. COLERIDGE, Grasmere, Kendal. If a sufficient Number of Subscribers shall have been obtained, the Publication will commence on the first Saturday of January, 1809."

² At the foot of the Prospectus sent to Poole, C wrote: "Should there be so many scattered Subscribers that the large Number of separate Places should make up for the few <Subscribers> in each, THE FRIEND will then be stamped & sent by the Post, as newspapers—being printed on one Sheet, but on a Paper of larger size, and with 40 lines in each Page instead of 35, so that the quantity of matter will remain the same. But if the List of Subscribers shall have been furnished chiefly by the greater Cities and Towns, the Essays will then be forwarded by every Saturday's Mail from London in a Coach-parcel to some Friend or Bookseller in each place." BM Add MS 35343 f 357v. At the foot of the

first Prospectus sent to Stuart C wrote a variant of this, beginning "If the large Number of separate Places should make up for the few Subscribers in each, THE FRIEND . . ."; alongside which, Stuart noted: "not allow a weekly pub: without a Stamp". BM Add MS 34046 f 53v. At the foot of one Prospectus sent to Stuart, C added an advertisement (in SH's hand) to be inserted in newspapers: "On Saturday ——— will be published 'THE FRIEND' a weekly Essay, by S. T. Coleridge. The OBJECT of this work generally expressed, is—to uphold those Truths and those Merits which are founded in the nobler and permanent parts of our Nature against the Caprices of of Fashion, and such pleasures as either depend on transitory and accidental Causes, or are pursued from less worthy Impulses. A more detailed account of its purpose and chief objects Subjects will be found in the PROSPECTUS of 'THE FRIEND', which may be procured, gratis, from the Booksellers undermentioned. The events of the day, and all personal and immediate Politics will be excluded. Each Number will contain a Sheet of large octavo and will be delivered ——— The names of those inclined to take in the work, and all communications, to be addressed (Post-paid) to MR COLERIDGE, Grasmere, Kendal: or ———". BM Add MS 34046 f 80v. C left it to Stuart "to fill up the Blanks". Ibid f 81; CL III 163.

No. 2. THURSDAY, JUNE 8, 1809

Whenever we improve, it is right to leave room for a further improvement. It is right to consider, to look about us, to examine the effect of what we have done. Then we can proceed with confidence, because we can proceed with intelligence. Whereas in hot reformatations, in what men more zealous than considerate, call *making clear work*, the whole is generally so crude, so harsh, so indigested; mixed with so much imprudence and so much injustice; so contrary to the whole course of human nature and human institutions, that the very people who are most eager for it, are among the first to grow disgusted at what they have done. Then some part of the abdicated grievance is recalled from its exile in order to become a corrective of the correction. Then the abuse assumes all the credit and popularity of a Reform. The very Idea of purity and disinterestedness in Politics falls into disrepute, and is considered as a vision of hot and inexperienced men; and thus disorders become incurable, not by the virulence of their own quality, but by the unapt and violent nature of the remedies. "BURKE'S SPEECH" *on presenting to the House of Commons (on the 11th of February, 1780.)* A PLAN FOR THE BETTER SECURITY OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF PARLIAMENT.¹

TO MY READERS

CONSCIOUS that I am about to deliver my sentiments on a subject of the utmost delicacy, to walk

*"per ignes
"Suppositos cineri doloso"*²

I have been tempted by my fears to preface them with a motto of unusual length,³ from an Authority equally respected by both of the opposite⁴ parties. I have selected⁵ it from an Orator, whose eloquence has taken away for⁶ Englishmen all cause of humiliation from⁷ the names of Demosthenes and Cicero⁸: from a Statesman, who has left to our Language a bequest of Glory unrivalled and all our own, in the keen-eyed yet far-sighted genius, with which he has almost uniformly⁹ made the most original

¹ Burke *Works* II (1792) 189-90. (See above, I 192 n 2.)

² Horace *Odes* 2.1.7-8; quoted in Burton (3rd ed 1628) 103. Tr C. E. Bennett *Horace. Odes and Epodes* (LCL 1924) 107: "over fires hidden beneath treacherous ashes". 1812 omits the quote and "to walk".

³ For "been tempted . . . length," 1812 reads "selected the general motto

to all my political lucubrations".

⁴ 1812 omits "of the opposite".

⁵ For "selected" 1812 reads "taken".

⁶ For "has taken away for" 1812 reads "enables".

⁷ For "all . . . from" 1812 reads "to repeat".

⁸ 1812 adds "without humiliation".

⁹ 1812 omits "almost uniformly".

and profound¹ general principles of political wisdom, and even the recondite laws of human passions, bear upon particular measures and² events. While of the Harangues of Pitt, Fox, and their elder compeers on the most important occurrences, we retain a few unsatisfactory fragments alone, the very Flies and Weeds of BURKE shine to us through the purest amber,³ imperishably enshrined, and valuable from the precious material [18] of their embalment. I have extracted the passage⁴ from that BURKE whose latter exertions have rendered his works venerable, as oracular voices from the sepulchre of a Patriarch, to the Upholders of the Government and Society in their existing state and order; but from a Speech delivered by him while he was the most beloved, the proudest name with the more anxious Friends of Liberty; (I distinguish them in courtesy by the name of their own choice, not as implying any enmity to true Freedom in the characters of their opponents)⁵ while he was the Darling of those, who believing mankind to have been improved are desirous to give to forms of government a similar progression.

From the same anxiety I have been led to introduce my opinions on this most hazardous subject by a preface of a somewhat personal character. And though the title of my address is general, yet, I own, I direct myself more particularly to those among my readers, who from various printed*

* 6 To cite one instance among many: while I was in Germany for the purpose of finishing my education, whither I was enabled to go by the munificence of my two honored Patrons,⁷ whose names must not be profaned on such an occasion; and from which I returned before the proposed time, literally (I know not whether a Husband and Father ought to be ashamed of it) literally home-sick; one of the writers, concerned in the collection, inserted a note in the "Beauties of the Anti-Jacobin,"⁸ which after having informed the Public that I had been dishonored at

¹ For "most . . . profound" 1812 reads "profoundest".

² 1812 adds "passing".

³ C uses the metaphor often. He may have taken his image from Bacon; cf *Historia vitae et mortis* canon 1 explicatio: *Works* (1740) II 181.

⁴ Probably a "not" was accidentally omitted.

⁵ 1812 omits the parenthetical phrase.

⁶ The footnote was misplaced in 1812; it appears there at foot of p 29, headed "Note to line 16, page 18."

⁷ Josiah (1769–1843) and Thomas (1771–1805) Wedgwood.

⁸ *The Beauties of the Anti-Jacobin* (1799) 306n. In a note to the poem *New Morality* the editor of the *Beauties* did not accuse C of preaching Deism, but said that "To the disgrace of discipline, and a Christian University, this avowed Deist was not expelled" for the sin of "non-attendance at chapel". *The Poetry of the Anti-*

Jacobin appeared earlier the same year as the *Beauties*, but whereas the *Poetry* contained no prose and was expensive (2 vols 8°), the *Beauties* contained prose as well as poetry (with notes by the editor) and was cheaper: "to occupy a place on the tables, or in the pockets, of the middle class of society" (Advertisement p iv). Because the editor hoped that his volume would "not be displeasing to those Gentlemen who had the principal share in [the] composition" of the *Anti-Jacobin*, it seems unlikely that he was one of "those Gentlemen"—William Gifford, George Ellis, Canning, or J. Hookham Frere. L. Rice-Oxley *Poetry of the Anti-Jacobin* (Oxford 1924) 190 (basing his decision on annotated copies), attributes the lines on C to Frere and Canning, who were the main authors of the *New Morality*, with the help of Ellis and Gifford and, possibly, Pitt.

and unprinted calumnies have judged most [19] unfavourably of my political tenets; and to those, whose favour I have chanced to win in con-

Cambridge for preaching Deism (about the time, when I was deemed a perfect Bigot by the reigning *Philosophers* and their proselytes for my youthful ardor in defence of Christianity) concludes with these words: "Since this time he (*i.e.* S. T. Coleridge) has left his native Country, commenced Citizen of the World, *left his poor Children fatherless and his Wife destitute. Ex his disce* his friends—" ¹ but I dare not desecrate their names. Suffice it to say, what may be said with severest truth, that it is absolutely impossible to select from the whole empire two men more exemplary in their domestic characters (both remarkably, and the one most awfully so) than the men, whose names were here printed at full length. Can it be wondered at, that some good men were not especially friendly to a Party, which encouraged and openly rewarded the Authors of such atrocious calumnies! ("Qualis es, nescio; sed per quales agis, scio et doleo") ² Since this time, the envenomed weapon has been turned against themselves by one of their own agents. ³ And it behoves those to consider, who bring forward the *Gougers* ⁴ of slander to attack their real or imagined Enemies, that Savages are capricious in proportion as they are unprincipled: and when they have none else to attack, will turn round and assail their employers. For Attack is their vital Element: extract the venomous Sting, and the animal dies.

Again, will any man, who loves his Children and his Country, be slow to pardon me, if not in the spirit of vanity but of natural self-defence against yearly and monthly attacks on the very vitals of my character as an honest man and a loyal Subject, I prove the utter falsity of the charges by the only public means in my power, a citation from the last work published by me, in the close of the year 1798 ⁵, and anterior to all the calumnies published to my dishonor. No one has charged me with seditious acts or conversation: if I have attempted [19] to do harm, by my works must it have been effected. By my works therefore must I be judged: (if indeed one obscure volume of juvenile poems, and one slight verse pamphlet of twenty pages, can without irony, be entitled *works*.) ⁶ The poem was written during the first alarm of Invasion, and left in the Press on my leaving my country for Germany. So few copies were printed, and of these so few sold, that to the great majority of my readers they will be any thing rather than a citation from a known publication—but my heart bears me witness, that I am aiming wholly at the moral confidence of my Readers in my principles, as a man, not at their praises of me, as a Poet; to which character, in its higher sense, I have already resigned all pretensions.

¹ *Beauties* 306n: "Ex uno disce" his associates Southey and Lambé".

² Source untraced. Tr: "I don't know what kind of person you are; but I know what kind of person you work through, and deplore it".

³ Southey's copy of the 1812 *Friend* (later owned by SC) has a pencil note here suggesting *The Pursuits of Literature* ("A Satirical Poem in four Dialogues with Notes"), certainly an "envenomed weapon" directed against contemporary critics. There were sixteen editions between 1794 and 1812, each later one with additional notes carefully dated. The author,

T. J. Mathias (1754–1835), was a classicist and Italian scholar as well as a satirist. See above, I 210 n 3.

⁴ Perhaps C's use of this American slang-word came from his reading of American travel-books—or from one of his American friends.

⁵ *Fears in Solitude* was published (1798), with *France: an Ode* and *Frost at Midnight*, in a quarto pamphlet by J. Johnson in St Paul's Churchyard.

⁶ *Poems on Various Subjects* (1796). The *Ode to the Departing Year* was also published in a quarto pamphlet in 1796.

sequence of a similar, though not equal, mistake. To both I affirm, that the opinions and arguments, I am about to detail, have been the settled con-

—“Spare us yet awhile!
 Father and God, O spare us yet awhile.
 O let not English Women speed their flight
 Fainting beneath the burthen of their Babes,
 Of the sweet Infants, who but yesterday
 Smiled at the bosom! Husbands, Brothers, all
 Who ever gazed with fondness on the forms
 Which grew up with you round the same fire-side,
 And all who ever heard the Sabbath Bells
 Without the Infidels’ scorn; make yourselves strong,
 Stand forth, be men, repel an impious race,
 Impious and false, a light yet cruel race
 That laugh away all virtue, mingling mirth
 With deeds of murder! and still promising
 Freedom, themselves too sensual to be free,
 Poison Life’s amities and cheat the heart
 Of Faith and quiet Hope and all that soothes
 And all that lifts the spirit! Stand ye forth,
 Render them back upon th’ insulted ocean
 And let them float as idly on its waves
 As the vile sea-weed, which the mountain blast
 Sweeps from our Shores! And O! may we return
 Not in a drunken triumph, but with awe,
 Repentant of the wrongs, with which we stung
 So fierce a race to Frenzy.

