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Emmich. Monday evening: 8th September. 1884

"When people who are tolerably fortunate in their outward"
"lot do not find in life sufficient enjoyment to make it valuable"
"to them, the cause generally is, caring for nobody but themselves"

Mill. "Utilitarianism."

"Our harmony as moral beings is impossible on any other"
"foundation but altruism. Nay more, altruism alone can"
"enable us to live in the highest & truest sense. To live for others"
"is the only means of developing the whole existence of man"

Towards Humanity, ~~therefore~~ Who is the only true
"Great Being, we the conscious elements of whom she is the"
"compound, shall henceforth devote every aspect of our life,"
"individual & collective. Our thoughts will be devoted to"
"the knowledge of Humanity, our affections to the Love,"
"our actions to her service"

Comte.

(2)

1884

The great dispute agitating the schools of the middle ages was Nominalism versus Realism — viz: the question of an objective existence corresponding to general terms. This dispute was chiefly interesting to the Christians in its bearing on Theology: the two schools giving rise to different heresies & both alike condemned by the Church. Conceptualism (adv. by Abelard) is an attempt at a compromise: ~~[illegible]~~ affirming that genus & species are more than words & yet denying the objective existence: it indeed a new form of Nominalism. At the close of the XII Cent. expiring liberty, thought — long languished and apathy — rose who proclaimed the rights of rational research. The Arabian commentators on Greek philosophy were the agitating influence which inspirited philosophical speculation.

"They were all Aristotelians; they were all given more or less to science, especially medicine. Nevertheless, they left Science very much as they found it, & cannot be said to have advanced Philosophy. No germinal discoveries in science are due to them. They improved instruments & collected facts: kept alive the sacred fire. But their labours were fettered by their method; & the only advantage the world received from them was the preservation of what the illustrious Greeks had done; & the stimulus which they influenced on European thought.

With the XIII Cent. two social influences now first appear: the industrial & scientific elements.

"Social influences. Society, on the feudal system, was governed by two great powers, the military or temporal & the clerical or spiritual. By the seventh century each had apparently established itself for perpetual dominion; yet a retrospective glance detects even there the seeds of inevitable dissolution. Those seeds are the industrial & scientific tendencies. Society advanced, the military function gradually declined in importance; & the industrial function gradually increased. The importance of the clerical function also declined as the widening thoughts of men slowly changed the general conception of the world, & as the incompatibility of theological notions became daily more conspicuous cont. with the certainties of science. "

At the close of the XII cent. Scholasticism had passed its zenith: & reason was in danger of becoming the servant of faith. We have now to see the rival demand for authority & liberty responded to by the installation of Aristotle & the widening of physical research.

Albertus Magnus is the incarnation of the principle of

Authority is Roger Bacon of Not of Inquiry.
Albertus Magnus (Sp of Aristotle) Upholdness Orig. writing
with Commentary is stimulates means 'minds to research in other
directions than those which Scholasticism hitherto had confined
them. He however maintained the predominance of Faith
over Reason, authority over argument where "divine
things are touched on".
Roger Bacon: Four great stumbling blocks to truth
impede the inquirer's progress, acc. to Bacon is these are:
1. The influence of popular is unworthy authorities.
2. Customs.
3 The imperfection of undeceptive senses.
4 The concealment of our ignorance by ostentatious of our
seeming wisdom. We have 3 means of knowledge:
Authority, Reasoning, Experiment. Authority has its value
unless it can be shown; in reasoning we commonly distinguish
Sophism from a demonstration by verifying the conclusion
through Experiment. He is constantly insisting on the
necessity of perspection is on the fallacy of argument.
Tho' his conception were incomplete is his method vague.
He was essentially a positive philosopher is too much
in advance of his age to leave a school.

Given History of Philosophy & not of science & therefore there is no account of the great scientists of the seventeenth century who were obtaining practical results from the scientific method.

(It was Bacon who brought science out of the Laboratories into the general field of thought.

Bacon's greatest merit therefore consists, in exploding the vicious method pursued by the ancients of flying to the highest generalizations first, & deducing the middle principles from them, since. This is neither reason nor observation but the universally accredited method of modern science & that to which we owe the greatest triumphs. The error of ancient speculation did not consist in making the largest generalization first, but in making them without the aid a warrant of rigorous inductive methods, & applying them deductively without the needful use of that important part of the deductive method termed verification ||.

Somerhill. Oct. 15th 1884. I think I shall lose again take ~~[illegible]~~ not interest in myself. ~~[illegible]~~ to make me much care to talk my thoughts & feelings to this impersonal confidant — my diary. At any rate there is a long lapse in my habit of writing down what I see, think & feel. And yet I am loath to bid goodbye to an old friend who has been with me since I first had experience, & wished to tell them to some one — the "it" was only to a phantom of myself." It would be curious to discover ~~[illegible]~~ who it is to whom one writes in a diary? ~~[illegible]~~ possibly to some mysterious personification of one's own identity — to the unknown ~~[illegible]~~ which lies below the constant change of ~~[illegible]~~ matter & ideas constituting the individual at any given ~~[illegible]~~ moment. This unknown one was once my only friend — the being to whom I went for advice & consolation in all small troubles of a child's life. Well do I remember as a small thing sitting under the damp bushes & brooding over the round of love ~~[illegible]~~ around me (possibly I could not discern it) & turning in upon myself & saying — "Now I will live alone — & if life be unbearable — I will die" Poor little maiden

heartless thing.' And then I said - "I will teach thee
"What I feel think & see - & we will grow wise together
"Then shall we be happy." So I went my own little way
& toiled diligently what I saw & began upon the Ex-
ternal. Soon I found that there were other minds seeing
& reasoning who could in their strength carry me
on my way. I clutched at their help & & they for
Joy's sake gave it me. But still I loved only the
unknown one - & my feeling was constantly working
in vain tho' my reason was straining its utmost - &
grasp what was outside. Then came friendships
in the guise of intellectual sympathy - in Patience
discovering itself in its true nature of a
putting reason to the eternal analysis on one side -
And last of all came - passion - with its burning heart
& ~~feeling~~ exclusive which had for long which been smouldering
burst out into flame & burnt down, intellectual
interests, personal ambition, & all other self deceiving
motives.

And now the unknown one is a more phantom
seldom conquered - & then not grasped - Reason &
Feeling alike have turned towards the outer world -
no longer care to look within - & I say humbly
today

"We have learnt, poor thing that we can neither see, think nor feel - alone - much less live - without the help of others; therefore we must live for others & take what happiness comes to us by the way."

And all the time I was travelling in Bavaria this was the eternal refrain running through my mind - I saw things, I wrote about them, I lived with an intimate friend - but ~~all through~~ day - night - I cried secretly over the past - & regretted the form which my past life had given me. For who can undo the involving work of the years - we must ~~absolutely the effect of our education~~ deal with the self we have made ~~[illegible]~~.

The storm has swept over - I can on again go on my way, if I knew only which way to go - but!?

I thought - now that special faculty pointed to one direction - now I know that it was only a special desire. Still this special desire must in fault of better guide take the same direction - as far as my egoistic life is concerned - but this is narrow & washed through the diversion of feeling into other channels.

The pursuit of my new object will no longer be the work - it will be recreation - ~~[illegible]~~ of my life

to sacrifice unhesitatingly when my higher duties call me .....

I suppose I ought to abstract Lewis; but I feel that it is already too much abstracted for me to realize – that my notion of the constitution of philosophy gathered from it is a very ~~bare~~ phantom like skeleton – and only wanting in flesh & blood but rather disconnected in its form.

The subjection factions are to me particularly difficult to follow – not being able to bind my mind of the position method. Unconsciously I am always trying to make them correspond with the order of things – forgetting that this authors ~~has started in contrast~~ ignored this test – & were intent only on making their conceptions tally with the order of ideas. I find that this better to let Lewis & when possible to men themselves speak in their own words. I am making the abstract for Roche of a Newell's issue not as a literary exercise.

Bacon's starting point was sensation: his aim the widening of man's knowledge of the laws of nature – his method – observing ~~particulars with view of~~

to individual instances of ~~certain~~ special phenomena & through this observation arriving at generalizations applicable to all the individuals & therefore characterizing the phenomena as a genus. He did not fully understand the process of verification — & in his justifiable contempt — for the purely subjective method — overlooked the importance of Deduction as a process — which had been until then inseparably connected with the subjective tests.

He turned men's thoughts to the outside world — & attempted to formulate rules for the interpretation of nature. But these rules have been proved to be inapplicable. They started the human intellect in a right direction & were among the first attempts to formulate a method by which the order of ideas might be made to harmonize with the order of things. Bacon was the father of modern science.

Descartes the starting point was: "I think therefore I am". & his interpretation of this formula: "all clear ideas are true" "Consciousness being the ground of all certainty everything of which you are ~~strongly~~ distinctly conscious must be true; everything which you clearly & distinctly conceive, clothes of the idea of a modern existence."

The equally important part of Descartes' system was the Deduction method. He was the first to apply algebra to geometry. He found a basis of certitude — Consciousness — he found a method of certitude Mathematics.

"Those long chains of reasoning all simple & easy, which geometers use to arrive at their most difficult demonstrations, suggested to me that all things which came within human knowledge must follow each other in a similar way. Chain; & that provided we abstain from admitting anything as true which is not so, and that we always preserve in them the order necessary to deduce one from the other, there can be none so remote to which we cannot finally attain, nor so obscure but that we may discover them."

~~Bacon now we may~~ Both Bacon & Descartes institutes the Objective method: the 'both' is varying degrees failed to complete it.

Descartes having subordinated all cosmical speculation to the Objective method, having formulated an hypothesis which could explain the phenomena of the world on the properties recognised in matter without the intervention of occult production, entities &c

evolution, & having even adopted the method principle & the chief physical aspects of the organism, he suddenly away & re-introduces the subjective method which he indeed proclaimed to be the method of all philosophical research in all mental & social phenomena.

"Thus on the one hand his antagonism to the scholastic philosophy, aided by his scientific knowledge, led him to the objective point of view in studying cosmology, while on the other hand his psychological inquiries re-introduced the subjective point of view & thus not only perverted the proper conception of method but, as it always leads, to great perplexities in the application of particular methods.