I have told,
 O men of England! Brothers! I have told
 Most bitter Truths but without bitterness.
 Nor deem my zeal or factious or mistimed:
 For never can true Courage dwell with them
 Who playing tricks with Conscience dare not look
 At their own vices. We have been too long
 Dupes of a deep delusion. Some, belike,
 Restless in enmity, have thought all change
 Involv’d in change of constituted power,
 As if a Government were but a Robe
 On which our Vice and Wretchedness were sewn
 Like fancy-points and fringes, with the Robe
 Pull’d off at pleasure.

. others, meantime,
 Dote with a mad Idolatry! and all
 Who will not fall before their Images
 And yield them worship, they are enemies
 Even of their Country! *Such have I been deem’d.*
 But O! dear Britain! O my Mother Isle!
 Needs must thou be a name most dear and holy
 To me a Son, a Brother, and a Friend,
 A Husband, and a Parent, who revere
 All Bonds of natural Love, and find them all
 Within the circle of thy rocky shores!
 O native Britain! O my Mother Isle!

victions of my mind for the last ten or twelve years, with some brief intervals of fluctuation, [20] and those only in lesser points, and known only to

How should'st thou be aught else but dear and holy
To me, who from thy seas and rocky shores,
Thy quiet fields, thy streams and wooded Hills
Have drunk in all my intellectual life,
All sweet sensations, all ennobling thoughts,
All adoration of the God in nature,
All lovely and all honorable things,
Whatever makes this mortal spirit feel
The joy and greatness of its' future Being!
There lives nor Form nor Feeling in my Soul
Unborrowed from my Country. O divine
And beauteous Island! thou hast been my sole
And most magnificent Temple, in the which
I walk with awe, and sing my stately songs
Loving the God, who made me."

*Fears of Solitude, a Poem*¹

Most unaffected has been my wonder, from what causes a man who has published nothing with his name but a single forgotten volume of verses, thirteen years ago, and a poem of two hundred lines a few years after, of which (to use the words of a witty writer) I made the Public my Confidant and it kept the secret,² should have excited such long and implacable malignity. And anonymously I have only contributed the foil of three or four small poems to the volume of a superior mind,³ and sent a few Essays to a Newspaper⁴ in defence of all that is dear, or abhorrence of what must be most detestable, to good men and genuine Englishmen. With the exception of one solitary sonnet,⁵ which in what mood written, and by what accident published, personal delicacy forbids me to explain, which was rejected indignantly from the second Edition of my Poems, and re-inserted in the third in my absence and without my consent or knowledge, I may safely defy my worst enemy to shew, in any of my few writings, the least bias to Irreligion, Immorality, or Jacobinism: unless in the latter word, be implied sentiments which have been avowed by men who without recantation,

¹ *Fears in Solitude* lines 129-66, 171-197: *PW* (EHC) I 260-3 (where most of the variants are noted).

² Cf his remark about his father, in a letter to Poole Mar 1797: *CL* I 310.

³ Wordsworth's; C's "foil of three or four small poems" in the *Lyrical Ballads* includes the *Rime of the Ancient Mariner*.

⁴ SC reprints sixty-two articles (and part of one in a series by Poole) published in the *M Post* 1799-1802 (*EOT* I 179-292, II 293-592).

⁵ To Earl Stanhope (*PW*—EHC—I 89-90). See *CL* I 242, in which C is "solicitous" to have it omitted from his second edition, and *CL* III 27, in which he says that it was inserted with-

out his consent in the first edition "by the fool of a Publisher", "in direct contradiction, equally to my then, as to my present principles", a sonnet written "in ridicule and mockery . . . of French Jacobin declamation". Cf his note in the margin of SH's copy of *Poems* (1803) 103, where he crossed out the sonnet: "infamous Insertion! It was written in ridicule of Jacobinical Bombast put into the first Edition by a blunder of Cottle's, rejected indignantly from the second & here maliciously reprinted in my Absence." This copy is now in the Cornell University Library; see *The Cornell Wordsworth Collection* ed G. H. Healey (Ithaca, N.Y. 1957) 264.

the Companions of my Fire-side. From both and from all my readers I solicit a gracious attention to the following explanations: first, on the congruity of this number⁴ with the general Plan and Object of “The Friend;” and [21] secondly, on the charge of arrogance,⁵ which may be adduced against the Author for the freedom, with which in this number⁶ and in others that will follow on other subjects he presumes to dissent from men of established reputation, or even to doubt of the justice with which the public Laurel-crown, as symbolical of the *first* Class of Genius and Intellect, has been awarded to sundry writers since the Revolution, and permitted to wither around the brows of our elder Benefactors, from Hooker to Sir P. Sidney, and from Sir P. Sidney to Jeremy Taylor and Stillingfleet.⁷

First then, as to the consistency of the subject of the following Essay with the proposed Plan of my work, let something be allowed to honest personal motives, a justifiable solicitude to stand well with my Contemporaries in those points, in which I have remained unreplicated by my own conscience. Des aliquid famæ.⁸ A Reason of far greater importance is derived from the well-grounded Complaint of sober minds, concerning the mode by which political opinions of greatest hazard have been, of late years, so often propagated. This evil cannot be described in more just and lively language than in the words of Paley (p. 395 of the quarto edition of his *Moral and Political Philosophy*)⁹ which, though by him applied to

direct or indirect, have been honored with the highest responsible offices of Government.¹

This is the first time, that I have attempted to counteract the wanton calumnies of unknown and unprovoked persecutors. Living in deep retirement, I have become acquainted with the greater part only² years after they had been published and individually forgotten. But the general effect remained: and if my Readers knew the cruel hindrances, which they have opposed to me, in the bringing about the present undertaking, I have honorably erred in my notions of human nature, if I should not be more than forgiven: especially if the number of attacks on myself and on one still more and more deservedly dear to me,³ should be more than equal to the number of the lines, in which I have, for the first time, been tempted to defend myself.

¹ C's note cannot be taken seriously. He fails to acknowledge *The Fall of Robespierre* (1794), *Conciones* (1795), and *The Watchman* (1796); and it would be easy to point out in them “a bias to Irreligion” (e.g. the “Essay on Fasts”: *Watchman* No 2) and to “Jacobinism” (e.g. sentences in his first lecture, “Introductory Address”, in *Conciones*, some of which he omitted when reprinting the speech in the 1818 *Friend*; see above, 1 326–38 and nn). “If he was not a Jacobine, in the common acceptation of the name”, RS wrote Danvers 15 Jun 1809, “I wonder who the Devil was”: *S Letters* (Curry) 1 511.

² 1812 transposes “only” before

“become”.

³ Wordsworth.

⁴ For “this number” 1812 reads “the following numbers”.

⁵ 1812 adds “or presumption”.

⁶ For “this number” 1812 reads “these numbers”.

⁷ See above, 1 71 and n 1, 182 and n 3, 52 and n 1. Edward Stillingfleet (1635–99), bp of Worcester, whose *Origines sacrae* (1675) C annotated; see C 17th C 375–9.

⁸ Source untraced. Tr: “Let something be allowed for rumour”.

⁹ *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (1786) 395. Cf above, 1 108 and n 3, 314–25 and nn.

Infidelity, hold equally of the turbulent errors of political Heresy. They are "served up in every shape, that is likely to allure, surprise, or beguile the imagination; in a fable, a tale, a novel, a poem; in interspersed and broken hints; remote and oblique surmises; in books of Travels, of Philosophy, of Natural History; in a word, in any form, rather than the right one, that of a professed and regular disquisition." Now in claiming for "THE FRIEND" a fair chance of unsuspected admission into the families of Christian Believers and quiet Subjects, I cannot but deem it incumbent on me to accompany my introduction with a full and fair statement of my own political system: not that any considerable portion of my Essays will be devoted to politics in any shape, for rarely shall I recur to them except as far as they may happen to be involved in some point of private morality; but that the Encouragers of this Work may possess grounds of assurance, that no tenets of a different tendency from these, I am preparing to state, will be met in it. I would fain hope, that even those persons [22] whose political opinions I may run counter to, will not be displeased at seeing the possible objections to their creed calmly set forth by one, who equally with themselves considers the love of true Liberty, as a part both of Religion and Morality, as a necessary condition of their general predominance, and ministering to the same blessed Purposes. The developement of my religious persuasions relatively to Religion in its great Essentials, will occupy a following number, in which (and throughout these Essays) my aim will be, seldom indeed to enter the Temple of Revelation (much less of positive Institution) but to lead my Readers to its Threshold, and to remove the prejudices with which the august edifice may have been contemplated from ill-chosen and unfriendly points of view.

But independently of this motive, I deem the subject of Politics, so treated as I intend to treat it, strictly congruous with my general Plan. For it was and is my prime object to refer men in all their actions, opinions, and even enjoyments to an appropriate Rule, and to aid them with all the means I possess, by the knowledge of the facts on which such Rule grounds itself. The rules of political prudence do indeed depend on local and temporary circumstances in a much greater degree than those of Morality or even those of Taste. Still however the circumstances being known, the deductions obey the same law, and must be referred to the same arbiter. In a late summary reperusal of our more celebrated periodical Essays, by the contemporaries of Addison and those of Johnson, it appeared to me that the objects of the Writers were, either to lead the reader from gross enjoyments and boisterous amusements, by gradually familiarizing them with more quiet and refined pleasures; or to make the habits of domestic life and public demeanour more consistent with decorum and good sense, by laughing away the lesser follies, and freaks of self-vexation; or to arm the yet virtuous mind with horror of the direr crimes and vices, by exemplifying their origin, progress and results, in affecting Tales and true or fictitious biography: or where (as in the Rambler)¹ it is intended to strike a yet deeper note, to support the cause of Religion and Morality by eloquent

¹ Johnson's *Rambler* was published twice weekly from Mar 1750 to Mar 1752; tax-free, it cost only twopence.

It was corrected, collected in book form, and went through many editions during Johnson's lifetime.

declamation and dogmatic precept, such as may with propriety be addressed to those who require to be awakened rather than convinced, whose [23] conduct is incongruous with their own sober convictions; in short, to practical not speculative Heretics. Revered for ever be the names of these great and good men! Immortal be their Fame; and may Love and Honor and Docility of Heart in their readers, constitute its' essentials! Not without cruel injustice should I be accused or suspected of a wish to under-rate their merits, because in journeying toward the same end I have chosen a different road. Not wantonly however have I ventured even on this variation. I have decided on it in consequence of all the Observations which I have made on my fellow-creatures, since I have been able to observe in calmness on the present age, and to compare its' phenomena with the best indications, we possess, of the character of the ages before us.

My time since earliest manhood has been pretty equally divided between deep retirement (with little other society than that of one family, and my Library) and the occupations and intercourse of (comparatively at least) public life both abroad¹ and in the British Metropolis. But in fact the deepest retirement, in which a well-educated Englishman of active feelings, and no misanthrope, can live at present, supposes few of the disadvantages and negations, which a similar place of residence would have involved, a century past. Independent of the essential knowledge to be derived from books, children, housemates, and neighbours, however few or humble; yet Newspapers,² their Advertisements,³ Speeches in Parliament, Law-courts, and⁴ Public Meetings, Reviews, Magazines, Obituaries, and (as affording occasional commentaries on all these)⁵ that⁶ diffusion of uniform⁷ opinions,⁸ of Behaviour and Appearance, of Fashions⁹ in things external and internal, have combined to diminish, and often to render evanescent, the distinctions between the enlightened Inhabitants of the great city, and the scattered Hamlet. From all the facts however, that have occurred as subjects of reflection within the sphere of my experience, be they few or numerous, I have fully persuaded my own mind, that formerly MEN WERE WORSE THAN THEIR PRINCIPLES, but that at present THE PRINCIPLES ARE WORSE THAN THE MEN. For the former half of the proposition I might among a thousand other more serious and unpleasant proofs appeal even to the Spectators and Tatlers. It would not be easy perhaps to detect in [24] them any great corruption or debasement of the main foundations of Truth and Goodness; yet a man—I will not say of delicate mind and pure morals but—of common good manners, who means to read an essay, which he has opened upon at hazard in these

¹ C had been in Germany (1798–9) and in Malta and Italy (1804–6).

² A. Andrews *A History of British Journalism* (1859) II 39–40 gives the figures for newspapers in 1809: London 63, provinces 93, Scotland 24, Ireland 57.

³ 1812 adds “their Reports of the”.

⁴ For “Law-courts, and” 1812 reads “in Law-courts, and in”.

⁵ 1812 adds “the frequency of Traveling, and the variety of character and object in the Travellers; and more than all”.

⁶ For “that” 1812 reads “the”.

⁷ 1812 deletes “uniform”.

⁸ 1812 adds “the uniformity”.

⁹ For “of Fashions” 1812 reads “and the telegraphic Spread and beacon-like Rapidity of Fashion”.

Volumes, to a mixed company, will find it necessary to take a previous survey of its contents. If stronger illustration be required, I would refer to one of Shadwell's Comedies in connection with its Dedication to the Dutchesse of Newcastle, encouraged, as he says, by the high delight with which her Grace had listened to the Author's private recitation of the Manuscript in her Closet.¹ A writer of the present Day, who should dare address such a composition to a virtuous Matron of high rank, would secure general infamy, and run no small risk of Bridewell and the Pillory. Why need I add the plays and poems of Dryden contrasted with his serious prefaces and declarations of his own religious and moral opinions? why the little success, except among the heroes and heroines of fashionable Life, of the two or three living Writers of prurient Love-odes (if I may be forgiven for thus profaning the word, Love)² and Novels at once terrific and libidinous.³ These Gentlemen erred both in place and time, and have understood the temper of their age and country as ill as the precepts of that Bible, which, notwithstanding the atrocious Blasphemy⁴ of one of them,⁵ the great majority of their countrymen peruse with safety to their morals, if not improvement.

The truth of the latter half of the proposition in its favourable part, is evidenced by the general anxiety on the subject of Education, the solicitous attention paid to several late works on its general principles,⁶ and the unexampled Sale of the very numerous large and small volumes published for the use of Parents and Instructors, and for the children given or intrusted to their Charge⁷. The first ten or twelve leaves of our old Almanac

¹ *The Humorists* (1671) is the only play of Thomas Shadwell dedicated to Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle. It is certainly outspoken, but there is no mention in the "Dedication" of Shadwell's reading the ms to her. In the dedication to William, Duke of Newcastle, of *The Virtuoso* (1676) Shadwell wrote that he had shown his grace "some part of this Comedy".

² Among the living writers C probably included Thomas Moore for his "wanton poems"; see a letter to Mary Robinson 27 Dec 1802: CL II 905.

³ See above, I 29 and n 2; and see *Misc C* 355-82 (C's early reviews of novels).

⁴ For "Blasphemy" 1812 reads "Blasphemies".

⁵ Matthew Lewis *The Monk* (1796); see *Misc C* 374-5.

⁶ C is thinking particularly of Bell's *The Madras School* (1808) and Joseph Lancaster's *Improvements in Education* (1803), and the controversy sparked by Mrs Trimmer and Joseph Fox over the priority of Bell's or Lancaster's system. C had borrowed sheets of Bell's book

(CL III 86-7, 88-9) to prepare his lecture on education at the Royal Institution 3 May 1808; it lasted two and a quarter hours (CL III 98). C praised Bell and attacked Lancaster. Southey's *The Origin, Nature, and Object of the New System of Education* (1812), C maintained, was "a dilution of my Lecture at the R.I." (CL III 474), but he had borrowed a copy in 1813 while preparing his Bristol lecture on education in Nov of that year (CL III 455 and n).

⁷ Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849) wrote several such volumes, including the *Parent's Assistant* (1796-1800). When he was in Germany C recommended her *Practical Education* (1798, written in collaboration with her father, Richard Lovell Edgeworth) to Mrs C as a guide for teaching young Hartley how to read (CL I 418); it had, he added, good things in it, "& some nonsense!" In his lecture on education (see note above), according to HCR, he "especially satirised the good books in Miss Edgeworth's style [*Moral Tales* (1801)]. 'I infinitely prefer the little

Books, and the copper-plates of old Ladies' Magazines and similar publications, will afford in the fashions and head-dresses of our Grandmothers, contrasted with the present simple ornaments of women in general, a less important but not less striking elucidation of my meaning. The wide diffusion of moral information, in no slight degree owing to the volumes of our popular Essayists, has undoubtedly been on the whole beneficent. But above all, the recent events, [25] (say rather, tremendous explosions) the thunder and earthquakes and deluge of the political world, have forced habits of greater thoughtfulness on the minds of men: particularly in our own Island, where the instruction has been acquired without the stupifying influences of terror or actual calamity. We have been compelled to acknowledge (what our Fathers would have perhaps called it want of liberality to assert) the close connection between private libertinism and national subversion. To those familiar with the state of morals and the ordinary subjects of after-dinner conversation, at least among the young men, in Oxford and Cambridge only twenty or twenty five years back, I might with pleasure point out, in support of my thesis, the present state of our two Universities, which has rather superseded, than been produced by, any additional vigilance or austerity of discipline.

The unwelcome remainder of the proposition, the "feet of iron and clay,"¹ the unsteadiness, or falsehood or abasement of *the Principles*, which are taught and received by the existing generation, it is the chief purpose and general business of "THE FRIEND" to examine, to evince and, (as far as my own forces extend, increased by the contingents which, I flatter myself, will be occasionally furnished by abler patrons of the same Cause,) to remedy or alleviate. That my efforts will effect little, I am fully conscious; but by no means admit, that little is to be effected. The squire of low degree may announce the approach of puissant Knight; yea, the Giant may even condescend to lift up the feeble Dwarf and permit it to blow the Horn of Defiance on his Shoulders.²

PRINCIPLES therefore, their subordination, their connection, and their application, in all the divisions of our duties and of our pleasures—this is my Chapter of Contents. May I not hope for a candid interpretation of my motive, if I again recur to the possible apprehension, on the part of my readers, that THE FRIEND

"O'erlaid with Black, staid Wisdom's Hue"³

with eye fixed in abstruse research and brow of perpetual Wrinkle is to frown away the light-hearted Graces, and "unreproved Pleasures";⁴ or invite his Guests to a dinner of herbs in a Hermit's Cell? if I affirm, that my Plan does not in itself exclude either impassioned style or interesting Narrative, Tale, or Allegory, or Anecdote; and [26] that the defect will

books of "The Seven Champions of Christendom," "Jack the Giant Killer" . . . to your moral tales . . .". *Sh C* II 13. Mrs Barbauld's *Lessons for Children* (1779–1808) and *Hymns in Prose for Children* (1781) were also popular

and went through numerous editions.

¹ Dan 2.33 (var).

² See above, I 249 and n 1.

³ Milton *Il Penseroso* line 16.

⁴ Milton *L'Allegro* line 40.

originate in my Abilities not in my Wishes or Efforts, if I fail to bring forward,

“due at my hour prepar’d
For dinner savory fruits, of taste to please
True appetite——
In order, so contriv’d as not to mix
Tastes, not well join’d, inelegant; but bring
Taste after Taste upheld with kindest Change.”
PAR. LOST. v¹

I have said in my first Number, that my very system compels me to make every fair appeal to the Feelings, the Imagination, and even the Fancy. If these are to be withheld from the service of Truth, Virtue, and Happiness, to what purpose were they given? in whose service are they retained? I have indeed considered the disproportion of human Passions to their ordinary Objects among the strongest internal evidences of our future destination, and the attempt to restore them to their rightful Claimants, the most imperious Duty and the noblest Task of Genius. The verbal enunciation of this Master Truth could scarcely be new to me at any period of my Life since earliest Youth; but I well remember the particular time, when the words first became more than words to me, when they incorporated with a living conviction, and took their place among the realities of my Being. On some wide Common or open Heath, peopled with Ant-hills, during some one of the grey cloudy days of late Autumn, many of my Readers may have noticed the effect of a sudden and momentary flash of Sunshine on all the countless little animals within his view, aware too that the self-same influence was darted co-instantaneously over all their swarming cities as far as his eye could reach; may have observed, with what a kindly force the Gleam stirs and quickens them all! and will have experienced no unpleasurable shock of Feeling in seeing myriads of myriads of living and sentient Beings united at the same moment in one gay sensation, one joyous activity! But awful indeed is the same appearance in a multitude of rational Beings, our fellow-men; in whom too the effect is produced not so much by the external occasion as from the active quality of their own thoughts. I had walked from Gottingen in the year 1799, to witness the arrival of the Queen of Prussia, on her visit to the Baron Von Hartzberg’s Seat, five miles from the University. The spacious Outer Court of the Palace was [27] crowded with men and women, a sea of Heads, with a number of children rising out of it from their Father’s shoulders. After a Buz of two hours’ expectation, the avant-courier rode at full speed into the Court. At the trampling of the² Horses’ Hoofs, and the loud cracks of his long whip,³ the universal Shock and Thrill of Emotion—I have not language to convey it—expressed as it was in such manifold looks, gestures, and attitudes, yet⁴ one and the same feeling in the eyes of all! Recovering from the first inevitable contagion of Sympathy, I involuntarily exclaimed, though in a language to myself alone intelligible, “O Man! ever nobler than thy circumstances! Spread but the mist of obscure feeling over any

¹ Milton *Paradise Lost* v 303–5, 334–336 (altered).

³ 1812 reverses the phrases.

⁴ 1812 adds “with”.

² For “the” 1812 reads “his”.

form, and even a woman, incapable of blessing or of injury to thee, shall be welcomed with an intensity of emotion adequate to the reception of the Redeemer of the World!"

It has ever been my opinion, that an excessive solicitude to avoid the use of our first personal pronoun more often has its' source in conscious selfishness than in true self-oblivion. A quiet observer of human Follies may often amuse or sadden his thoughts by detecting the perpetual feeling of purest Egotism through a long masquerade of *Tu-isms* and *Ille-isms*. Yet I can with strictest truth assure my Readers that with a pleasure combined with a sense of weariness I see the nigh approach of that point of my labours, in which I can convey my opinions and the workings of my heart without reminding the Reader obtrusively of myself. But the frequency, with which I have spoken in my own person, recalls my apprehensions to the second danger, which it was my hope to guard against; the probable charge of ARROGANCE,¹ both for daring to dissent from the opinions of great Authorities and, in my following numbers perhaps, from the general opinion concerning the true value of certain Authorities deemed great.²

As no man can rightfully be condemned without reference to some definite Law, by the knowledge of which he might have avoided the given fault, it is necessary so to define the constituent qualities and conditions of arrogance, that a reason may be assignable why we pronounce one man guilty and acquit another. For merely to *call* a person arrogant or most arrogant, can convict no one of the vice except perhaps the accuser. I was once present, when a young man who had left his Books and a Glass of Water to join a convivial party, each of whom had nearly [28] finished his second bottle, was pronounced very drunk by the whole party—"he looked so strange and pale!" The predominant Vice often betrays itself to an Observer, when it has deluded the Criminal's own consciousness, by his proneness on all occasions to suspect or accuse others of it. Now Arrogance,³ like all other moral qualities, must be shewn by some act or conduct: and this too an act that implies, if not an immediate concurrence of the Will, yet some faulty constitution of the Moral Habits. For all criminality supposes its' essentials to have been within the power of the Agent. Either therefore the facts adduced do of themselves convey the whole proof of the charge, and the question rests on the truth or accuracy with which they have been stated; or they acquire their character from the circumstances. I have looked into a ponderous Review of the corpuscular philosophy by a Sicilian Jesuit, in which the acrimonious Father frequently expresses his doubt, whether he should pronounce Boyle and Newton more impious than *arrogant*,⁴ or more arrogant⁵ than impious. They had both attacked the reigning opinions on most important subjects, opinions sanctioned by the greatest names of antiquity, and by the general suffrage of their learned Contemporaries or immediate Predecessors. Locke was assailed with a full

¹ 1812 adds "or presumption".

² 1812 adds "The word, Presumption, I appropriate to the internal feeling, and Arrogance to the way and manner of outwardly expressing ourselves."

³ 1812 adds "and Presumption,".

⁴ For "*arrogant*" 1812 reads "*presumptuous*".

⁵ For "*arrogant*" 1812 reads "*presumptuous*".

cry for his arrogance in declaring his sentiments concerning¹ the philosophical system at that time generally received by the Universities of Europe: and of late years Dr. Priestly bestowed the epithets of *arrogant* and *insolent* on Reid, Beattie, &c. for presuming to arraign certain opinions of Mr. Locke, himself repaid in kind by many of his own Countrymen for his theological Novelties. It will scarcely be affirmed, that these accusations were all of them just, or that any of them were fit or courteous. Must we therefore say, that in order to avow doubt or disbelief of a popular persuasion without arrogance, it is required that the dissentient should know himself to possess the genius, and foreknow that he should acquire the reputation of Locke, Newton, Boyle, or even of a Reid or a Beattie? But as this knowledge and prescience are impossible in the strict sense of the words, and could mean no more than a strong inward conviction, it is manifest that such a Rule, if it were universally established, would encourage the arrogant,² and condemn modest and humble minds alone to silence. And as this silence could not acquit the Individual's own mind of arrogance,³ unless it were accompanied by conscious acquiescence, [29] Modesty itself must become an inert quality, which even in private society never displays its charms more unequivocally than in its' mode of reconciling itself with sincerity and intellectual courage.