A proper employment of method includes both the induction of Bacon and the deduction of Descartes with some subsidiary processes which neither of them understood, especially the use of hypothesis & experiment. If it was Bacon's error to undervalue deduction, it was no less the error of Descartes to undervalue induction owing to the influence of the subjective method, which naturally leads to the mistake of overlooking the essential requisite of verification. The subjective

Method is always deductive, & its deductions are logically formed in the same process as those of the Objective Method; but there is a philosophical difference between the two: the data of the former are not verified inductions, nor are the conclusions verified by comparison with reality; the data & conclusions of the second are experimentally verified.

Yet Seem to me to contradict himself when he says that "Descartes based his Subjective" it certainly seems so to me. ~~Descartes was a great mathematician~~. Indeed the application of mathematical ~~[illegible]~~ reasoning to more complex phenomena must also in a way be subjective & lead to error.

"While Bacon urges the necessity of proceeding from effects to causes, Descartes proceeds from causes to effects.

Bacon erred in the nature of the causes he sought for & the operation of a multiplicity of causes, and in the method of search. But he separated Philosophy from Theology & thus consummated the long struggle which accompanied the birth-pangs of the modern culture: but Bacon, true to the objective point of view, declares the problems of Theology & Philosophy to be necessarily the same

Consequently begins the province of Philosophy. Descartes tries the Scholastic point of view, declared them to be Skills only by Reason, & made it the primary object of Philosophy to Prove them. Descartes asserts that God exists. & Mind & body exist independent of each other, because there were of God, mind, & body distinct & distinct - & in Remarks another the idea of extension In Physics he saw mathematical perfection: & in effect he made important discoveries. But this was of the Deductive method was premature: Their method is only valid when founded on verified induction.

"His function is that of the Founder of the Deductive Method in the Province of Consciousness. His scholars may be divided into the mathematical cultivators of Physics & the Deductive Cultivators of Philosophy

Spinoza. The God-intoxicated man.

Never not attempt to Translate Spinoza's Metaphysics. They start from the same basis as that of Descartes: All clear ideas are true. He pursues the mathematical method - starting with definitions & axioms - & working his theory. by a series of Demonstrated Propositions. & which acc. to him the logic is perfect.

Therefore Lewis says: "If you are a Metaphysician you must be a Spiritualist; if Astrology, be a Sidereal Spiritualism is the most perfect form it has yet received."

~~He adopting the mathematical method, he adopts~~ The Mathematical method has a delusive result resembling a priori evolution of results from abstractions — & the last the most conceivable as to the equal validity of the two processes arising from the different relations of the abstractions: Pure Mathematics & Geometry being in a peculiar sense of phenomena elementary facts of existence, which owing to their peculiar characters are capable of being ~~obtained~~ isolated through a process of the elimination of objection, ~~the abstractions of Metaphysics~~ are capable of objective verification; the abstractions of Metaphysics on the other hand are not definitions of one property but the generalization of all the properties of not only of all the ~~[illegible]~~ existing ~~[illegible]~~ but of all that we don't know ~~[illegible]~~. Therefore whereas in Mathematics the data are those facts in the outside world which are the most clearly perceivable by our senses, in Metaphysics the data are confusedly within the power of the senses to perceive at all. The deductions of Mathematics are verifiable at every step, those of Metaphysics those

verification from this starting point.

Spinoza shewed men's minds by showing the inevitable result of the metaphysical method pursued regardless of all to its own canons. "Spinozism or Scepticism. There was no third alternative, so long as Metaphysics persisted in its ontological & absolute claims."

A new conception was growing which involved a complete change of view. The relativity of knowledge was its governing canon; & the nature & limits of knowledge became the topmost urgent of topics.

The crisis, therefore, turns upon the fundamental defects: Can the human mind transcend the sphere of the relative ~~knowable~~ knowledge, & passing from Consciousness to Cause, explore the realities of things per se.

The first decomposition of the great question is into the psychological question of the origin of ideas: Have we or have we not ideas which ~~transcend experience~~ are antecedent ~~to experience~~ & independent of experience.

Hobbes: Concerning the thoughts of men I will consider them first singly, & afterwards in a train or dependance upon one another. Singly they are every one a representation or appearance of some quality or other accident of a body without us, which is commonly called an object.

Which object worketh on the eyes, ears, & other parts of mans body; & by diversity of working, produceth diversity of appearance. The original of them all is that which we call sense, for there is no conception in a mans mind which hath not at first, totally or by parts, been begotten upon the organs of sense. The rest are derived from that original.

Hobbes maintains that all thought was the effect of a sensation: either present or past. The effects of past sensations produce memory & imagination. He fully recognizes that the idea of a thing was in no wise the thing itself but the mind between subject & object through sensation. He also states with admirable clearness the doctrine of association of ideas. His fallacy lay in his assumption that all thought was the result of the individual experience. Locke does not touch on his social theories but my master his Jordan

as a Philosopher.

Locke: Metaphysics he recognises two sources of ideas: Sensation & Reflection.

"External objects furnish the mind with the ideas of sensible qualities; & the mind furnishes the understanding with the ideas of its own operations" "

"By sensation, Locke understands, the simple operation of external objects through the ~~understanding~~ senses.

The mind is therefore entirely passive. The senses may be said to furnish the mind with the first of its materials. By reflection he understands that internal sense by means of which the mind observes its own operations. This furnishes the second portion of the materials out of which the mind frames knowledge.

'If it be demanded, he says, when a man begins to have any ideas, I think the true answer is, when he first has a sensation. For since there appears not to be any ideas in the mind before the senses convey any in, I conclude that ideas in the ~~mind~~ understanding are co-eval with sensation.

He was distinguished from the Sensational School in that he claims for an internal working faculty apart from sensation: & tho' he differed

from them the latter is merely ideas in the in any ~~[illegible]~~ sense of ~~idea~~ knowledge independent of others, yet arising to his compound idea of mind. The elements are found in his Psychology which leads to within a Sceptic.

(Locke both certainly incorrectly asserts that primary qualities of bodies, such as extension & solidity are copies of the object. but as in the secondary qualities affected mind) Perhaps then I have mentioned Berkeley & Hume I shall better understand their origin in Locke: but this in Locke's opinion effect from any consequences that might be drawn from it.

"The notice we have of by our senses of the existence of things without us, though it not altogether so certain as our intuitive knowledge or the deductions of our reason, employed about the clear abstract ideas of our own minds; yet it is an assurance that deserves the name of knowledge.

If Jonathan assures that our faculties act to inform us right concerning the existence of those objects that affect them, it cannot pass for ill-grounded confidence; for I think we can in earnest be so sceptical as to be uncertain

of the existence of Him which he sees & feels.

As to myself, I think God has given me assurance enough as to the existence of things without me; seeing by their different application I can provide in myself both pleasure & pain, which is one great concernment of my present state. We cannot see by anything but our faculties; not little of knowledge but by the help of those faculties which we falsely apprehend even what knowledge is!

Locke's position is essentially that of Common sense – the 'he does not require it to be said') "The great aim of the Essay was to prove that all knowledge is founded on Experience. That proved he was aware that Experience never could be other than relative – it could only be our Experience of things, our experience could be no absolute standard; it could only be a standard for us.

Leibnitz: in speaking of Locke he says: our differences are not irreconcilable. The question between us is whether the soul is ~~originally table~~ entirely empty, like a tablet upon which nothing has been written, acc. to Aristotle & the author of the essay; or whether the soul is like a tablet

Ideas which from the senses & experience: Several notions & doctrines, which the external objects only awaken on occasions, as I believe with Plato.

Leibnitz Des. &c. & Locke & Stoics & Scholastic.
The construction & scheme on logical principles, &c. a priori.

The principle of Contradiction, the principle of Equivalence are derived from the a priori notions of the wisdom & goodness of God. Among the infinitude of possibilities, God being good, must have chosen what was best: The basis of all Philosophy therefore will be the conviction that Nature is for the best: that everything is good, harmonious & beautiful.
"Un vrai par le" convient le véritable physique, et les autres principes effectivement à la source des perfections divines.
Philosophy is Theology.

Berkeley: He tells that the very object of knowledge was Ideas: therefore idea alone existed.
"I do not argue against the existence of any one thing that we can apprehend either by sensation or reflection.
That the things I see with my eyes & touch with my hands do exist, really exist, I make not the least question. The only thing whose existence I deny is that

which the Philosophers call Matter, or corporeal existence.
Berkeley's position was that it is logically absurd to
if he would make his conclusion relative to
our understanding. ~~Matter~~ We are only
conscious of existence in the form of ideas, existence
outside that form can only be inferred or assumed.
It is practically assumed (because see R. Spencer's
regular is unconscious) by the mass of mankind.

But by making it absolute he avoids al-
-ter dilemma: nothing exists but my own mind
and other minds (which they only can be conceived
as an idea in your mind). The Ego is the all: I am
myself and the only existence. Either my own ideas
are the all, or they are the union between myself
& something else. Berkeley practically infers
that the "something else" was regular ideas.
This is just as legitimate as any inference as to
the ~~nature~~ ultimate of the Real must be. They prove
that any attempt to explain (by such [illegible]
matter, substance etc) the nature of the Real is false
~~was~~ the chief thing they prove is proving that all
we are of consciousness are ideas or rather mode
strictly speaking: all I am conscious of, the my own

ideas. But he went a step further & said: there was nothing else existed: which is pure idealism & is made to escape the position of every individual shut up within his own consciousness: he said "God & other ideas or rather other ideas forming existence in him by the vision of God: this is the first idea-forming existence. His hypothesis was in reality in his mind more tenable than that of existence outside which is independent of mind, meaning by mind, that process of which we are conscious of.

"The great result of Berkeley's labours was the lesson he taught of the impotence of Atomistic & materialistic speculation. He paved the way for Leibnitz which is the terminal idea of metaphysics

Oct. 24th Got back to books again: & stopped as usual by poor health. The whole of my life, from the age of nine (when I made a foreign letter note on the right books for a child to read) has been one continuous struggle to learn & to think - sacrificing all to this - even physical comfort. When I think of the minuteness of my faculties (which as far as persistent work goes

ch below the average) & of the really herculean results of my persistency, my own nature puzzles me. Why should a mortal be born with so much aspiration, so much ~~power~~ courage & patience in the pursuit of the ideal — & with such a beggarly allowance of power wherewith to do it.
Now even now — ~~then~~ now that I have fully realized by my poverties was to achieve — have perhaps ~~come~~ to value any achievement which I, in my earnest dreams, thought often time — even now my only fearful & satisfactory life — lies in the old lines of continuous ~~only~~ enquiry. Endless questionings of the nature of things — here especially of the nature of the great animal man — & of the laws which force him ~~[illegible]~~ onward — heaven knows whereto.
Of the nature of that vocation; whether it will answer the "Wherefore?" of the long past of misery & struggle. That the dream of a boyish eye view of the past & through it a glimpse into the future — that the dream — now recognised as a dream — fascinates me still. With labour & pain I master some poor fact — I pt. it — look at it over & over again like a miser with his coin of gold. At times I pour before

me my little hoard of facts – a thing which half it is – some of it half coin too – I pass them through & through my brain, like the miner passes the gold through his hands – trying to imagine that before me lies the wealth of the world – where with I may ~~[illegible]~~ half realise the hopes of human dating. Since I have been suffering from neuralgia I have been sitting up for hours through the night – I have thought – this cannot long continue – thoughts are the shadows of actions – where in my life is the reality?