We must seek then elsewhere for the true marks, by which arrogance⁴ may be detected, and on which the charge may be grounded with little hazard of mistake or injustice. And as I confine my present observations to literary arrogance,⁵ I deem such criteria neither difficult to determine or to apply. The first mark, as it appears to me, is a frequent bare *assertion* of opinions not generally received, without condescending to prefix or annex the facts and reasons on which such opinions were formed; especially if this absence of logical courtesy is supplied by contemptuous or abusive treatment of such as happen to doubt of or oppose the decisive *Ipse dixi*. But to assert, however nakedly, that a passage in a lewd Novel, which declares⁶ the sacred Writings⁷ more likely to pollute the young and innocent mind than a Romance notorious for its indecency,⁸ argues equal impudence and ignorance in its' Author, at the time of writing and publishing it—*this* is not arrogance; although to a vast majority of the decent part of our Countrymen it would be superfluous as a Truism, if it were not sometimes an Author's duty to awake the Reader's indignation by the expression of his own, as well as to convey or revive knowledge.⁹ A second species of this unamiable quality, which has been often distinguished

¹ For "arrogance . . . concerning" 1812 reads "presumption in having deserted".

² For "arrogant" 1812 reads "presumptuous".

³ For "arrogance," 1812 reads "presumption".

⁴ For "arrogance" 1812 reads "presumption or arrogance".

⁵ For "literary arrogance" 1812 reads "literature".

⁶ For "which declares" 1812 reads "describing".

⁷ 1812 adds "as".

⁸ 1812 adds "—to assert, I say, that *such* a passage".

⁹ For "not sometimes . . . knowledge" 1812 reads "exclusively an Author's business to convey or revive knowledge, and not sometime his duty to awaken the indignation of his Reader by the expression of his own".

by the name of *Warburtonian* arrogance, betrays itself, not as in the former, by proud or petulant omission of proof or argument, but by the habit of ascribing weakness of intellect or want of taste and sensibility, or hardness of heart, or corruption of moral principle, to all who deny the truth of the doctrine, or the sufficiency of evidence, or the fairness of the reasoning adduced in its' support. This is indeed not essentially different from the first, but assumes a separate character from its' accompaniments: for though both the doctrine and its proofs may have been legitimately supplied by the understanding, yet the bitterness of personal crimination will resolve itself into naked assertion, and we are authorized by experience, and entitled on the principle of self-defence and by the law of fair Retaliation, in attributing it to a vicious temper arrogant from angry passions, or irritable from arrogance. This learned arrogance admits of many gradations, and is palliated or aggravated, accordingly as the Point in dispute [30] has been more or less controverted, as the reasoning bears a greater or smaller proportion to the virulence of the personal detraction, and as the Persons¹ or Parties, who are the Objects of it, are more or less respected, more or less worthy of respect*.

Lastly, it must be admitted as a just imputation of arrogance,⁴ when an Individual obtrudes on the public eye with all the high pretensions of originality, opinions and observations, in regard to which he must plead wilful Ignorance in order to be acquitted of dishonest Plagiarism. On the same seat must the writer be placed, who in a disquisition on any important subject proves, by his falsehoods of Omission or positive Error, that he has

* Had the Author of the Divine Legation of Moses more skilfully appropriated his coarse eloquence of Abuse, his customary assurances of the Ideotcy, both in head and heart, of all his opponents; if he had employed those vigorous arguments of his own vehement Humour in the defence of Truths, acknowledged and revered by learned men in general, or had confined them to the names of Chubb, Woolston, and other precursors of Mr. Thomas Payne, we should² perhaps still characterize his mode of controversy by its' rude violence; but not so often have heard his name used even by those who never read his writings, as a proverbial expression of learned Arrogance. But when a novel and doubtful Hypothesis of his own formation was the Citadel to be defended, and his mephetic hand-granados were thrown with the fury of lawless despotism at the fair reputations³ of a Sykes and a Lardner, we not only confirm the verdict of his independent contemporaries, but cease to wonder, that arrogance should render men an object of contempt in many, and of aversion in all instances, when it was capable of hurrying a Christian Teacher of equal Talents and Learning into a slanderous vulgarity, which escapes our disgust only when we see the writer's own reputation the sole victim. But throughout his great work, and the pamphlets in which he supported it, he always seems to write, as if he had deemed it a duty of decorum to publish his fancies on the Mosaic Law as the Law itself was delivered "in thunders and lightnings" and had applied to his own Book instead of the sacred mount the menace—*There shall not a hand touch it but he shall surely be stoned or shot through.*

¹ For "Persons" 1812 reads "Person".

² For "should" 1812 reads "would".

³ For "reputations" 1812 reads "reputation".

⁴ For "arrogance," 1812 reads "presumption".

neglected to possess himself of the previous knowledge and needful information, which such acquirements as could alone authorize him to commence a public Instructor, and the Industry which that character makes his indispensable duty, could not fail of procuring for him. If in addition to this unfitness which every man possesses the means of ascertaining, his aim should be to unsettle a general belief closely connected with public and private quiet; and if his language and manner be avowedly calculated for the illiterate (and perhaps licentious) part of his Countrymen; disgusting as his *arrogance*¹ must appear, it is yet lost or evanescent in the close neighbourhood of his Guilt. That Hobbes translated Homer in English Verse and published his Translation, furnishes no positive evidence of his Self-conceit, though it implies a great lack of Self-knowledge [31] and of acquaintance with the nature of Poetry. A strong wish often imposes itself on the mind for an actual power: the mistake is favoured by the innocent pleasure derived from the exercise of versification, perhaps by the approbation of Intimates; and the Candidate asks from more impartial Readers that sentence, which Nature has not enabled him to anticipate. But when the Philosopher of Malmesbury waged war with Wallis and the fundamental Truths of pure Geometry, every instance of his gross ignorance and utter misconception of the very elements of the Science he proposed to confute, furnished an unanswerable fact in proof of his gross *arrogance*.² An illiterate mechanic who mistaking some disturbance of his nerves for a miraculous call, proceeds alone to convert a tribe of Savages, whose language he can have no natural means of acquiring, may have been misled by impulses very different from those of high Self-opinion; but the illiterate Perpetrator of "the Age of Reason," must have had his³ very Conscience stupified by the habitual intoxication of *his* arrogance,⁴ and his common-sense over-clouded by the vapours from his Heart.

As long therefore as I obtrude no unsupported assertions on my Readers; and as long as I state my opinions and the evidence which induced or compelled me to adopt them, with calmness and that diffidence in myself, which is by no means incompatible with a firm belief in the justness of the opinions themselves; while I attack no man's private life from any cause, and detract from no man's Honors in his public character, from the truth of his doctrines, or the merits of his compositions, without detailing all my reasons and resting the result solely on the arguments adduced; while I moreover explain fully the motives of duty, which influenced me in resolving to institute such investigation; while I confine all asperity of censure, and all expressions of contempt, to gross violations of Truth, Honor, and Decency, to the base Corrupter and the detected Slanderer; while I write on no subject, which I have not studied with my best attention, on no subject which my education and acquirements have incapacitated me from properly understanding; and above all while I approve myself, alike in praise and in blame, in close reasoning and in impassioned declama-

¹ For "*arrogance*" 1812 reads "presumption".

² For "*gross arrogance*" 1812 reads "high presumption; and the confident and insulting language of the attack

leaves the judicious reader in as little doubt of his gross arrogance".

³ For "his" 1812 reads "*his*".

⁴ For "*his* arrogance" 1812 reads "presumptuous arrogance".

tion, a steady FRIEND to the two best and surest Friends of all men, TRUTH and HONESTY; I will not fear an accusation of *Arrogance*¹ from the Good and the Wise, I shall pity it from the Weak, and despise it from the Wicked.²

[32] My inexperience of the Press, and the warmth of my feelings in addressing for the last time that portion of my countrymen who have given me their patronage, in my own name and personal character, have led me on to an extent that compels me to defer the investigation of the great Theme, announced in my first Essay and insinuated by the motto of the present, to the succeeding or third Number of THE FRIEND.³ The necessity of collecting the lists of Subscribers (or by whatever other name I may call those who have honored this undertaking with their names and addresses for a trial of its merits) from the different booksellers, and agents, and the propriety of forming some arrangement with regard to the mode of payment (which I propose to be at the close of each twentieth week) have made it advisable to defer the publication of the third number to Thursday, 22d. of June, (in London and places equi-distant from Penrith, on Saturday, the 24th.)

At the same time I take the opportunity of informing my known and unknown Patrons, that I am about to put to the Press a collection of the Poems written by me since the year 1795, several of which, of those at least of smaller size, have appeared in different Newspapers &c. in an incorrect state: and with this a collection of the Essays, chiefly on political subjects, from the year preceding the peace of Amiens, with a few of earlier date, to the return of our Troops from Spain. Of these Essays many were published in the Morning Post, during Lord Sidmouth's Administration and at the close of Mr. Pitt's first Ministry; the remainder, comprising all of later date, all that relate to our external affairs in America, the Mediterranean, and Egypt, are from MSS. The work will be printed in two Volumes on crown Octavo, wove paper, the price not exceeding 16 Shillings. The Poems and the Essays may be had separately.⁴

My principle Object in this publication, one volume of which will be preceded by a sketch of my Life, is to furnish undeniable proofs concerning falshoods and calumnies attached to my name, in the religious, and political, and literary opinions confidently attributed to me; and which from Indolence,⁵ Indifference, and the affliction of ill-health I have permitted to pass unnoticed, although repeated or insinuated in many and various publications, year after year. But I would fain hope, if the hope can be entertained without self-delusion, that the effects of two thirds of my Life, dated from my earliest manhood, may not be wholly barren of instruction, in the facts and observations collected at home and abroad by my own experience, and the deductions from these and from the events known in common to all educated Englishmen.

¹ For "*Arrogance*" 1812 reads "either *Presumption* or *Arrogance*".

² No 2 of 1812 ends here, the following paragraphs having been deleted.

³ Cf above, II 14.

⁴ The first volume was finally realised in 1817, with the publication of

Sibylline Leaves; the second volume, not until 1850, when SC published *Essays on His Own Times*.

⁵ The second self-accusation of "indolence" in two numbers. This sketch of his life grew into the *Biographia Literaria* (1817).

As the assurance of a sale adequate to the expence of the Publication would relieve my mind from some anxiety, I have arranged that the Names of those disposed to take one or both of the volumes should be received by G. Ward, Bookseller and Stationer, Skinner Street; Clement, 201, Strand; London. By Messrs Constable and Co. Edinburgh, and by all the agents of the Friend: or may be transmitted to the Author, Grasmere, near Kendal.

No. 3. THURSDAY, AUGUST 10, 1809

ADVERTISEMENT¹

THE Editor respectfully informs his Readers, that the Interruption of this Publication has been owing to disappointments in the receipt of, and an unexpected derangement in his plans of procuring, the Paper and Stamps; and to his resolve not to re-commence the Friend till he had placed himself out of the reach of all such accidents as might occasion the painful necessity of any future suspension or delay. Subscribers may be assured, that the greatest care will be taken henceforward, to prevent all irregularity in the forwarding of the Work to each, according to the directions which have been received; and it is hoped that any deficiency in this respect hitherto, will be attributed to the inexperience of the Editor, and the difficulty and awkwardness which are natural in a new undertaking, especially in so remote a part of the Kingdom. Those who have left their names and addresses at the Booksellers, without receiving the work by the Post in consequence, are solicited to repeat their orders, directed to J. Brown, Bookseller, Penrith: it being the object of the Stamp, to enable each Subscriber to receive the numbers at his own residence. The two first numbers are now reprinting.

ON THE COMMUNICATION OF TRUTH
AND THE RIGHTFUL LIBERTY OF THE PRESS
IN CONNECTION WITH IT

In eodem pectore nullum est honestorum turpiumque consortium: et cogitare optima simul et deterrima non magis est unius animi quam ejusdem hominis bonum esse ac malum.

QUINTILIAN

There is no fellowship of Honor and Baseness in the same breast; and to combine the best and the worst designs is no more possible in one mind, than it is for the same man to be at the same instant virtuous and vicious.