"Locke had shown that our knowledge was dependant on experience. Berkeley had shown that to have no experience of an external world was independent of perception; nor could to have any such experience.

Hume took up the line where B. had left it, & threw it once more into the deep sea, endeavouring to fathom the mysteries of being. Pushing deeper in the direction B. had taken he found that not only was matter an abstraction, mind was an abstraction also. If the occult substratum which men had inferred to explain material ~~substratum~~ phenomena, could be denied, because not founded

or experience; so also, said Hume, must we deny the occult substratum (mind) which men have inferred to explain mental phenomena. We that we have any experience of impressions & ideas. The substratum of which these are supposed to be impressions is occult — is a mere inference; the substratum in which these impressions or sensations is occult — is a mere inference. Matter is but a collection of impressions. Mind is but a succession of impressions & ideas.

Hume did not embrace scepticism as a practical creed — he stated it as a deduction or absurdum of philosophical reasoning as to the nature of things. He regarded belief in the Ego & non-ego as "a "sensation or peculiar manner of conception, which "it's more difficult for mere ideas & reflections to destroy" as part of the organic structure of the brain the result of which was of necessity incorporated in every act of thought. "Thus the sceptic still continues to reason & believe, even tho' he asserts that he cannot defend his reason by reason; & by the same rule he must assent to the principle concerning the existence of bodies, tho' he cannot-

pretend by any arguments of philosophy to maintain it's reality. Nature has not left this to our choice, & has doubtless ordained it as an effect of the great misfortune that we should be uncertain reasonings. We may well ask, what causes induce us to believe in the existence of body or not? That is a point which we must take for granted in all our reasonings.

Midnight. Oct. 24th My poor pain. The last sleepless night. Head, ~~[illegible]~~ throat terrible ones at present. Sitting in blank misery on my sofa looking at the two candles burning lower & lower. Darkness in unbearable when in pain. But how much more difficult to bear – mental misery than physical pain.

Note. "Si supportes, endures, dépend de nous, approuver "n'en dépend pas." Perhaps after all I was right.

A week in London & Winchester.
Stage with R. Alfred Crispin. Theresa, fascinating as ever; slightly depressed with poor health but steadily happy with that good husband of hers.

Alfred keeps up his success at the bar. Accepts the Jamaica plea, & takes it to farming in these hard times — as a recreation! Evidently will not go into politics — except — as a scholar and a gentleman. He is not a leader of men; his opinions do not represent the desires of the masses — they are the result of an attempt to deduce laws of government from certain first principles. His theory as to the present state of political life is — that the tendency is to ignore principles & follow instinct, & that what the people wish is right. He believes in principle — believes in the possibility of reducing politics to a science. There are many men who think with him: that political action should be governed by principle but there is no body of doctrine upon which the Conservatives can set organize themselves into a party for working purposes. He is a re-action against the doctrines of the Philosophical Radicals, pointed upon work so much destruction. I do not understand their doctrines — have not studied them — no doubt they not great them if I do, but they seem to me.

Law & great number of metaphysical principles such as the equal rights of men &c & of laws (such as those of Political economy) ~~are~~ true no doubt of the facts from which they were deduced - but nevertheless applied to ~~explain~~ explain facts with which they had no proper relationship or connection.

The state of Political Parties now in England is curious. The Liberal party are still bound together (& this is shown strikingly in the present crisis) by that metaphysical doctrine that each reasonable individual has an equal right to a say in the government of this country: but the mass of principle is rapidly becoming aware that this may involve a disagreeable conclusion: ~~viz~~ the practical disenfranchisement of the upper-classes when their interests clash with those of the lower & numerous class of manual workers. This conclusion he tries to avoid by proposing various artificial restrictions on the absolute power of the majority - & this is the issue upon which he is likely to split from the party to which he belongs by tradition. The Democratic party on the other hand has transmuted the doctrine of the equal rights of individuals into that of the absolute right-

of the majority — tacitly asserting the infallibility of the ~~good~~ judgment of the great working masses on social questions. Practically this means that social laws are not discoverable by the scientific method — that the only guide to political action ~~lies in the decision of the masses of working men~~ is the Will of the People — and then you come to analyze this "Will of the People": it must consist of their self-interest as a class — (in so far as they are sufficiently intelligent to see it) — of their various feelings. They have towards other classes. If their feelings are those of jealousy & desire for confiscation & not from love & sympathy or leaving feeling out of the questions, if their powers of reasoning as a class are sufficiently great to trace them their true interests, all may be well in the future. But these in their aspect are signs of the times. The political leaders who plead for & gain the support of the masses appeal to the passions of envy & antagonism — & in their hard logic — their ~~disregard~~ reckleness of statement, & their scorn to flattery & personalities — show pretty clearly their opinion as to the reasoning faculty

of this Clients. ~~Had been~~ The conservative ~~Party~~ ~~are~~ wildly Chartist, running up & down screaming between the two Standards, & class government & Democratic Tyranny. ~~Peter Jones on the side~~ of ~~Chartism (which meant simply the~~ Whig. It meant years they have been the party of Jacobinism. But Jacobinism is well nigh dead as a political force — it meant simply the self-interest of the upper classes — the naive assertion by them that their well-being was the raison d'être of the body politic. Meanwhile the opposition to the Democratic Party should be reformed on the lines of principle — but here comes in the disagreement of the doctors amongst themselves — as a fact & this ~~again~~ is another disagreeable sign of the times — there is seen the developing within the ~~Conservative~~ scattered conservative party & spurious Democratic party — which simulates passion ~~in order~~ & prostitutes principle — ~~& which~~ & is more reckless with means & end than the legitimate rival. This fourth party has sprung up out of the wants of the local ~~or~~ provincial organisation of the opposition. In Ron ~~local~~ provincial organisation

~~are either~~ bis the political power of the future. They are either the manipulators or the expressions of the Will of the People – probably partly one & partly the other – manipulating their aspirations & expressing their passions. In the character of those men who dominate their political organisations will be seen the character of the masses – in its negative & positive aspect. Such is the authoritative statement of Beatrice Potter!

But when we come to dwell on this subject we feel how hopelessly incapable we really is of forming opinions – the most we can do is to attempt. To be truly what is actually happening without attempting to foretell what will, from that result. Even even this more modest ~~attempt~~ effort is immensely difficult for the observer with moderate powers & moderate opportunities. Possibly within that great organism ~~there~~ Society, there may be changes now taking place – unregulated by any outside action in political life: growth or decomposition outside the ~~system~~ activity of the political organ.

And these changes, whether for good or for evil, can only be discovered by the wise & natural observation

by minds of highly sensitive feeling & well trained intellect — & possessed of comprehensive knowledge of social facts past & present. Great genius will be required to deal with social science.

I have seen something of Leonard Courtney lately. He & Mrs Courtney were with us for a fortnight — a so fine character. A character for ~~admiration & love more than any for~~ ~~you know~~. I am to admire & reverence for the high integrity of purpose & honesty of means. Wanting in sympathy & the humanity which sympathy brings. A man who believes himself in his mission as <u>teacher</u> — perhaps ignoring too completely the wisdom of learning from others & through others. And as this deficiency is not supplemented by any adaptability through worldly intercourse. He seems he is likely to fail in political life. His intellectual faculty does not show itself in conversation, except in the rugged integrity of his judgement. Faculty he must have had — & have obtained since his present position. But in his views there is a curious want of coherence — in his expression a disconnection of form. He shows no party

in representative of the class - talent & school of thought.
Mulers ~~[illegible]~~ of spectacular as our official -
he will be pursued off the battlefield of politics.
But - his influence as far as it has reached,
will have been a noble one - his aims have been
~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ sincere faith in his
aims - absolute honesty in his means - ~~[illegible]~~
~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ & a large-hearted pity for
ignorance & vice & a reverence for virtue.
He is one of those few men to whom one would
instinctively turn in adversity & sorrow.

The Playes stayed a fortnight - with us & seemed
happier for their change. Life has changed
for them since those Wiesbaden days & spent days.
Arthur is now a hard-working manufacturer, fighting for
existence in these days of over-production.
Mary full of schemes - art - of social enhancement -
but - of work amongst the mill-hands trying
to inspire them with an esprit-de-corps.
P M married, Bill at school, establishment
reduced to women-servants - interests commercial
& rightly social. This man & woman are fighting

their health & vanity.

The younger Mary married a successful London barrister, of "the distinguished family of Pollock" – a typical London man. A hard-working self-centred individual – with no public spirit & a mild astonishment at any form ~~of the sacrifice of the individual to the community~~ of altruism. Perhaps his most striking characteristic (considering that he is a man of intelligence) is his admiration for the aristocracy especially for the less respectable members of it. He is at present a tenderly adoring husband, delighting in the fascination which he believes his stout-young wife exercises over other men.

So far as one can at present judge, they will be commonplace London people, of good appearance & pleasant manner with the ordinary social valuation of things. Mrs. Mary already somewhat hardened by her husband's egoism & over appreciation of her ~~[illegible]~~ personal charms. Shall see more of them at Longford Times. The marriage has been a terrible trouble to the Mayers: they having set their hearts upon their boy's being a

exaggerating to themselves his deficiencies

Becoming every year more intimate with the Brothers. Knowing now pretty well the story of their life. Their children too growing up with each character known to me & practically nothing stiff. Indeed if it were not for a morbid ~~fear~~ fear of a certain physical deformity overtaking me, I could feel now a full & happy life - even without those closer ties which make a woman's life blessed.
I have ~~gained~~ health - ~~found~~ liberty - & love; with fair faculties to understand & sympathize with what goes on around me. It is true my personal ambitions is dead - & I feel now that the time & strength devoted to fulfilment was wasted & that to some extent I have missed my vocation through placing my aim too high. But then I was deceived by my conceit - my motive was pure - springing ~~from~~ from a desire to do noble work & to live sincerely according to my nature. Perhaps should all ways to the simple happiness ~~other~~ of daily toil & nature lead close I shall turn again & struggle onwards on the path chosen by my nature in the first enthusiasm of youth

But nature is strong & cries out for its natural fulfilment. Still a feeling exists ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ While I suffer, I consoled myself with the faith that pain must have some ground in fact — it ~~[illegible]~~ with the will & direct this fact rightly. We cannot triumph over difficulties, we cannot accept discipline with meekness & courage without rising out of it more powerful for good.