[34] *Cognitio veritatis omnia falsa, si modo proferantur, etiam quæ prius inaudita erant, et dijudicare et subvertere idonea est.*

AUGUSTINUS

A knowledge of the truth is equal to the task both of discerning and of confuting all false assertions and erroneous arguments, though never before met with, if only they may freely be brought forward.

AMONG the numerous artifices by which austere truths are to be softened down into palatable falsehoods, and Virtue and Vice, like the Atoms of Epicurus, to receive that insensible *clinamen* which is to

¹ 1812 deletes the "Advertisement"; see above, Introduction, 1 liv.

make them meet each other half way, I have¹ especial dislike to the expression *PIOUS FRAUDS*. Piety indeed shrinks from the very phrase, as an attempt to mix poison with the cup of Blessing: while the *expediency* of the measures which this phrase was framed to recommend or palliate, appears more and more suspicious, as the range of our experience widens, and our acquaintance with the records of History becomes more extensive and accurate. One of the most seductive arguments of Infidelity grounds itself on the numerous passages in the works of the Christian Fathers, asserting the lawfulness of Deceit for a good purpose. That the Fathers held almost without exception, "*Integrum omnino Doctoribus et cætis Christiani Antistitibus esse, ut dolos versent, falsa veris intermisceant et imprimis religionis hostes fallant, dummodo veritatis commodis et utilitati inserviant*,"² is the unwilling confession of *RIBOF*: (*Program de Oeconomîâ Patrum*). St. Jerom, as is shewn by the citations of this learned Theologian, boldly attributes this *management* (*falsitatem dispensativam*) even to the Apostles themselves. But why [35] speak I of the advantage given to the opponents of Christianity? Alas! to this Doctrine chiefly, and to the practices derived from it, we must attribute the utter corruption of the Religion itself for so many ages, and even now over so large a portion of the civilized world. By a system of accommodating Truth to Falsehood, the Pastors of the Church gradually changed the life and light of the Gospel into the very superstitions which they were commissioned to disperse, and thus paganized Christianity, in order to *christen* Paganism. At this very hour Europe groans and bleeds in consequence.

So much in proof and exemplification of the probable *expediency* of pious deception, as suggested by its known and recorded consequences. An honest man, however, possesses a clearer light than that of History. He knows, that by sacrificing the law of his reason to the maxims of pretended Prudence, he purchases the sword with the loss of the arm which is to wield it. The duties which we owe to our own moral being, are the ground and condition of all other duties; and to set our nature at strife with itself for a good purpose, implies the same sort of prudence, as a priest

TRANSLATION

* "That wholly without breach of duty it is allowed to the Teachers and Heads of the Christian Church to employ artifices, to intermix falsehoods with truths, and especially to deceive the enemies of the faith, provided only they hereby serve the interests of Truth and the advantage of mankind."—I trust, I need not add, that the imputation of such principles of action to the first inspired Propagators of Christianity, is founded on the gross misconstruction of those passages in the writings of St. Paul, in which the necessity of employing different arguments to men of different capacities and prejudices, is supposed and acceded to. In other words, St. Paul strove to speak intelligibly, willingly sacrificed indifferent things to matters of importance, and acted courteously as a man in order to win attention as an Apostle. A Traveller prefers for daily use the coin of the nation through which he is passing, to bullion or the mintage of his own country: and is this to justify a succeeding Traveller in the use of counterfeit coin?

¹ 1812 adds "an".

² In 1812 the Latin was shifted to the footnote and the English placed in the

body of the text and so needed no heading "TRANSLATION".

of Diana would have manifested, who should have proposed to dig up the celebrated charcoal foundations of the mighty Temple of Ephesus, in order to furnish fuel for the burnt-offerings on its' Altars. Truth, Virtue, and Happiness, may be distinguished from each other, but cannot be divided. They subsist by a mutual co-inherence, which gives a shadow of divinity even to our human nature. "Will ye speak deceitfully for God?" is a searching Question, which most affectingly represents the grief and impatience of an uncorrupted mind at perceiving a good cause defended by ill means: and assuredly if any temptation can provoke a well-regulated temper to intolerance, it is the shameless assertion, that Truth and Falsehood are indifferent in their own natures; that the former is as often injurious (and therefore criminal) as the latter, and the latter on many occasions as beneficial (and consequently meritorious) as the former.

These reflections were forced upon me by an accident during a short visit at a neighbouring house, as I was endeavouring to form some determinate principles of conduct in relation to my weekly labors—some rule which might guide my judgment in the choice of my subjects [36] and in my manner of treating them, and secure me from the disturbing forces of any ungente moods of my own temper (and from such who dare promise himself a perpetual exemption?) as well as from the undue influence of passing events. I had fixed my eye, by chance, on the page of a bulky pamphlet¹ that lay open on the breakfast table, mechanically, as it were, imitating and at the same time preserving the mind's attention to its' own energies by a corresponding though idle steadfastness of the outward organ. In an interval or relaxation of the thought, as the mist gradually formed itself into letters and words, one of the sentences made its' way to me, and excited my curiosity by the boldness and strangeness of its' contents. I immediately recognized the work itself, which I had often heard discussed for evil and for good. I was therefore familiar with its general character, and extensive circulation, although partly from the seclusion in which I live, and my inability to purchase the luxuries of transitory literature on my own account, and partly too from the experience, that of all books I had derived the least improvement from those that were confined to the names and passions of my contemporaries: this was either the third or the fourth number which had come within my perusal. In this however I read not only a distinct avowal of the doctrine stated in my last paragraph, and which I had been accustomed to consider as an obsolete article in the creed of fanatical Antinomianism, but this avowal conveyed in the language of menace and intolerant contempt. I now look forward to the perusal of the whole series of the work, as made a point of duty to me by my knowledge of its' unusual influence on the public opinion; and in the mean time I feel it incumbent on me, as a joint measure of prudence and of honesty relatively to my own undertaking, to place immediately before my Readers, in the fullest and clearest light, the whole question of moral obligation respecting the communication of Truth, its' extent and conditions. I would

¹ The *Edinburgh Review*. De Quincey, in a letter to DW 16 Aug [1809], says that C was alluding to its review

of William Belsham *History of Great Britain* (1805): *De Q to W* 244–5. See *Ed Rev* vi (Jul 1805) 421–8.

fain obviate all apprehensions either of my incaution or¹ insincere reserve,² by proving that the more strictly we adhere to the *Letter* of the moral law in this respect, the more compleatly shall we reconcile the law with prudence, and secure³ a purity in the principle without mischief from the practice. I would not, I could not dare, address my countrymen as a Friend, if I might not [37] justify the assumption of that sacred title by more than mere veracity, by open-heartedness. The meanest of men feels himself insulted by an unsuccessful attempt to deceive him; and hates and despises the man who had attempted it. What place then is left in the heart for Virtue to build on, if in any case we may dare practice on others what we should feel as a cruel and contemptuous Wrong in our own persons? Every parent possesses the opportunity of observing, how deeply children resent the injury of a delusion; and if men laugh at the falsehoods that were imposed on themselves during their childhood, it is because they are not good and wise enough to contemplate the Past in the Present, and so to produce by a virtuous and thoughtful sensibility that continuity in their self-consciousness, which Nature has made the law of their animal Life*. Alas!

* Ingratitude, sensuality, and hardness of heart, all flow from this source. Men are ungrateful to others only when they have ceased to look back on their former selves with joy and tenderness. They exist in fragments. Annihilated as to the Past, they are dead to the Future, or seek for the proofs of it every where, only not (where alone they can be found) in themselves. A contemporary poet has exprest and illustrated this sentiment with equal fineness of thought and tenderness of feeling:

My heart leaps up when I behold
A rain-bow in the sky!
So was it, when my life began;
So is it now I am a man;
So let it be, when I grow old,
Or let me die.
*The Child is Father of the Man,
And I would wish my days to be
Bound each to each by natural piety.*

WORDSWORTH

I am informed, that these very lines have been cited, as a specimen of despicable puerility. So much the worse for the citer. Not willingly in *his* presence would I behold the Sun setting behind our mountains, or listen to a tale of Distress or Virtue; I should be ashamed of the quiet tear on my own cheek. But let the Dead bury the Dead! The poet sang for the Living. Of what value indeed, to a sane mind, are the Likings or Dislikings of one man, grounded on the mere assertions of another? Opinions formed from opinions—what are they, but clouds sailing under clouds, which impress shadows upon shadows?

Fungum pelle procul, jubeo! nam quid mihi Fungo?
Conveniunt stomacho non minus ista suo.

I was always pleased with the motto placed under the figure of the Rosmary in old Herbals: Sus, apage! Haud tibi spiro.

¹ For "or" 1812 reads "on the one on the other".
hand, or of any".

² For "reserve" 1812 reads "reserve securing".
³ For "and secure" 1812 reads "thus

the pernicious influence of this lax morality extends from the Nursery and the School to the Cabinet and Senate. It is a common weakness with men in power, who have used dissimulation successfully, to form a passion for the use of it, dupes to the love of duping! A pride is flattered by [38] these lies. He who fancies that he must be perpetually stooping down to the prejudices of his fellow-creatures, is perpetually reminding and re-assuring himself of his own vast superiority to them. But no real greatness can long co-exist with deceit. The whole faculties of man must be exerted in order to noble energies; and he who is not earnestly sincere, self-mutilated, self-paralysed, lives in but half his being.¹

The latter part of the proposition, which has drawn me into this discussion, that I mean in which the morality of intentional falsehood is asserted, may safely be trusted to the reader's own moral sense. It will, however, be found in its proper nitch of Infamy, in some future number of *THE FRIEND*, among other enormities in taste, morals, and theology, with which our* literature continues to be outraged. The former sounds less offensively at the first hearing, only because it hides its' deformity in an equivocation, or double meaning of the word Truth. What may be rightly affirmed of Truth, used as synonymous with verbal accuracy, is transferred to it in its' higher sense of veracity. By *verbal* truth we mean no more than the correspondence of a given fact to given words. In *moral* truth, we moreover involve the intention of the speaker, that his words should correspond to his thoughts in the sense in which he expects them to be [39] understood by others: and in this latter import we are always supposed to use the word, whenever we speak of Truth absolutely, or as a possible subject of moral merit or demerit. It is verbally true, that in the sacred Scriptures

* Is it a groundless apprehension, that the Patrons and Admirers of such publications may receive the punishment of their indiscretion in the conduct of their Sons and Daughters? The suspicion of Methodism must be expected by every man of rank and fortune, who carries his examination respecting the Books which are to lie on his Breakfast-table, farther than to their freedom from gross verbal indecencies, and broad avowals of Atheism in the *Title-page*. For the existence of an intelligent first Cause may be ridiculed in the notes of one poem, or placed doubtfully as one of two or three possible hypotheses, in the very opening of another poem, and both be considered as works of safe promiscuous reading "virginibus puerisque:" and this too by many a Father of a family, who would hold himself highly culpable in permitting his Child to form habits of familiar acquaintance with a person of loose habits, and think it even criminal to receive into his house a private Tutor without a previous inquiry concerning his opinions and principles, as well as his manners and outward conduct. How little I am an enemy to free enquiry of the boldest kind, and where the Authors have differed the most widely from my own convictions and the general faith of mankind, provided only, the enquiry be conducted with that seriousness, which naturally accompanies the love of Truth, and is evidently intended for the perusal of those only, who may be presumed to be capable of weighing the arguments, I shall have abundant occasion of proving, in the course of this work. *Quin ipsa philosophia talibus e disputationibus non nisi beneficium recipit. Nam si vera proponit homo ingeniosus veritatisque amans, nova ad eam accessio fiet: sin falsa, refutatione eorum priores tanto magis stabilientur.* GALILÆI *Syst. Cosm.* p 42.