Last night it was very windy, sweeping over the sea towards us. W. Pyson just left. Brings back times remembrance from Burlaw days of work & simple enjoyment of nature. Oh! me! Since then seems a whole period of my life — left me stranded in a desolate sort of country — with no hope & faith must find out of a stream of stars. Whatever is effective the cheer of those who are suffering personal misery & yet do not intend to find it an object worthlessness — it need the devotion to God, would me from or another — now this God is dead it must be devotion to their fellow beings.

Nov. 28th. Writing last week & with now busy it.
Blazes all over the Country. "Pure fabrication".

Books more & less read while here. Given Wheatcroft
Lytton Cantle, S. R. Dietz. Have which I gather that Comte's
classification was more & less a scheme of mental evolution
& that he was the first to introduce the positive method
to social facts. Also Dicey's law, (related differently
Spencer's numbers in instance) of the human thought-
passing through three stages: viz: theological, metaphysical
& positive. At a certain epoch of his life Dicey
his positive method & introduced a subjective view
of society — & as he grew older became more & more
under the control of "beyond feeling" in his various
theories. At! the lives of these great thinkers are
sad — most painfully sad. The more intimately one
sees into them the more inclined one is to think that
most great thinkers is abnormal & means pain —

Why now & then one comes across a human giant —
when all qualities physical & mental are brilliant
the same scale & proportion kept between them.

I have seldom felt more strangely omnivorous
than I do now; as if death were approaching —
Normally it would be welcome. Had a strange dream

Mother, looking beautiful & young. Just put her hand & then kissed me. I sobbing the while, begged her forgiveness for lack of tenderness. "It was my nature" "Mother, I could not help it" Then she bent over me & kissed me a second time. What would I give for a mother now. Just to lay my head down, tell all - cry. Perhaps the earth will be my mother - I sometimes think so - hope & pray so. But I would like to have someone by my side when I go.

It is curious this feeling of life being ended; at some moments scene after scene of times gone by seem to rush through my mind - as if that was all that concerned me personally. When I think of the future - then are strange & confused things but - only now only for a short time. And the longing - the longing that the end may come.

Then I get up & look at my self: a strong healthy body - looking as if it had centuries before it. No wonder get: years of battle before you. How is it that anyone cares for life? We have always hoped for better - & better has never come: ~~at last~~ - perhaps ~~[illegible]~~ then eighteen months after mother's death when dad - & father still [illegible] clearly.

And when that hour does come – & come it surely will for you & me – perhaps when you no longer want it & cling to a life which is to be no more – for that hour, if there is still consciousness from yonder all this mean spirited moaning will rend in your conscience; time & thought-begotten worse-feeling – that which might have warmed the life of others & made life seem to them worth living.

Tonight is as the end of the year – a year spent in much misery – & little action. Tomorrow will begin a new time for me – a life of total uselessness lies before me, with the great of conditions of mental agony to them. Should by circumstances – if I cannot make use of them & master them. I once longed for power; I have it now – every possibility of free thought & free action are open to me and influence what I have to repent to. Shall I sink under the very vastness of my opportunities – or rise to them & fulfil them.

For many months my thoughts have wandered over an unknown or prison. Perhaps this terrible time of torturing feeling will after all transform itself into power as all pain rightly taken should do. God grant it may be so ——

(42)

Up Wake & Newworth, night – as with Keep accounts up to. Breakfasted with Wake. Pensions for first Templets are for Leonard. Best direction of his bishopings, except Henry Stanhope as an old lover.

Discussion as to stores & other fittings. Crowder cut & dried philanthropist, with little woman retained & determined that tenants should like nothing but what was useful. Panel & finish all rooms alike. Wake strongly suggest that tenants real tastes are immensely influenced by small things.

W. Brown, sentimental philanthropist, supports Wake. Reduction of rents. Capital £20000 odd – income should be £2000? Four per cent dividend & five per cent for outgoings. Rooms 28s. Left Henry discussing Nat. Wake advocates low ~~rents~~ rents.

Wakes | News

January 5th 1886 Yokohama.

"Sleep outstole the morning me, whom in dream"
"God then admonished: "Hast thou marked my deed?"
"Which fast assigned by provident doom judge"
"Were meant for man's example? Should he play"
"The helpless wrestling, or the helpful strength"
"That captive pray & saves the perishing?"
"Sing and arise: work, eat; then few who lack"

"Waking, "Thou arisen work I will"
"Eat & so following. Which lacks found the more,"
"Body or soul in me? I slaver in soul:"
"So may man's mind: & since men copy each"
"In lowly, nil words — to Johann Fichte."

Browning Fichte's Tower.

Jany 4th. Had a Private view with H.S. His criticism of an art. theory all bound down by the "possible" if not the probable. That poor old man would miss me on the whole more than any other mortal. Has real anxiety for my welfare – physical & mental.
Told him story of my stopping cab & man in Hyde Park & policeman requiring to come off his beat & hold it. "For want of public spirit in passers by not stopping at before." Yes, that is another instance of my first principle of government: directly you get state intervention you cease to have ~~readers~~ public spirit in individuals: that will be a constantly increasing tendency & the state takes the policeman will be so bound by red-tape rules that it will frequently leave undone the simplest duties".
Afternoon visit to Lady Tennant.
Mrs Tennant is a character in London Society, especially that of the radical set. Charming with diplomacy. A magnificent & perfectly-made creature, seen for a sprint. Artistic tastes, a bright spontaneous nature, great love of appreciation – a restless desire to shine in society.

Out of her studio a little sitting room. Fireplace & mantelpiece covered with portraits of great men.

A Gambetta-altar - ~~too~~ (he, was a friend of hers) Every imaginable picture of him - & other "souvenirs". Among them - an extraordinarily admiring letter & her framed. Most of the radical ministers. Gorman Carlyle used to be a great favorite: now perhaps another great man - whom I recognized & somewhat envied the likeness of. Perhaps a pang of jealousy.

A hero-worshiper - though a some-what superficial one. Really an adorer of "power". Religious & enthusiastic: seemingly quite uncritical - & adopting the tone of those around her.

At tea met Mdme Adowitsch who had already taken possession of me at the R.A.P.U. "It is time you ought "writing or publishing something." "Good reasons no, "I am an insignificant mortal ~~[illegible]~~ do" "Nothing but that a well-educated woman - if only she "wrote would let me be so" (Some-how or other, I suppose it is my phrenology - people will think me extra-ordinary. Which certainly I am not except in the extra-uncomfortable) Really a thoroughly respectable woman: utterly unreal.

Jany 8th. Dear little Miss Swanwick. A nature of sympathic fidelity & sweetness. Great facility, mathematics & literary – great power of expression – thought & reasoning. When she leaves practical assertion, seems unable to follow. Can weight in the things. Believing in that order of thought which ends in the "Beautiful & the Good" – without caring to test this order of thought by the order of things, at least so it seems to me.

Jany 16th 1885 Another day at Whitechapel. Met Mr Bond there looking over fittings. Stove suggested by architect's failure: & attempt by direction to go straight to the best authority. Enquire whether it is likely to succeed.
Afterwards talk with W. Barnett. He cautions that I should spend this unoccupied time in getting more general information. Find out particulars about medical officer, secretary's office, relieving officer, school board ~~detection~~ visitor. Voluntary Secretary Committee & their powers & duties.

Summary of Manual of Law
affecting Housing & Sanitary Condition of Londoners.

Administration of these laws in the hands of local authorities.
Outside the city this L.A. is the County Council by Metr. Papers.
The various centres and of representation which comprise, together with city members, the Metropolitan Board of Works.
Local Sanitary Board & County appoint Sanitary inspectors.
Upon his inspection ~~L.D.B.~~ & report L.D.B undertakes work ordered.
Individuals within the jurisdiction of L.D.B. can force it to inspect & report on alleged nuisances; can appeal, under certain conditions, from decision of Sanitary inspector & L.D.B. to Metropolitan B.W.
They can therefore undertake work itself & force L.D.B to pay for it.
Lodging Houses under inspection of Metropolitan Police.

Sanitary Acts:
Removal of nuisances: Prevention of overcrowding & of the spread of infections.

Metropolitan Local Management Act.
Dealt with Cellars & underground dwellings. Drains - est. of sanitary closets. Scavenging & removal of dirt. & regulation affecting construction of Buildings by others.

Metropolitan Water Act.

Power in given to Local Authorities to demand supply from Water Company.
W.C. can act for Prop. fitting. Measure of Jur. can force owner to
receive supply & pay cost, rent-charging 3d. a week to the Water Company.
Acts relating to Pulling down & Rebuilding.

Lord Shaftesbury's Act. Dead letter. No requisition of ten ratepayers ever yet
concerned. 2/3 may decide to appoint Commissioners to carry out Act, which
enables them to buy land & build dwellings for labouring classes.

Torrens Act & Artizans Dwelling Act. Elaborate provisions
enabling Local Authorities to pull down & rebuild.
Compensation = market value, from which deducted
1. The bad state of repair the premises are.
The shortness of the term in which the act acts
The property being itself a nuisance, a finding against
The nuisance Act, & the fact of and the owner being liable to
abate the nuisance before a receiver & jury.

Whitechapel.

Medical Officer
Sanitary Officer } 15 Gt. Alie St.

Relieving Officer. Thomas St. } 20 Thomas St.
Bakers Row. ~~Baker's Row~~ London E.

Mrs Bycroft spent 3 days with us. Daughter of country doctor & one of two families. Step-mother died. Plain, very strong-looking, & unattractive except for sincerity of expression. Free thinker. Had some what similar life to ours: isolated from other country neighbours by opinions. Decided business capacity & strong will & placid temper. Devoted to her father, with whom she has some intimate companionship & sympathy as we have, & from of the step-sisters. Sometimes suffered from feeling herself unattractive in comparison to a pretty sister. Very anxious for work & indifferent to life! We shall get on. & she anxious to have us other workers in the block.