¹ 1812 transposes: "he who is not earnestly sincere, lives . . . self-paralysed".

it is written: "As is the good, so is the sinner, and he that sweareth as he that feareth an oath. A man hath no better thing under the sun, than to eat, and to drink, and to be merry. For there is one event unto all: the living know they shall die, but the dead know not any thing, neither have they any more a reward." But he who should repeat these words, with this assurance, to an ignorant man in the hour of his temptation, lingering at the door of the ale-house, or hesitating as to the testimony required of him in the Court of Justice, would, spite of this verbal truth, be a Liar, and the Murderer of his Brother's Conscience. Veracity therefore, not mere accuracy; to convey truth, not merely to say it; is the point of Duty in Dispute: and the only difficulty in the mind of an honest man arises from the doubt, whether more than *veracity* (i.e. the truth and nothing but the truth) is not demanded of him by the Law of Conscience, namely,¹ *Simplicity*; that is, the truth only, and the whole truth. If we can solve this difficulty, if we can determine the conditions under which the Law of universal Reason commands the communication of Truth independently of consequences altogether, we shall then be enabled to judge whether there is any such probability of *evil* consequences from such communication, as can justify the assertion of its' occasional criminality, as can perplex us in the conception, or disturb us in the performance, of our duty. (The existence of a rule of Right (*recta regula*) not derived from a calculation of consequences, and even independent of any experimental knowledge of its' practicability, but as an Idea co-essential with the Reason of Man, and its' necessary product, I have here intentionally *assumed*, in order that I may draw the attention of my Readers to this important question, of all questions indeed the most important, previous to the regular solution which I hope to undertake in my sixth or seventh Number.)²

The Conscience, or effective Reason, commands the design of conveying an *adequate* notion of the thing spoken of, when this is practicable; but at all events a *right* notion, or none at all. A School-master is under [40] the necessity of teaching a certain Rule in simple arithmetic empirically, (Do so and so, and the sum *will* always prove true) the necessary truth of the Rule (i.e. that the Rule having been adhered to, the sum *must* always prove true) requiring a knowledge of the higher mathematics for its demonstration. He, however, conveys a right notion, though he cannot convey the *adequate* one.

The moral law then permitting the one on the condition that the other is impracticable, and binding us to silence when neither is in our power, we must first enquire: What is necessary to constitute, and what may allowably accompany, a right though inadequate notion? And secondly, what are the circumstances, from which we may deduce the impracticability of conveying even a right notion, the presence or absence of which circumstances it therefore becomes our duty to ascertain? In answer to the first question, the Conscience demands: 1. That it should be the wish and design of the mind to convey the truth only; that if in addition to the negative loss implied in its' inadequateness, the notion communicated should *lead* to any positive error, the cause should lie in the fault or defect of the Recipient,

¹ For "namely," 1812 reads "whether it does not exact".

² For "in . . . Number.)" 1812 reads "hereafter."

not of the Communicator, whose paramount duty, whose inalienable right it is to preserve his own **Integrity*, the *integral* character of his own moral Being. Self-respect; the reverence which he owes to the presence of Humanity in the person of his Neighbour; the reverential upholding of the Faith of Man in Man; Gratitude for the particular act of Confidence; and religious awe for the divine [41] purposes in the gift of Language; are Duties too sacred and important to be sacrificed to the *Guesses* of an Individual, concerning the advantages to be gained by the breach of them. 2. It is further required, that the supposed error shall not be such as will pervert or materially vitiate the imperfect truth, in communicating which we had unwillingly, though not perhaps unwittingly, *occasioned* it. A Barbarian so instructed in the Power and Intelligence of the Infinite Being as to be left wholly ignorant of his moral attributes, would have acquired none but erroneous notions even of the former. At the very best, he would gain only a theory to satisfy his curiosity with; but more probably, would deduce the belief of a Moloch or a Baal. (For the Idea of an irresistible invisible Being naturally produces terror in the mind of uninstructed and unprotected man, and with terror there will be associated whatever had been accustomed to excite it, as Anger, Vengeance, &c.: as is proved by the Mythology of all barbarous nations.) This must be the case with all organized truths: the component parts derive their significance from the Idea of the whole. Bolingbroke removed Love, Justice, and Choice, from power and intelligence, and yet pretended to have left unimpaired the conviction of a Deity. He might as consistently have paralysed the optic nerve, and then excused himself by affirming, that he had, however, not touched the eye.

The third condition of a right though inadequate notion is, that the error occasioned be greatly outweighed by the importance of the truth communicated. The rustic would have little reason to thank the philosopher, who should give him true conceptions of the folly of believing in Ghosts,

* The best and most forcible sense of a word is often that, which is contained in its Etymology. The Author of the Poems (*the Synagogue*) frequently affixed to Herbert's "TEMPLE," gives the original purport of the word integrity, in the following lines (fourth stanza of the 8th poem.)

Next to Sincerity, remember still,
Thou must resolve upon *Integrity*.
God will have *all* thou hast, thy mind, thy will,
Thy thoughts, thy words, thy works.

And again, after some Verses on Constancy and Humility, the poem concludes with—

He that desires to see
The face of God, in his religion must
Sincere, *entire*, constant, and humble be.

Having mentioned the name of *Herbert*, that model of a Man, a Gentleman, and a Clergyman, let me add, that the Quaintness of some of his Thoughts (not of his Diction, than which nothing can be more pure, manly, and unaffected,) has blinded modern readers to the great general merit of his Poems, which are for the most part exquisite in their kind.

Omens, Dreams, &c. at the price of¹ his faith in providence and in the continued existence of his fellow-creatures after their Death. The teeth of the old Serpent planted by the Cadmuses of French Literature, under Lewis XV. produced a plenteous crop of Philosophers and Truth-trumpeters of this kind, in the reign of his Successors. They taught many truths, historical, political, physiological, and ecclesiastical, and diffused their notions so widely, that the very Ladies and Hair-dressers of Paris became fluent *Encyclopædists*: and the sole price which their Scholars paid for these treasures of new information, was to believe Christianity an imposture, [42] the Scriptures a forgery, the worship (if not the belief) of God superstition, Hell a Fable, Heaven a Dream, our Life without Providence, and our Death without Hope. They became as Gods as soon as the fruit of this Upas Tree of Knowledge and Liberty had opened their eyes to perceive that they were no more than Beasts—somewhat more cunning perhaps, and abundantly more mischievous. What can be conceived more natural than the result,—that self-acknowledged Beasts should first act, and next suffer themselves to be treated as Beasts. We judge by comparison. To exclude the great is to magnify the little. The disbelief of essential Wisdom and Goodness, necessarily prepares the Imagination for the supremacy of Cunning with Malignty. Folly and Vice have their appropriate Religions, as well as Virtue and true Knowledge: and in some way or other Fools will dance round the golden Calf, and wicked men beat their timbrels and kettle-drums

To Moloch, horrid king, besmeared with blood
Of human sacrifice and parent's tears.

My feelings have led me on, and in my illustration I had almost lost from my view the subject to be illustrated. One condition yet remains: that the error foreseen shall not be of a kind to prevent or impede the after acquirement of that knowledge which will remove it. Observe, how graciously Nature instructs her human Children. She cannot give us the knowledge derived from sight without occasioning us at first to mistake Images of Reflection for Substances. But the very consequences of the delusion lead inevitably to its' detection; and out of the ashes of the error rises a new flower of knowledge. We not only see, but are enabled to discover by what means we see. So too we are under the necessity in given circumstances, of mistaking a square for a round object; but ere the mistake can have any practical consequences, it is not only removed, but in its' removal gives us the symbol of a new fact, that of distance. In a similar train of thought, though more fancifully, I might have elucidated the preceding Condition, and have referred our hurrying Enlighteners and revolutionary Amputators to the gentleness of Nature, in the Oak and the Beech, the dry foliage of which she pushes off only by the propulsion of the new buds, that supply its' place. [43] My friends! a cloathing even of withered Leaves is better than bareness.

Having thus determined the nature and conditions of a right notion, it remains to determine the circumstances which tend to render the communication of it impracticable, and obliges us of course, to abstain from the attempt—obliges us not to *convey* falsehood under the pretext of *saying*

¹ 1812 adds "abandoning".

truth. These circumstances, it is plain, must consist either in natural or moral impediments. The former, including the obvious gradations of constitutional insensibility and derangement, preclude all temptation to misconduct, as well as all probability of ill-consequences from accidental oversight, on the part of the communicator. Far otherwise is it with the impediments from moral causes. These demand all the attention and forecast of the genuine lovers of Truth in the matter, the manner, and the time of their communications, public and private; and these are the ordinary materials of the vain and the factious, determine them in the choice of their audiences and of their arguments, and to each argument give powers not its' own. They are distinguishable into two sources, the streams from which, however, must often become confluent, viz. hindrances from *Ignorance* (I here use the word in relation to the habits of reasoning as well as to the previous knowledge requisite for the due comprehension of the subject) and hindrances from predominant *passions*. Bold, warm, and earnest assertions, which gain credit partly from that natural generosity of the human heart which makes it an effort to doubt, and from¹ the habit formed by hourly acts of belief from infancy to age, and partly from the confidence which apparent Courage is wont to inspire, and from² the contagion of animal enthusiasm; arguments built on passing events and deriving an undue importance from the interest of the moment; startling particular facts; the display of defects without the accompanying excellencies, or of excellencies without their accompanying defects; the concealment of the general and ultimate result behind the scenery of local or immediate consequences; statement of conditional truths to those whose passions make them forget, that the conditions under which alone the statement is true, are not present, or even lead them to believe, that they are; chain³ of questions, especially of such questions as those best authorized to propose are the slowest in [44] proposing; objections intelligible of themselves, the answers to which require the comprehension of a system;—all these a Demagogue might make use of, and in nothing deviate from the verbal truth. From all these the law of Conscience commands us to abstain, because such being the ignorance and such the passions of the supposed Auditors, we ought to deduce the impracticability of conveying not only adequate, but even right, notions of our own convictions, much less does it permit us to avail ourselves of the causes of this impracticability in order to procure nominal proselytes, each of whom will have a different, and all a false, conception of those notions that were to be conveyed for their truth's sake alone. Whatever is (or but for some defect in our moral character would have been) foreseen as preventing the conveyance of our thoughts, makes the attempt an act of self-contradiction: and whether the faulty cause exist in our choice of unfit words or our choice of unfit auditors, the result is the same and so is the guilt. We have voluntarily communicated falsehood.

Thus (without reference to *consequences*, if only one short digression be excepted) from the sole principle of Self-consistence or moral Integrity, we have evolved the clue of right Reason, which we are bound to follow in the

¹ 1812 deletes "from".

³ For "chain" 1812 reads "chains".

² 1812 deletes "from".

communication of Truth. Now then we appeal to the judgment and experience of the Reader, whether he who most faithfully adheres to the letter of the law of conscience, will not likewise act in strictest correspondence to the maxims of prudence and sound policy. I am at least unable to recollect a single instance, either in History or in my personal experience, of a preponderance of injurious consequences from the publication of any truth, under the observance of the moral conditions above stated: much less can I even imagine any case, in which Truth, as Truth, can be pernicious. But if the assertor of the indifference of Truth and Falsehood in their own natures, attempt to justify his position by confining the word truth, in the first instance, to the correspondence of given words to given facts, without reference to the total impression left by such words; what is this more than to assert, that *articulated sounds* are things of moral indifference? and that we may relate a fact accurately and nevertheless deceive grossly and wickedly? Blifil related accurately Tom Jones's riotous joy during [45] his Benefactor's illness, only omitting that this joy was occasioned by the Physician's having pronounced him out of danger. Blifil was not the less a Liar for being an accurate *matter-of-fact* Liar. *Tell-truths* in the service of Falsehood we find every where, of various names and various occupations, from the elderly young women that discuss the Love-affairs of their friends and acquaintance at the village Tea-tables, to the anonymous calumniators of literary merit in Reviews, and the more daring Malignants, who dole out Discontent, Innovation and Panic, in political Journals: and a most pernicious Race of Liars they are! But whoever doubted it? Why should our moral feelings be shocked, and the holiest words with all their venerable associations be profaned, in order to bring forth a Truism? But thus it is for the most part with the venders of startling paradoxes. In the sense in which they are to gain for their Author the character of a bold and original Thinker, they are false even to absurdity; and the sense in which they are true and harmless, conveys so mere a Truism, that it even borders on Nonsense. How often have we heard "THE RIGHTS OF MAN—HURRA!—THE SOVEREIGNTY OF THE PEOPLE—HURRA!" roared out by men who, if called upon in another place and before another audience, to explain themselves, would give to the words a meaning, in which the most monarchical of their political opponents would admit them to be true, but which would contain nothing new, or strange, or stimulant, nothing to flatter the pride or kindle the passions of the Populace. To leave a general confused impression of something great, and to rely on the indolence of men's understandings and the activity of their passions, for their resting in this impression, is the old artifice of public Mountebanks, which, like stratagems in war, are never the less successful for having succeeded a thousand times before.

But how will these Rules apply to the most important mode of communication? To that, in which one man may utter his thoughts to myriads of men at the same time, and to myriads of myriads at various times and through successions of generations? How do they apply to Authors, whose foreknowledge assuredly does not inform them who, or how many, or of what description their Readers will be? To¹ Books, which once published,

¹ For "To" 1812 reads "How do these Rules apply to".

are as likely to fall in the way of the Incompetent as of the Judicious, and will [46] be fortunate indeed if they are not many times looked at through the thick mists of ignorance, or amid the glare of prejudice and passion? —We answer in the first place, that this is not universally true. Relations of certain pretended miracles performed a few years ago, at Holywell, in consequence of Prayers to the Virgin Mary, on female servants, and these Relations moralized by the old Roman Catholic arguments without the old Protestant answers, have to my knowledge been sold by travelling Pedlars in villages and farm-houses, not only in a form which placed them within the reach of the narrowest means, but sold at a price less than their prime cost, and doubtless, to be thrown in occasionally as the *make-weight* of a bargain of Pins and Stay-tape. Shall I be told, that the publishers and reverend Authorizers of *these* base and vulgar delusions had exerted no *choice* as to the Purchasers and Readers? But waiving this, or rather having first pointed it out, as an important exception, we further reply: that if the Author have clearly and rightly established in his own mind the class of Readers, to which he means to address his communications; and if both in this choice, and in the particulars of the manner and matter of his work, he conscientiously observes all the conditions which Reason and Conscience have been shewn to dictate, in relation to those for whom the work was designed; he will, in most instances, have effected his design and realized the desired circumscription. The posthumous work of Spinoza (*Ethica ordine geometrico demonstrata*) may, indeed, accidentally fall into the hands of an incompetent reader. But (not to mention, that it is written in a dead language) it will be entirely harmless, because it must needs be utterly unintelligible. I venture to assert, that the whole first book, *De Deo*, might be read in a literal English Translation to any congregation in the kingdom, and that no Individual, who had not been habituated to the strictest and most laborious processes of Reasoning, would even suspect its' orthodoxy or piety, however heavily the few who listened would complain of its' Obscurity and want of Interest. This, it may be objected, is an extreme case. But it is not so for the present purpose. We are speaking of the probability of injurious consequences from the communication of Truth. This I have denied, if the right means have been adopted, and the necessary conditions adhered to, for its' *actual* communication. Now the Truths conveyed in a book are [47] either evident of themselves, or such as require a train of deductions in proof; and the latter will be either such as are authorized and generally received, or such as are in opposition to received and authorized opinions, or, lastly, truths presented for the appropriate test of examination, and still under trial (*adhuc sub lite*),¹ of this latter class I affirm, that no instance can be brought of a preponderance of ill-consequences, or even of an equi-librium of advantage and injury, in which the understanding alone has been appealed to, by results fairly deduced from just premises, in terms strictly appropriate. Alas! legitimate reasoning is impossible without severe thinking, and thinking is neither an easy nor an amusing employment. The reader, who would follow a close reasoner to the summit and absolute principle of any one important subject, has chosen a Chamois-hunter for his Guide. Our Guide will, indeed,

¹ 1812 begins a new sentence with "Of".

take us the shortest way, will save us many a wearisome and perilous wandering, and warn us of many a mock road that had formerly led himself to the brink of chasms and precipices, or at best in an idle circle to the spot from whence he started; but he cannot carry us on his shoulders; we must strain our own sinews, as he has strained his; and make firm footing on the smooth rock for ourselves, by the blood of toil from our own feet. Examine the journals of our humane and zealous Missionaries in Hindostan. How often and how feelingly do they describe the difficulty of making the simplest chain of reasoning intelligible to the ordinary natives; the rapid exhaustion of their whole power of attention, and with what pain and distressful effort it is exerted, while it lasts. Yet it is among this class, that the hideous practices of self-torture chiefly, indeed almost exclusively, prevail. O if Folly were no easier than Wisdom, it being often so very much more grievous, how certainly might not these miserable men be converted to Christianity? But alas! to swing by hooks passed through the back, or to walk on shoes with nails of iron pointed upward on the soles, all this is so much less difficult, demands so very inferior an exertion of the Will than to *think*, and by thought to gain Knowledge and Tranquillity!

It is not true, that ignorant persons have no notion of the *advantages* of Truth and knowledge. They see, they acknowledge, those advantages in the conduct, the immunities, and the superior powers, of the Possessors. Were [48] these attainable by Pilgrimages the most toilsome, or Penances the most painful, we should assuredly have as many Pilgrims and as many *Self-tormentors* in the service of true Religion and Virtue, as now exist under the tyranny of Papal or Brahman Superstition. This Inefficacy¹ from the want of fit Objects, this² relative Weakness of legitimate Reason, and how narrow at all times its immediate sphere of action must be, is proved to us by the Impostures of all professions. What, I pray, is their fortress, the rock which is both their quarry and their foundation, from which and on which they are built? The desire of arriving at the end without the effort of thought and will which are the appointed means;³ for though from the difference of the mode a difference of use is made requisite, yet the effort in conquering a bad passion, or in mastering a long series of linked truths, is *essentially* the same: in both we exert the same reason and the same will. Let us look backward three or four centuries. Then as now the great mass of mankind were governed by the three main wishes, the wish for vigor of body, including the absence of painful feelings: for wealth, or the power of procuring the external conditions of bodily enjoyment; these during life—and security from pain and continuance of happiness after death. Then, as now, men were desirous to attain them by some easier means than those of Temperance, Industry, and strict Justice. They gladly therefore applied to the Priest, who could ensure them happiness hereafter without the performance of their Duties here; to the Lawyer, who could make money a substitute for a right cause; to the Physician, whose medicines promised to take the sting out of the tail of their sensual

¹ 1812 transposes "of legitimate Reason" from below to here.

² 1812 adds "its".

³ In 1812 the sentence ends here, the rest having been deleted.

Indulgences,¹ and let them fondle and play with Vice, as with a charmed Serpent; to the Alchemist, whose gold-tincture would enrich them without Toil or Economy; and to the Astrologer, from whom they could purchase foresight without Knowledge or Reflection. The established Professions were, without exception, no other than licenced modes of Witchcraft; the Wizards, who would now find their due reward in Bridewell, and their

*(To be continued.)*²

¹ For “Indulgences” 1812 reads “indulgencies”.

² 1812 omits.

No. 4. THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 7, 1809

*(Continued from page 48.)*¹

appropriate honors in the Pillory, sate then on episcopal thrones, candidates for Saintship, and already canonized in the belief of their deluded Contemporaries; while the one or two real Teachers and Discoverers of Truth were exposed to the hazard of Fire and Faggot, a Dungeon the best Shrine that was vouchsafed to a Roger Bacon and a Galileo! It is not so in our times. Heaven be praised, that in this respect at least we are, if not better, yet *better off* than our Forefathers. But to what, and to whom (under Providence) do we owe the Improvement? To any radical change in the moral affections of mankind in general? Perhaps, the great majority of men are now fully conscious, that they are born with the god-like faculty of Reason, and that it is the business of Life to develope and apply it? The Jacob's Ladder of Truth, let down from Heaven, with all its' numerous Rounds, is now the common High-way, on which we are content to toil upward to the Objects of our Desires? We are ashamed of expecting the end without the means? In order to answer these questions in the affirmative, I must have forgotten the Animal Magnetists, the proselytes of Brothers,² of Joanna Southcot, and some hundred thousand Fanatics less original in their creeds, but not a whit more rational in their expectations! I must forget the infamous Empirics, whose Advertisements pollute and disgrace all our Newspapers, and almost *paper* the walls of our Cities, and the vending of whose poisons and poisonous Drams (with shame and anguish be it spoken) supports a shop in every market-town! I must forget that other opprobrium of the Nation, that *Mother-vice*, the Lottery! I must forget, that a numerous class plead *Prudence* for keeping their fellow-men ignorant and incapable of intellectual enjoyments, and the *Revenue* for upholding such Temptations as men so ignorant will not withstand³ —at every fiftieth door throughout the Kingdom, Temptations to the most [50] pernicious Vices, which fill the Land with mourning, and fit the labouring classes for Sedition and religious Fanaticism! Above all, I must forget the first years of the French Revolution, and the Millions throughout Europe who confidently expected the best and choicest Results of Knowledge and Virtue, namely, Liberty and universal Peace, from the votes of

¹ 1812 omits.² 1812 adds "and".³ No 3 in 1812 ends here, no 4 begins with the addition: "—yes! thateven Senators and Officers of State hold forth the *Revenue* as a sufficient plea for upholding".

a tumultuous Assembly—that is, from the mechanical agitation of the air in a large Room at Paris—and this too in the most light, unthinking, sensual, and profligate of the European Nations, a Nation, the very phrases of whose language are so composed, that they can scarcely speak without lying!—No! Let us not deceive ourselves. Like the man, who used to pull off his Hat with great demonstration of Respect whenever he spoke of himself, we are fond of styling our own the *enlightened age*: though as Jortin, I think, has wittily remarked, the *golden age* would be more appropriate. But in spite of our great scientific Discoveries, for which Praise be given to whom the Praise is due, and in spite of that general indifference to all the Truths and all the Principles of Truth, which belonging to our permanent being, do not lie within the sphere of our senses, (which indifference makes Toleration so easy a Virtue with us, and constitutes nine-tenths of our pretended Illumination) it still remains the character of the mass of mankind to seek for the attainment of their necessary Ends by any means rather than the appointed ones, and for this cause only, that the latter implies¹ the exertion of the Reason and the Will. But of all things this demands the longest apprenticeship, even an apprenticeship from Infancy; which is generally neglected, because an excellence, that may and should belong to all men, is expected to come to every man of its' own accord.

To whom then do we owe our ameliorated condition? To the successive Few in every age (more indeed in one generation than in another, but relatively to the mass of Mankind always few) who by the intensity and permanence of their action have compensated for the limited sphere, within which it is at any one time intelligible; and whose good deeds Posterity reverence in their results, though the mode in which they² repair the inevitable Waste of Time, and the Style of their³ Additions too generally furnish a sad proof, how little they⁴ understand the Principles. I appeal to the Histories of the Jewish, the [51] Grecian, and the Roman Republics, to the Records of the Christian Church, to the History of Europe from the Treaty of Westphalia (1648). What do they contain but accounts of noble Structures raised by the Wisdom of the Few, and gradually undermined by the Ignorance and Profligacy of the Many. If therefore the Deficiency of good, which every way surround⁵ us, originate in the general unfitness and aversion of Men to the process of Thought, that is, to continuous Reasoning, it must surely be absurd to apprehend a preponderance of evil from works which cannot act at all except as far as it can⁶ call the reasoning faculties into full co-exertion with them.

Still, however, there are Truths so self-evident or so immediately and palpably deduced from those that are, or are acknowledged for such, that they are at once intelligible to all men, who possess the common advantages of the social state: although by sophistry, by evil habits, by the neglect, false persuasions, and impostures of an apostate Priesthood joined

¹ For "implies" 1812 reads "imply".

² For "they" 1812 reads "we".

³ For "their" 1812 reads "our".

⁴ For "they" 1812 reads "we".

⁵ For "surround" 1812 reads "surrounds".