Jany 29th A warm moonlight night with soft west wind, throwing of a crowd hall, deafening shouts, dead silence except for one voice — the voice of the people's tribune; & between those vividly representing strength reading sketches of George Eliot's letters — whose life has been curiously linked — through the affection of one great man — with ~~the other~~ mine. A great soul & a small soul linked by a great mind.

A strange calm on me — though tomorrow I shall

Know how my fate is like unravelled. No longer in my own hands. If the answer be yes I am in honour tied. If no; I am free & will be free in body & mind; free until another binds me — I will not bind myself again & take up & find myself unbound.
Do most persons shut their eyes willfully as I have done & drift, drift, drift, they know not whither? even with a dim dark fear of a whirlpool ahead.
God help the child: this will be the last childish day — tomorrow will make her a woman — a woman to love, or to woman to work while others love — before this she had an intellect & thought — suffering has brought to her a soul — in pain its childhood has been lived — present satisfaction or present renunciation will be its maturity. ~~[illegible]~~

Anew.

Sunday. Long talk with Mr. C.C. Leaving his great position for a quiet working life with a man who has loved him for years past. "At first I had a lonely
"life of it — very little companionship — Beatrice away
"my brother absorbed in his sorrow & his politics
"& only the little children to care for it."

My relationship to her is a peculiar one – intimacy begun on both sides ~~both~~ for different reasons than mere natural affinity – but now grown into a steady friendship. Whether it will endure time practically depend on me. She is perfectly true nature – possibly deficient ~~[illegible]~~ in sensitiveness to fine shades of feeling and sympathetic to any or ~~[illegible]~~ even tolerant of any form of want of self-control. Very reserved. To me this morning's talk seemed like the drop-ping of the curtain over the tragic end of strong feeling.

Scrap Sisti Letter disappointing. Dull & pretentious in their style – wanting in spontaneity – strengthens the doubt I felt the other day in reading one of her books – Whether some of her grand paragraphs were not rubbish? But worse than falling short intellectually they give me a painful impression of her character. I do not be narrow-minded prejudice – still feel that a woman who left the beaten track of morality, should have some some "inward searchings" – of paternity not grown as the great & good woman. Really self-indulgent? Took to herself all the good things of this world – & it one judges from

J. Cross

His life, which of course may be quite misleading, he did not seek the less gifted & fortunate, but chose from the first his friends. Who could benefit her by Trollope — word, or deed. Perhaps Science is always selfish — has a voracious appetite for the material & spiritual food things of this world.?

Herbert Spencer obviously conscious about the "Miss Evans" episode — asks me seriously what was my impression of their relationship in reading those passages referring to him. Had worked J. M. Cross to unusual contradiction that there had ever been any. Shows his small-minded-ness in the extreme concern — but as Sage Stoic — says his friendship will always endure because of his truthfulness. Tho he feel he never talked or wrote differently to different people — was only anxious to express correctly what he Trollope — felt independently of the way in which it would best be understood by others.

Most interesting bit in G. P. Life to my mind the description of the "Nature" for the specialist Spency. Most interesting to me — because this great question of "inherited habit" has been

disappointment in my mind for some time past.
Half the misery (the misery of those classes who are
poor not ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ for hard labour)
comes from our rebellion against this "inherited fate"
our careless longing for advantages which do not
belong to those qualities we have — want of due
gratitude for those ~~we have~~ arising from qualities we
do possess. We are now ~~[illegible]~~ Hypocrites — which
because it grasps at the spiritual & not material
blessings is sometimes dignified & in our minds
by the name of Ambitious self discontent — noble
effort. But true persistent effort is only consistent
with peace of mind — resignation — therein lies
the mortification inherent & destroys the effort —
destroys the straightness of the aim. Renunciation,
that is a great fact to all — individuals & classes
have to learn — in ~~[illegible]~~ & avoid it we bring
misery & oppression & others.

That false metaphysical idea of Equality as
some immutable result, determined in quantity & quality
due to all men alike, in working its wicked way in
our political life. The Rights of a man. That is
to say the natural rights of a man, apart from that

When men contract to give him as their fellow, in search only the sum of external forces which act on the internal force — to find it fundamentally. — Perhaps possibly the socialist could distinguish between inherited conditions, & inherited faculties.

He could say we try to lend the condition to do, but attempt to lend the faculties.

But this distinction of inherited conditions & inherited faculties seems true & the distinction between the practical & the impractical socialist. Those social reformers who try to question the former may err in their method, but the aim has such nothing contradictory to natural law. If it could be attained, then equalisation of conditions — it could further the selection of the fittest: now ~~further~~ far it ~~certain~~ is in the power of the State to do it, is another question. But to equalise the results which is given to the presence & absence of faculties in the individual is impracticable & would be terribly injurious to the happiness of the race of it could be accomplished. This seems to me to be the difference between the English socialism & the Continental communism.

I know little about history — but I suppose it may be proved the State has united the last fifty years

Encouraging the advantages of the fortunate — & that all the machinery of society — industrial, religious, educational & social, has been built on the basis of privilege.
I suppose there is still "class legislation" in the effort of the ~~[illegible]~~ to repeal or remedy. Now the power lies in the hands of the poorer classes, & they will be right in their attempts to remedy the effects of ~~[illegible]~~ past injustice & they will be right in their attempts to commit injustice of another sort. Feb. 16th

The most interesting paper read at the Industrial Congress: by Benjamin Jones (Co-operative Wholesale Soc.) & by Sidney Taylor on Profit-sharing. Leading idea of Jones' paper: regulation by law? & by voluntary association of the supply of labour — thus raising of wages: increased supply of managers by higher education of working classes, thus reducing the price of management, & the gradual accumulation of capital by working classes through co-operation. Smaller families & increased efficiency of the population.

Sidney Taylor description of success of profit-sharing firms on the Continent. The soundest principle of co-operation? Feb. 20th

Sunday Aug 8.

I spend my ~~days, days~~ time now in alternate deep work & rest. The physical part of my work absorbs so much energy that I have little left for thought & feeling. Work is the best of medicine, provided the patient be strong enough to take it.

All is chaos at present. Long trudges through Whitechapel after applicants & inquiries, and linger-lounging in anyhow. A drift population, the cast-offs, of all classes & ~~nations~~ races – a constantly decreasing mass of human beings, few rising out of it but many dropping down dead, pressed out by the struggle. A certain weird romance, both beginning & ending, visiting amongst these people in their dingy homes – some kept hearts enough in spite of misery & disease. More often feel every thing flat. Shall in the future, when other workers are found, & when I am fairly started in the practical work, undertake less ~~practical part of it~~ & more of it as an opening for observation.

Mean so today to meet, as far as my power goes, the heartrending ignorance in social questions. ~~Not~~ Earnestly hope I shall never set consciences again, or look upon any

work I do as more than a means for remaining contented & free from pain. Relief to be alone, & have from little thing of my hands & out of my thoughts for a short time. The constant anxiety both for the present state & future happiness, I, with the painful consciousness that I am not the best possible person for her, too conflicts in my thoughts & feelings & too active in my life.
Society constantly increasing & have none of that terrible night-mare feeling about it, of last year. But work brings society into its proper place & as a rest & relaxation, instead of our effort & our excitement. And I shall never make social capital out of my work. Not with me a danger as I enjoy retaining my experience; rather feel anxiety of my effort. I may feel me & the "family" instinct comes in to strengthen desire. Perhaps this part year of suffering will increase my optimism - & instead of that cold observation & analysis, all done with the optimistic purpose of increasing knowledge. Well will be if the talent which comes from feeling & desire naturally to serve him alone.

March 11 "Walking through the city met Pf. Blackie an interesting ugly little man, with artistic greasy "bad-form" wife. He, coming from Sir R. Gordon

a lecture. "Is there a Prof. here at S. G.?" Just suddenly
Ah! I question they, in her letters — an exceedingly "
"able brilliant young man, a charming fellow —;
"but now in consumption — believe he has gone to
"Engadine or Colorado." Low as I talk silently by
the dreary little professor's side through the
dirty crowded thoroughfare with its noise &
its bustle — I think of a Sunday morning —
the still calm alpine air — the exquisite
forms & colored flowers close around us
& beyond the "Eternal Forms" bound to the
heavens by soft ever changing wreaths of mist.
Two young human-beings — on the threshold of life
& on the verge of an ever-uniting love.
Parted — for ever — one to die — the other to live
a life of ?

March 13th

Feel rather depressed by the lapses of my work —
When I look at those long balconies & think of all
the sweet characters — occupants — would be occupants
& realize that the character of the community will
depend on our personal power — & that expression
depending not only on character but on personal health

I feel in other things. The home life & Boy and the train. Have chosen among all "instructive books"; Poetry & beautiful prose. Time the testfulness of beauty, now that of Time. Need practical work & constant practice. Emerson's essays delight me. His leading idea. That of compensation "Another point of economy is to work for seed of the same kind you sow: & not to hope to buy ~~friendship~~, one kind with another kind. Friendship buys friendship; justice, justice; military ~~success~~ merit military success. Sow husbandry finds wife, children & household. . . . . Yet there is common & confusion of expectation on these points."
In other words he believes in the justice of the Universe & in this way he justifies an act. Essentially a believer in free-will in man's responsibility. Perhaps overlooking the other side of the picture – in which each individual seems like a seed sown by former generations – carrying within itself the fate of its own inherited structure. Nevertheless if we realize – & appreciate this over nature – Emerson insisting fault in the power of personal will ~~& Strong Stoicism~~ &

in the

Sight-fulness of following the highest moral & intellectual impulses of your own nature independently of immediate results & joined to this S Elisabeth designates the effect of inherited qualities whether physical & mental — Now possibly one must lead a worthy life

His leading moral principle — the righteousness in following your own true in life

"The crime which bankrupt men & states is, she says: — declining from your main design to serve a turn here or there. Nothing is beneath you, if it is in the direction of your life: nothing great or desirable, if it is off that. I think we are cutting here & there a straight line, & say, that society can never prosper, but must be bankrupt, until every man does that which he is created to do."

In his article on "Fate" which I looked through this morning, he says, man's will, which is a destiny in itself, with perpetual contact & conflict with that other "fate" surrounding circumstances

"History is ~~in action~~ the action & re-action of these two — nature & thought: two boys pushing each other on the curbstone of the pavement

Every thing is finished or finished: a matter &

mind are in perpetual tilt & balance, so:
" And as a moral doctrine he says: "It is the best
use of fate which a fatal courage. Go face the
fire at sea, or cholera in your friend's house, or the
bailiff in your own, or what danger lies in the
way of duty, knowing you are guarded by the Cherubim
of Destiny. If you believe in fate let your heroes
believe it at least, for your good."

Now the deeply religious & sentimental tone of
Emerson's inspire the words which end his essay on
"Fate": "Why should we be afraid of nature which
is no other than philosophy & theology embodied"?
Why should we fear the crushed by savage elements?
Let us build & the Beautiful necessity which makes
man brave in believing that he cannot shun a danger
that is appointed, nor miss one that is not; & the
necessity which kindly or sternly educates him to the
perception that there are no contingencies; that law
rules throughout existence, a law which is not
intelligent but intelligence, — not personal not
impersonal — it disdains words & feeds men according
to their persons; it visits nations & climates
the pure in heart to draw on all its treasures the influence

This belief in the special mission of each human being is the dominant note of Emerson's moral philosophy. Alas! it is not so — many are serving as mere tools to the special mission of some other man or woman. Many are born into the world with no ticket — have no specified destination — serve only to hinder others — to drag them away from the straight way of their highest ~~destiny~~ endeavour. Surely it is not the best of worlds — only a sober mediocre world with ~~exceptions on~~ deviations on both sides of that fatal line of average. Those below the line have no mission except to be the mission of obstruction, those who run along it. Have the common mission of living & reproducing — only those who rise above it have the special mission for good or for evil. As he says, most frequently another man or woman "are only another couple" — tragic of they were themselves otherwise. But the crucial point, the practical question, which some natures are eternally dwelling upon — lies in this great problem of the ~~[illegible]~~ correspondence between special faculties & special desire. Emerson's key-note shows

he had experienced this inward questioning & had solved the problem rightly. But only to the great amongst men is it permitted to follow rigorously the promptings of their own nature. Those with average faculty must perforce twist & contort their directing instincts round the medium line of ~~average action~~ average action — must accept humbly the smaller duties of life as their portion of this world's work — deny constantly the craving ~~of the spirit desire~~ for that elysium — which Emerson defines as "the search after power." Swinburne shrieks as a great man & great men. He insults you at the risk of inflating you.

"..... For Alas! he left us each retaining
Shreds of gifts which he refused in full;
Still these worse us with their hopeless straining,
Still the attempt to use them proves them null!

And on earth we wander, groping, feeling;
Powers stir in us, stir & disappear
Ah! and he who placed us restless feeling
God's & place that restless feeling clear

We but dream we have our-wished for powers
And we seek for never shall attain
Ah! Some power exists there, which is our?
Some end is there, we ~~[illegible]~~ indeed may gain?

R. Arnold.

The Cryon.

April 12th. Here for two or three days rest. My work takes a good deal of me & sometimes wonder how much of it I shall eventually do. Feel so utterly done when I come back from Whitechapel. Too tired to think or feel which possibly under present circumstances is the most comfortable state. So long as I have strength enough to go on, don't much care – but dread whenever as of a worse Hell. Wonder how it will all end, or whether it will end me. Saw Maggie Hawkins the other day. Back from Berlin again. "I'm heartily sick of it." That has been the text of her life since I first knew her – the text in these unbelieving days, of many ~~[illegible]~~ lives. Among the East-enders, in spite of their misery, misery which makes one sick to see – there seems little desire to leave life – on the whole a belief in it. Perhaps they expect less than we do. What will the next century be – in the aspect – or only of them?

either for ever –

Jones & Co. Working Rate. Buildings unsatisfactory.
Constable respectably inadequate. Tenants, rough
lot — the very aborigines. Resource to exclude
those related in only the respectable — follow
Peabody's example. Interview with superintendent
of Peabody. "We had a rough lot to begin with
"had to weed them of the old inhabitants — now
"only take in men with regular employment."
The practical problem of management —:
are the tenants the picked ~~with the object of the~~
~~[illegible]~~ all drawlipot a inconvenient
persons excluded — or are the former inhabitants
the housed so long as they are decently respectable
They have seen simple work to do — but are
gaining experience. When new tries — the
tenants haunt me with their wretched disorderly
lives. With Thos Starkey work more experience
& have taken to doing more regularly in hand.
Half hearted work is always bad.
All big stones my life, the end so completely wanted
as it was last year has not turned into much
good for others — the Rafferds are too dangerously
near. But there must be an end to that.

~~June 30th~~ Pm

August 7th Return to London tomorrow for fresh
heather hard work.

Exhausted & very miserable for first two days of my
holiday. The old delusion returned in the spring —
had a rude shake to awaken me. Now must face
a toiling life bravely & make the best out
of it. Work has only been half-hearted hitherto.
Now shall keep regular account of it, written
with care. Companionship with Philosophy
always refreshing — because of his true —
mindedness. Either the bias of my character
or his great influence is overpowering; I
always return to his view of the duties of the
State — the free & rigid administration of
justice between individuals. But because
there has been no justice or rather injustice
administered to great classes of men, owing to
their powerlessness, great wrongs have arisen:
Can these wrongs be redressed. Certainly not
by the strictest administration of justice — that
must be based on the status-quo. Right for
Man is taken from "whole class of individual

that which has been stolen (we will admit the theft)
by individuals of that class in part-time
from other classes — shall we not actually offend against
the very principle we wish to establish.
That is the crucial question.

August 12. Visited Mrs Cross at Surrey Dwellings.
South London B.C. cost £20.884 } pays 4 per cent.
No depreciation fund; acc. to covenant before B.C. only
$\frac{3}{4}$ rent. Working class tenements: shops & cottages;
outside staircase balconies round spacious ground
latticed-together, no back tenements; with keys
no sinks. Wash house & drying ground on roof.)

Mrs Cross trained by Miss Hill. Not a lady by birth?
With the face & manner of a distinguished woman,
a ruler of men. Absolute absorption in work —
strong religious feeling — very little culture or
interest in things outside the sphere of her own
action. Certainly not a lover of fact or theory.
Does not know or remember the total number of rooms; inmates,
or arrears. No description of tenant-life.
Did not attempt to interrupt in her work.

Rest - all particulars are familiar in her head — Spoke to the people with that peculiar mixture of sympathy & authority which characterizes the modern class of the governing women. Felt - ashamed of the way I conversed to her. As far as I can make out - from her books she always accumulated & retained a £1 of her weekly rent - Retiring in the working-class tenements. She lives on the premises; collects the blocks - but devotes much time to other work in connection with the amusement & instruction of the people. A calm enthusiasm in her face - giving her all to others.

"Why withhold any of your time & strength" seemed like her spirit. All her energy devoted to the practical side of the work - very little desire to solve the general questions of the hour.

Then "governing women" may become important factors of the increase as they have done lately - women who give up their lives to the management of men - their whole energy of body & mind absorbed in it.

Unlike the learned woman - the emotional

part of their nature is fully developed - their sympathetic half - almost painfully active.
Their eyes are clear of self-consciousness & bright with love & the fire from which it springs.
They have the dignity of habitual authority.
Often they have the narrow-minded social & sanctimonious of complete absorption, physical & mental, in one set of feelings & ideas. The pure organiser belongs to a different class. She is represented by the active secretary to a growing society - the matron of a big hospital - is to a certain extent moulded by the position, funds, & security required. But that I despair their position - the former is indispensable in any work - but with the manager it is more mixed with the organiser more technical position.
Work & security are not prominent position of the governing & guiding woman.
For the guidance of men by personal influence, feeling more than thought is required.

Desiderata: Not I think thoroughly modern details of South L.B.C. management.

August 13th. Took over Clerk's work from Mr Oglesby.
C. Went of work during absence. Collecting & accounts
thoroughly & methodically — arrears diminished
rooms let: of premises Mr Williams let to very
respectable persons — first rate bricklayer engaged —
[Roadnight] Roadnight's work observed — amount of repairs
done by him estimated. Morality enforced on
buildings. Clear account of my own tenants
written — & general knowledge of Mr Oglesby's.
Boys' Club started — rate on reading room taken.
To do this must live a great deal on
buildings. Not take rents on all days.
Bullying people all work round lead system
waste of time.
Work done on 13th. Second collection — indifferently done.
Director seen — accounts, auditors — 20 rooms let.
Several letters — Brown & Elliot — lease being settled.
Yates influence — General Mary secure
& away.
14th 4 rooms let. Tenant of 120 surfeited of drink.
Weekly accs.

Sat. 22nd Delightful two days work Booth. C & I
long walk country Pines & Spanish Chestnuts
Discussion the possibilities of social diagnosis.
He, working away with Clark on the Mansion House
Enquiry into unemployed — & other work of Statistical
sort. Plenty of workers engaged in examination of
facts collected by others — personal investigation
required. Pall Mall has started this — but in
worst possible way. Shallow & sensational
bits & weed of work: collecting well done: accounts
not get done. Attendance diminishes and a few women
left — (many of the most respectable persons will not
come owing to prejudice against "Buildings", esp.
in particular. The coarseness of the arrangements,
want of attractiveness & somewhat of the rooms
great disadvantage). Broken-down — or rather
a broken typical jew found me! Was I done?
Paid 5/ for three morning visits. If he gets the
dozen respectable women out — without further
charge I have made good bargain.
Account of tenants got on with. Get the facts
this next 4 weeks: & write story of East-End life
later on.

"But it is far easier to be helpful than to have patience & self-control sufficient, when the time comes, for seeing suffering & not relieving it.
And yet the main tone of action must be severe.
There is much of rebuke and repression needed, although a deep & silent under-current of sympathy & pity may flow beneath. If the rent is not ready notice to quit must be served. The money is then almost always paid, when the notice is of course withdrawn.
Besides this inevitable demand for rent (never to be relaxed without entailing Commutation evil upon the defaulter, and setting a bad example too readily followed by others,) there must be a perpetual crusade carried on against small evils – very wearing sometimes". ~~[illegible]~~ That is this...

. . . . . .

For the work is one of detail. Looking back over the years as they pass one sees a progress that is not small; but day after day the work is one of such small things, that if one did not look beyond & through them they would be trying – locks to be mended, notices to be served, to missing shillings of the weekly rent to be called for three or four times, petty squabbles

& he settles, small rebukes & he shews, the same remonstrances & he made again & again. "

Octavia Hill"

(Aug. 2nd

Aug. 2d Auberon Herbert's letter on Individualism.

"The truth is, that there are two creeds & only two creeds, possible for all of us, when once we take the pains to know consciously & rationally what we believe. There are the creeds that represent the answer which every man must make in a real future to the deepest of all questions that underlie life. To whom ~~does~~ belongs the ownership of myself & my faculties? Does it belong to me or to other men?"