⁶ For "it can" 1812 reads "they".

in one conspiracy with the violence of tyrannical Governors, the understandings of men may become so darkened and their Consciences so lethargic,¹ there may arise a necessity of their republication, and that² too with a voice of loud alarm, and impassioned Warning. Such were the Doctrines proclaimed by the first Christians to the Pagan World; such were the Lightnings flashed by Wickliff, Huss, Luther, Calvin, Zuinglius, Latimer, &c. across the Papal darkness; and such in our own times the agitating Truths, with which Thomas Clarkson, and his excellent Confederates, the Quakers, fought and conquered the legalized Banditti of Men-stealers, the numerous and powerful Perpetrators and Advocates of Rapine, Murder, and (of blacker guilt than either) Slavery. Truths of this kind being indispensable to Man, considered as a moral being, are above all expedience, all accidental consequences: for as sure as God is holy, and Man immortal, there can be no evil so great as the Ignorance or Disregard of them. It is the very madness of mock-prudence to oppose the removal of a poisoned Dish on account of the pleasant sauces or nutritious viands which would be lost with it: the dish contains destruction to that, for which alone we ought to wish the palate to be gratified, or the body to be nourished. The sole condition, therefore, imposed on us by the Law of Expedience in these cases is, that we employ no [52] unworthy and heterogeneous means to realize the necessary end, that we entrust the event wholly to the full and adequate promulgation of the Truth, and to those generous affections which the constitution of our moral nature has linked to the full perception of it. Yet Evil may, nay it will, be occasioned by it.³ Weak men may take offence, and wicked men avail themselves of it: though we must not attribute to it⁴ all the Evil, of which wicked men predetermined, like the Wolf in the fable, to create some occasion, may chuse to make it the pretext. But that there ever was or ever can be a preponderance of Evil, I defy either the Historian to instance or the Philosopher to prove. *Avolent*⁵* *quantum volent palea levis fidei quocunque afflatu tentationum, eo purior massa frumenti in horrea domini reponetur*, we are entitled to say with Tertullian: and to exclaim with heroic Luther, *Aergerniss⁷ hin, Aergerniss her! Noth bricht Eisen, und hat kein Aergerniss. Ich soll der schwachen Gewissen schonen so fern es ohne Gefahr meiner Seelen geschehn mag. Wo nicht, so soll ich meiner Seelen rathen, es ärgere sich*

* "Let it fly away, all that Chaff of light Faith that can fly⁶ at any breath of Temptation, the cleaner will the true Grain be stored up in the Granary of the Lord." TERTULLIAN. "Scandal and offence! Talk not to me of Scandal and Offence. Need breaks through Stone-walls, and reckons not of Scandal. It is my duty to spare weak Consciences as far as it may be done without hazard of my Soul. Where not, I must take counsel for my Soul, though half or the whole World should be scandalized thereby."

¹ 1812 adds "that".

² For "that" 1812 reads "this".

³ 1812 omits "by it".

⁴ For "it" 1812 reads "the Promulgation or to the truth promulgated".

⁵ In 1812 the Latin was shifted to the

footnote and the English placed in the body of the text.

⁶ 1812 adds "off".

⁷ In 1812 the English was placed in the body of the text and the German in the footnote.

daran die ganze oder halbe Welt. LUTHER felt and preached and wrote and acted, as beseemed a Luther to feel and utter and act. The truths, which had been outraged, he re-proclaimed in the spirit of outraged Truth, at the behest of his Conscience and in the service of the God of Truth. He did his duty, come good, come evil! and made no question, on which side the preponderance would be. In the one Scale there was Gold, and the Impress thereon the Image and Circumscription¹ of the Universal Sovereign. In all the wide and ever widening² Commerce of mind with mind throughout the world, it is Treason to refuse it. Can this have a Counterweight? The other Scale indeed might have seemed full up to the very balance-yard; but of what worth and substance were its' contents? Were they *capable* of being counted or weighed against the former? The Conscience indeed is already violated when to moral good or evil we oppose things possessing no moral interest: and even if the Conscience [53] could waive this her preventive Veto, yet before we could consider the two-fold Results in the relations of Loss and Gain, it must be known whether their kind is the same or equivalent. They must first be valued and then they may be weighed or counted, if they are worth it. But in the particular case at present before us, the Loss is contingent, accidental;³ the Gain essential and the Tree's own natural produce. The Gain is permanent, and spreads through all times and places; the Loss but temporary, and owing its' very being to Vice or Ignorance, vanishes at the approach of Knowledge and moral Improvement. The Gain reaches all good men, belongs to all that love Light and desire an increase of Light; to all and of all times, who thank Heaven for the gracious Dawn, and expect the Noon-day; who welcome the first gleams of Spring, and sow their fields in confident Faith of the ripening Summer and the rewarding Harvest-tide! But the Loss is confined to the unenlightened and the prejudiced—say rather, to the weak and the prejudiced of one⁴ generation. The prejudices of one age are condemned even by the prejudiced of the succeeding ages: for endless are the modes of Folly, and the Fool joins with the Wise in passing sentence on all modes but his own. Who cried out with greater Horror against the Murderers of the Prophets, than those who likewise cried out, Crucify him! Crucify him!—The Truth-haters of every future generation will call the Truth-haters of the preceding ages by their true names: for even these the Stream of Time carries onward. In fine, Truth considered in itself and in the effects natural to it, may be conceived as a gentle Spring or Water-source, warm from the genial earth, and breathing up into the Snow-drift that is piled over and around its' outlet. It turns the obstacle into its' own form and character, and as it makes its' way increases its' stream. And should it be arrested in its' course by a chilling season, it suffers delay, not loss, and waits only for a change in the wind to awaken and again roll onwards.

¹ For "Circumscription" 1812 reads "Superscription".

² For "widening" 1812 reads "widening".

³ For "accidental" 1812 reads "and alien".

⁴ For "one" 1812 reads "a single".

[54]

*I semplici pastori
Sul Vesolo nevoso
Fatti curvi e canuti,
D' alto stupor son muti
Mirando al fonte ombroso
Il Po con pochi umori;
Poscia udendo gli onori
Dell' urna angusta e stretta,
Che 'l Adda, che 'l Tesino
Soverchia in suo cammino
Che ampio al mar s' affretta,
Che si spuma, e si suona,
Che gli si da corona! **

CHIABRERA

Such are the good, that is, the natural Consequences of the promulgation to all of Truths which all are bound to know and to make known. The evils *occasioned* by it, with few and rare exceptions, have their origin in the attempts to suppress or pervert it; in the fury and violence of Imposture attacked or undermined in her strongholds, or in the extravagances of Ignorance and Credulity roused from their lethargy, and angry at the medicinal disturbance—awakening not yet broad awake, and thus blending the monsters of uneasy dreams with the real objects, on which the drowsy eye had alternately half-opened and closed, again half-opened and again closed. This *Re-action* of Deceit and Superstition, with all the trouble and tumult incident, I would compare to a Fire which bursts forth from some stifled and fermenting Mass on the first admission of Light and Air. It roars and blazes, and converts the already spoilt or damaged Stuff with all the straw and straw-like matter near it, first into flame and the next moment into ashes. The Fire dies away, the ashes are scattered on all the winds, and what began in Worthlessness ends in Nothingness. Such are the evil, that is, the casual consequences of the same promulgation.

It argues a narrow or corrupt nature to lose the general and lasting consequences of rare and virtuous Energy, in the brief accidents, which accompanied its' first movements—to set lightly by the emancipation of the Human [55] Reason from a legion of Devils, in our complaints and lamentations over the loss of a herd of swine! The Cranmers, Hampdens, and Sidneys; the Counsellors of our Elizabeth, and the Friends of our other great Deliverer the third William,—is it in vain, that *these* have been our Countrymen? Are we not the Heirs of their good deeds? And what are

* *Literal Translation.* “The simple Shepherds grown bent and hoary-headed on the snowy Vesolo, are mute with deep astonishment, gazing in the o'er-shadowed fountain on the Po with his scanty waters; then hearing of the Honors of his confined and narrow Urn, how he receives as a Sovereign the ADDA and the TESINO in his course, how ample he hastens on to the Sea, how he foams, how mighty his Voice, and that to Him the Crown is assigned.”

N.B. I give literal translations of my poetic as well as prose translations,¹ because the propriety of their introduction often depends on the exact sense and order of the words: which it is impossible always to retain in a metrical Version.

¹ For “translations” 1812 reads “Quotations”.

noble Deeds but noble Truths realized? As Protestants, as Englishmen, as the Inheritors of so ample an estate of Might and Right, an estate so strongly fenced, so richly planted, by the sinewy arms and dauntless hearts of our Forefathers, we of all others have good cause to trust in the Truth, yea, to follow its' pillar of fire through the Darkness and the Desert, even though its Light should but suffice to make us certain of its' own presence. If there be elsewhere men jealous of the Light, who prophecy an excess of Evil over good from its' manifestation, we are entitled to ask them, on what experience they ground their Bodings? Our own Country bears no traces, our own history contains no records, to justify them. From the great æras of national illumination we date the commencement of our main national Advantages. The Tangle of Delusions, which stifled and distorted the growing Tree, have been torn away; the parasite Weeds, that fed on its' very roots, have been plucked up with a salutary violence. To us there remain only quiet duties, the constant care, the gradual improvement, the cautious unhazardous labors of the industrious though contented Gardener—to prune, to engraft, and one by one to remove from its' leaves and fresh shoots, the Slug and the Caterpillar. But far be it from us to undervalue with light and senseless detraction, the conscientious Hardihood of our Predecessors, or even to condemn in them that vehemence, to which the Blessings, it won for us, leave us now neither temptation or pretext. That the very terms, with which the Bigot or the Hireling would blacken the first Publishers of political and religious Truth, are, and deserve to be, hateful to us, we owe to the effects of its' publication. We ante-date the feelings in order to criminate the authors of our tranquillity, opulence, and security. But let us be aware. Effects will not, indeed, immediately disappear with their causes; but neither can they long continue without them. If by the *reception* of Truth in the spirit of Truth, we *became* what we [56] are; only by the *retention* of it in the same spirit, can we *remain* what we are. The narrow seas that form our boundaries, what were they in times of old? The convenient High-way for Danish and Norman Pirates. What are they now? Still but “a Span of Waters”—Yet

*Even so doth God protect us, if we be
Virtuous and Wise. Winds blow and Waters roll,
Strength to the Brave, and Power and Deity:
Yet in themselves are nothing! One Decree
Spake laws to them, and said that by the Soul
Only the Nations shall be great and free.*

Thus far then I have been conducting a cause between an Individual and his own mind. Proceeding on the conviction, that to Man is entrusted the nature, not the result of his actions, I have presupposed no calculations, I have presumed no foresight.—Introduce no contradiction into thy own consciousness. Acting or abstaining from action, delivering or withholding thy thoughts, whatsoever thou dost, do it *in singleness of heart*. In all things therefore let thy Means correspond to thy Purpose, and let thy Purpose be one with the Purport.—To this Principle I have referred the supposed Individual, and from this Principle solely I have deduced each particular of his Conduct. As far, therefore, as the Court of Conscience extends, (and in this Court alone I have been pleading hitherto) I have

won the cause. It has been decided, that there is no just ground for apprehending Mischief from Truth communicated *conscientiously*, (i.e. with a strict observance of all the conditions required by the Conscience) that what is not so communicated, is Falsehood, and to the Falsehood, not to the Truth, must the consequences be attributed. Another and altogether different cause remains now to be pleaded; a different Cause, and in a different Court. The parties concerned are no longer the well-meaning Individual and his Conscience, but the Citizen and the State—the Citizen, who may be a fanatic as probably as a philosopher, and the State, which concerns itself with the Conscience only as far as it appears in the Action, or, still more accurately, in the fact; and which must determine the nature of the fact not only by a rule of Right formed from the modification of particular by general consequences, and thus reducing the freedom of each citizen [57] to the common measure in which it becomes compatible with the freedom of all; but likewise by the relation, which the Fact bears to its' own instinctive principle of Self-preservation. For every Depositary of the supreme Power must presume itself rightful: and as the source of law, not legally to be endangered. A form of government may indeed, in reality, be most pernicious to the governed, and the highest moral honor may await the patriot who risks his life in order by its' subversion to introduce a better and juster Constitution; but it would be absurd to blame the Law, by which his Life is declared forfeit. It were to expect, that by an involved contradiction, the Law should allow itself not to be Law, by allowing the State, of which it is a part, not to be a State. For as Hooker has well observed, the law of men's actions is one, if they be respected only as men; and another, when they are considered as parts of a body politic.

But though every Government subsisting in law (for pure lawless Despotism grounding itself wholly on terror precludes all consideration of Duty) though every government subsisting in Law must, and ought to, regard itself as the Life of the Body Politic, of which it is the Head, and consequently must punish every attempt against itself as an act of Assault or Murder, i.e. Sedition or Treason; yet still it ought so to secure the Life as not to prevent the conditions of its' growth, and of that Adaptation to Circumstances, without which its' very Life becomes insecure. In the application, therefore, of these principles to the public communication of Opinions by the most efficient means, the Press—we have to decide, whether consistently with them there should be any Liberty of the Press, and if this be answered in the affirmative, what shall be declared Abuses of that Liberty, and made punishable as such, and in what way the general Law shall be applied to each particular case.

First then, should there be any Liberty of the Press? We will not here mean, whether it should be permitted to print books at all; (for our Essay has little chance of being read in Turkey, and in any other part of Europe it cannot be supposed questionable) but whether by the appointment of a Censorship the Government should take upon itself the responsibility of each particular publication. In Governments purely monarchical (i.e. oligarchies under one head) the Balance of the Advantage [58] and disadvantage from this Monopoly of the Press will undoubtedly be affected by the general state of information; though after reading Milton's "Speech