"Do you recognise the ownership of the individual as centred in himself, or in others. Are you at heart Individualist - or Socialist -."

(A free man in a free democracy has no duty whatever toward other men of the same rank & standing, except respect, courtesy, & good-will.)

Notes to be shd. criticism on A.H. view & rather spirit of Individualism.

Working very hard: now that I have more or less mastered detail – I can do work less time & energy.
The idea of developing self-government among the tenants – hope to be gradually introduced.
Should like for that purpose to go back to Bacup & learn Co-operative spirit-ideas & difficulties to be overcome. Must be careful not to mix religion.

Sept. 10th Oh! so tired. Struggling through the end of my work with painful effort. The old physical longing for the night – that brings no morning.

Sept. 15th Given up books to Mr. Ogcroft.
Read "Ideal of Work". Very much realised (practical) Collecting and accounts, on Rochdale, Belle & Strength Done – arrears diminished – 20 new tenants in hand, & some of them overdue, 6 left – month's notice – ~~5 new~~ profit of 5.
Lively & difficult account of my own tenants written. Boys club started & Mandrin Band.
Reading-room carried on & same.
Spent 3 evenings there – & started the idea in my own mind of introducing a committee

of men gradually with the management.
Boardingschool work not estimated. Not quite satisfied with Boardingschool. Thinks there more Borough Superintendent than he gets. Suspected of drinking — not sufficiently like a scandal but too much to hear respect of tenants.
Failures in respect of Boardingschool:
Disagreeable row with one of the Officers & tenants & have been serious managers. Badly managed. Officers would have paid better than hardness. Difficulty ideal of conduct to be reached.
Firmness in enforcing Regulations & respect for law together with a patient gentleness in the manner.
Succeeded in case of Haggarty failed in case of Schultz because of their difference in my manner.
(Theoretical)
Interesting conversation with Aming family.
Thinks cannot live at Jabtown.
Man — ~~German~~ Prussian Catholic settler in Whitechapel 25 years. Woman English.
Sweating: 10 middlemen between Shop & hands for the making of men's clothes.
Man. works a rigid disapproval of Whitechapel

~~hands~~ population – no life. Woman – no heart. – (on her tongue) she thought she had faint hint that 'naturally enough trusting the "hands" for her own advantage, not for theirs.' Given melancholy account of their habits in regard to work.

She told me 2 one of her hands corroborated it: that he frequently spent the whole day running up & down hands in public-houses to persuade them to finish work. For which he had contracted. The account she & her husband gave of the class we shall have to do with, is much the same as I should give with my small experience, minus certain loveable qualities which a lady rouses into activity & appreciation. We shd all suppose them an on the whole a leisure class – picking up their livelihood by casual work, (poor in quality), by borrowing from their more industrious friends, & by petty theft. Drunken, thieving & loose in their morality. I shd add, generous hearted & affectionate – capable of self-control when one has gained their affection – as a

class not beggars — do not expect you to give: Unlike the country poor in this. Also warm in their feeling for family & friends.

As a class, in a purely business relationship in which no other & moral principle enters but that of fulfilling contract — notoriously unsatisfactory.

This great principle must be ~~educated~~ developed in them by other ~~moral~~ moral methods besides that of a cold enforcement of justice.

Go return to the Socialist Reunion. Scarce from this on account to work late enough — this which excess of body — mind going into this work. Apparently no recreation — (as they were ominously sober & unsociable) — always excepting their Sundays spent at chapel. Lunch well: Bonnane mentioned incidentally that their butcher bill for part of 8 came to 18/ per week.

Bad debts — i.e. stolen work — came to a considerable item in their accounts. Intend to see more of them.

Ideal of work for month at Stitch Park.

Position of R.C. H.P. with Dyers — that just now which will be upon in future month's letter.

Digest of What Social Classes are on another

Outside my work I have a pleasant life at Chelsea Walk. Journeys down the Thames in the penny steamers – especially back by the evening light. – The picturesque side of London lower-class life – the background of grand public buildings work. Then the national historical associations. And then one comes back in that perfect home – Maggie Hathaway flits from her novel-writing to play-me to chat on all subjects human & divine & to play sketches of grand music on the parliamentary piano – & go with Dick on the Seine watching the river & the barges on it creeping by. Happy fellow-ship in work & rest & also in memories. "Who would have thought it" to see constantly on the other. When we two as school-girls stood on the moorland near Bournemouth watching the sunset & the trees against it – discussed our religious differentiation & gave vent to all our world-sorrow & ended by prophesying we should in ten years be talking of cooks & baby. Then – boys going to their first school – and other maternal subjects

Who would have thought of our "real future" — our struggling for her livelihood — with quite typical experiences of working-woman's life — & another — with her cook & housekeeping — but also absorbed in work outside home-duties — both passed through the misery of strong & restless feeling. The baby-twins out of our reach — in kind way we could take it! Who would have thought it! Will another ten years bring as great a change as we have settled down in the grove we are destined to live in. Certainly our desire has not retrained it.

Ross Mount Oct. 6th. A pleasant holiday among the hills. Read Jeanie Duncan's Rajmal book real enjoyment — the two days of "Artizans Dwellings". Their philosophical histories are delightful to the ignorant & Jeanie has constructed a most enjoyable complete theory of the state of society before the Revolution. The "Art of Leisure" carried to perfection, among the privileged, literature & science made ministers to this, a middle class stimulated by small ambitions, mortified by social slys-

Self-interest the only motive of their action
all forms of "public life" sprout from them;
a centralization of society in Paris & centralization
of power in the court — a "people" ground
down by a toilsome life of want & deprivation
of body & mind — all this described
in the most convincing manner as if it
were "the thing & nothing but the thing."
They are surely a little misleading, these great
generalizing histories, when taken with due
qualification — as a general outline not
likely to be quite correct in its proportions
& essentially empty to the ignorant mind.
In the historian's mind this outline
is filled in by his own research &
detailed knowledge — his art consists in
making his reader feel the height, depth
& width of his construction without really
giving him the sight of the substance.
The reader must not be cajoled; must
say resolutely to himself — "I have an
outline, more or less correct — not a
mere tracing of principal lines in

an empty space of conjecture — ~~but~~ but the limiting lines of this particular age ~~which have been~~ reached by the historian through handling the ~~substance~~ actual substance. Of this substance I still know nothing. The form of it I take on authority — ~~[illegible]~~ an authority more or less tempered by my own judgement as to the probability of its being the antecedent form to another special outline of a succeeding age known to me by the description of other minds.

With this reserve these generalising histories are most useful in giving ~~me~~ a continuous ~~of~~ historical conception — in ~~[illegible]~~ developing ~~the~~ ~~[illegible]~~ the historical sense. Which one can afterwards use at one's own convenience & according to ~~the~~ special affinities to certain portions of the main history.

I do not know how little or how much my energy will be equal to — but which I hope to devote the greater part of it to my own subject, yet I feel my knowledge of history is wholly inadequate even for my ~~[illegible]~~ special purposes. At the same time a thorough detailed knowledge of what actually is will give me

a much stronger imagination, will furnish me with the rare material — ~~from the intellectual~~ the knowledge of men & women in different conditions with the aid of which, added to a knowledge of past circumstances, the history of former men & women may be constructed.

A Symmetrical way of expressing myself!

When I was at Beaufort, I felt as if I were living through a page of Jewish history, felt that I saw the actual thing — Jewish men governed by one idea — devotion to Christ — with no strength or free-thought — for this world, in the every action of their daily life "living unto God". And I realised the strength of this power which the instructed Hebrew is passing away. I realised the "permeating influence" & wondered with sadness what would fill the void it must leave — what inspiring motive would take its place.

Except the Jewish history ~~I thought~~ I have never studied any special ~~history~~. I have a strong impression left of Greek life — the political aspect of it so ably described by

Greece – I studied the speeches of Thucydides carefully & I think gathered from them a pretty complete idea of Greek political ~~[illegible]~~ philosophy. I lived in Plato for two or three months; relished the social charm of Athenian society & breathed in his idealism of human nature.

I think I appreciated the supremacy of intellect on the hand & the love of mere animal beauty on the other – the worship of both – the gradual & degeneracy of the Greeks into the beautiful but effeminate ~~[illegible]~~ man, endowed with intellectual deficient in character – destroying his manhood by unnatural passions, wasting the strength of his mind in ~~[illegible]~~ intellectual subtleties & rhetorical devices. I felt inspired by those clear deep tones of Euripides – that grand recognization – the emotions of humanity summarized in poetry which is more like music in depth & comprehensiveness of feeling, leaving the audience to gain the definiteness of meaning. I followed Sophocles in his polished reticence – Euripides in his rhetorical descriptiveness –. Aristophanes, darling

Can only be understood in the Original — he must be untranslatable.

Aristotle I have never attempted: but intend to read his Ethics & his Politics.

Then of historical Knowledge I know little, beyond a general knowledge of the New Testament. A very careless reading of Gibbon has given me a general view of the facts of the Decline & Fall of the Roman Empire — none of which do I remember individually! I slight acquaintance with Lucretius, Horace, Pliny (Younger) Juvenal — all these Latin Writers are casual friends picked out of their surroundings & I am ignorant except in so far as they have told me of them. Marcus Antonius stands out from amongst them as having had a personal influence over me — determined to some extent my moral tone & action.

Then there is a long blank. —

Just one little island of knowledge the Nibelungen Lied — the youth & freshness of feeling, the simplicity of thought, livened

in my mind with the name of Aristotle
associated with greater intellect ~~in Homer's~~
~~poems~~. I associate Dante in the Divina Commedia
A superficial knowledge of the general
history of philosophy – rather muddled over
by ignorance of Aristotle – except the Stoics.
(Under cover of I have to bring out of mind in
consideration the "History of Philosophy" to entertain
in their kept place the reasoning & beauty
of the human intellect. Feel that that study
might require more concentration than I
can give – even to make set an impression
that would be in any way permanent, leave alone
the adequacy of it.)
A sympathetic appreciation of Buddhism –
I do not say in any way an adequate or thorough
knowledge of it. But for a year or so, it took
subject-matter to the study & realisation of which,
were devoted my whole thought & feeling.
At a time too, when this meant months of
brooding.

Mediævalism I know only through its
art – ~~pictures~~ pictures & sculptures – &

architecture, whether of great cathedrals or village towns. The latter through actual observation of life in those remote districts in Germany which retain the flavour of mediaevalism without its essence — gives one the local colouring, without the main institution upon which it rests.

Of French thought, I know little — my reading of Balzac & Rousseau has stimulated appetite without gratifying it.

Of English history & literature, I may say, as an English woman I am 'absolutely' ignorant. Goethe was read with care & love — but from the personal rather than from the historical point of view.

He was read as a master, from whom I should learn the "art of life". I had no historical knowledge from which I could understand relatively his age — my relationship to him was too intensely personal — his influence upon me was for the time supreme.

After loving him so well — I stand hesitate before I tried to judge him.

the feeling towards a mind that has
governed one.

As for scientific theories as to the evolution of society, main principles upon which to graft knowledge of special facts — I have none — except perhaps Comte's great generalisation of the process of human thought. I read with a sort of joyous enthusiasm Herbert Spencer's First Principles & accept his useful formula of the course of life in all Being; & accept it as the best summary of it now attainable.

His ~~social~~ deductions from the general theory, used as the first principles of social science — are to my mind suggestive hypotheses — not proven laws — but I have not studied them.

The utilities are by trying to pare off illustrations as data — by transcribing biological laws into the terms of social facts — and then harmonising by them as social laws.

A deeper ~~of~~ knowledge of his work based on a wider experience of life may make me in the end his true disciple — at present I am not. I am biased by his individualism

fit connection to it. I should like to understand clearly what his theory is, and apart from mere deduction from first principles & general analogies which seem to me only to require skilful handling to cut into facts anyhow, how he has worked it out.

I should like also to have mastered the general outline of the reasoning of the scientific socialist.

But I will keep my <u>own</u> mind from general theories about society – Great experiments are being made – it is sufficient for the metaphysical mind to watch carefully the results – & retain it. In the unravelling of these facts, for the due notation of cause & effect is needed more knowledge of antecedent facts.

~~But also~~ Perhaps also an appreciation of these general theories to be used as hypotheses full of suggestiveness in their application to facts but in handling them you are playing with edged tools, unless you are certain of the strength of your own hand.

I know little of science, beyond a smattering of Biology & Physiology – & general knowledge

of the scientific method and a vague idea of its subject-matter & the classification of its sub-to different sciences. I do not feel called upon to know more; but what I have acquired the little more immediately necessary for my work.

A general knowledge of English History & due proportion of "Setting" from Contemporary History: a special knowledge of the status of the working man in the different periods of our history — of the laws regulating commerce & industry — the growth of industrial organization & the rival labour-organization: the influence of Religion in determining political & social action — the rise & fall of religious sects with the secular activities belonging to them — the influence of Race in the working-class community — the growth of towns — & the different occupations necessitated by them, & the reaction of this occupation on the minds & bodies of the people — the formation & distribution of classes with their peculiar habits of body & mind — there is study for a life-time!

But it is for my general aim.

My special aim is to understand the condition

of the working class in the way of "Housing"; by digesting the evidence of others, testing & supplementing it by my own observation & actual effort in that direction.

To study State interference in its two functions: 1st of enforcing respect ~~for the~~ in the individual for the health of others — obliging the individual to fulfil the acknowledged or unacknowledged contract with society — ~~and 2nd the~~ and secondly that more ~~doubtful~~ doubtfully natural function — the attempt to supplement by direct constructive activity ~~it~~ the work of voluntary enterprise & individual effort.

I dislike that little book "What do Social Classes owe to each other".

I disbelieve in its premises: ~~Much~~ the conclusion is far more than no duty whatever towards other men of the same rank & "standing, except respect, courtesy & good-will."

What do you mean by duty. Do you mean by the duty the fulfilment of a natural instinct — the parent's duty towards its child

is made use of the ~~natural~~ paternal instinct to ~~protect it. Often is no necessity to know~~ shown in protection of

~~Only that the fulfilment of instinct~~

If this instinct be not present, or less present than it is in the average man of his day, his actions will be totally & partially modified.

If it lasts on in the normal & the primitive man only until the child is able to call for itself, & if he then become hostile or indifferent, then the paternal instinct is present in a form lower & less permanent than in the average man of his day & he is to that extent modified. ~~This may be defined as the fulfilment~~ This instinct is relative to the particular stage of human evolution in which a man may be born, it is not an absolute reality. Morality fixes in principle & practice from that time, so difficult to determine when the ~~stage~~ most superior of animals crossed the line (either by dropping his tail or developing a form of self consciousness) into human life. And surely it is human work & not divine.

They are the expression, of instinct ~~developed~~ this particular & practical

(91) which have this fulfilment — a action in promoting the welfare of others & the. are developed in extent & combined by the circumstances of social life: the development of instinct. There large indefinitely in all men we create in our minds an average type from our own experience of men, & we adopt the type created by other minds or & modify our own by it, & then we draw a line slightly above this (to provide for the difference between mere & achievement) & call the ~~fulfilling~~ fulfilment — of the instinct & a action of the qualities present in this type, dutiful; & ~~in the fundamental~~ ~~we have a their moral~~ ~~we~~ ~~If the any instinct which has reference~~ If one instinct & quality ~~which~~ dealing with the welfare of others is developed to an unusual extent, or in an unusual manner, we do not call the fulfilment & action of it dutiful — but the self-devotion, high minded, heroic — & in some instances quixotic even undutiful if it interferes with the fulfilment of some other instinct of man morally present — & (therefore morally needed) in a quality proportion. So to determine what are the duties of men one to the other, you must determine

What are the instincts & faculties which have influence to the welfare of others, present in the average mind of his nation, & of his class; ~~according to the number & quality of men~~ (his period)
The fulfilment of this amount of instinct or the action of this amount of faculty will be what will be termed by his fellow-mortals, his fellow-countrymen, & by men more or less in his own circumstances physical & mental, his duty.
Before ~~his own conscience~~ the tribunal of his own conscience the fulfilment of the amount actually present, (all rather, providing for the influence of sin & achievement) the fulfilment of a amount more than actually present will be his duty.
Therefore then we say that the only duty one man owes another, is respect courtesy, & good will or truth answer that in the average man only these faculties & these instincts are present. We fulfil themselves in courtesy good will & respect. In these words are they unique - & must first inquire whether the condition eliminates from the meaning, active benevolence, the direct gift.

of spiritual & physical good things.
If he does this he asserts (of my definition of duty - he knows me) that the average man does not possess ~~the moral~~ faculty of benevolence & the instinct to give what he possesses when he is in want. I deny that.
If the want is great & the sacrifice is small the average man will meet the want & make the sacrifice. In the average man there is sympathy, mercy & charity. The presence of a fellow & friend will give the man there is dying of thirst & hunger - ~~provided always he has the person just of mere~~. The ~~relations~~ relative of the want & sacrifice ~~required to make the man act in a dr~~ required to make a duty ~~Which will determine required of man the man's benevolent instinct~~ will depend on the observer's estimate of human nature - the truest appreciation of the actions as duties will result from the most correct estimate of human nature.
But most men confound these two entirely different questions: What is a man's duty; what should be a man's duty.

2 ~~What having determined~~ and the three questions
the. is the practical question is state relationship
what duty can be enforced.

These three questions do not involve one
another — neither is the subject matter the same —
and does the answer to any one depend on
any other of them. I ~~have to~~ can define what
is ~~a moral~~ duty. ~~What should be moral~~
~~duty, depends on the varying belief in the~~
~~possibility and in the actuality of human nature~~
The ~~practical~~ definition of ~~the~~ a moral duty will depend
on the estimate of human nature as it is: the
cynical mind will reject low, the idealistic
mind will state high. The true, scientific mind
will nature it correctly. ~~So~~ The verdict of the
Society as a whole will be, low, high, or true
according to preponderance of cynicism, idealism, or
scientific realism, in the minds of the individuals. The
compose it.

The second question. What should be a moral duty
~~is to say~~ is generally answered by a very vague process.
The ~~common belief~~ ~~generally~~ ~~from~~ multitude of a natural affinity
in the inquiring mind to certain qualities

It has the to draw a law scientific from it "what will be a man's duty", which may be answered by ~~a process~~ reasoning from scientific (possibilities – ~~the basis of this reasoning depends on the~~ ~~this reasoning will depend on a series of hypotheses as to man's future~~ ~~as to circumstances of environment~~ a hazardous process in the case! – requiring an accurate knowledge ~~measurement~~ of people & quantity of social forces, their action & reaction and an imaginative foresight of the further complication which they already comprise from will evolve.

The theoric question alone is the practical one of to bend to obtain at a true theory of government – it may be quite independent of the other two – I do not say it necessarily is, but that the dependence is not proven.

It is clearly a man's duty to give his child sufficient nourishment, provided always he has it the means of acquiring it: it certainly ~~certainly is not the duty of the State~~ cannot to compel the duty – though it might prevent by penal laws ~~the~~ a scandalous infraction of it – leading to

the immediate disease or death.

In the other hand it may be said that it is the duty of a man who has not ~~potently~~ the power to give to a ~~man~~ man who is actually dying from the want of ~~food~~ food to make his wants known to him.

This duty, if it be a duty, has been enforced by nearly all civilized states not only in their own territories but on all men alike ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ demand assistance to save them from ~~[illegible]~~ starvation. In the case of education it may be the duty of the majority of ~~[illegible]~~ parents to give their children a certain amount of training — but there are some ~~[illegible]~~ parents children to whom this training is positively injurious, to whom ~~[illegible]~~ chances of happiness & success in life would be diminished by it. It is clearly therefore not the duty of these parents to give it to them the training — ~~it is the~~ but the duty of the State to prevent them from inflicting it. But the State steps in & says: This education is a good thing for the majority of children therefore it is the duty of the majority of parents to give it, therefore we enforce it on all children

children — even ~~those parents who believe that~~ those children who suffer by it must be coerced to act indentically.

Hence we see that the enforcement of a so-called duty does not depend on its indisputable nature — ~~or the question whether but rather~~ upon whether the particular action required would be termed a duty by all men, by just men, or by a majority of men — it does not even depend universal satisfaction of the action.

Hence we see that the enforcement of a duty, is to individual, ~~[illegible]~~ by the state, frequently varies inversely with the indisputable nature of it. Not need be no inadmissible of state interference. I will ~~[illegible]~~ to point out that apparently there is no connection between the ~~[illegible]~~ function. That a state may not be willing or able to enforce a duty ~~which~~ belongs to all men, of whatever period, race or class — is hence in a fundamental instinct like the national instinct or has reference to a universal

Board who ~~it would~~ recommend for nomination.
But to what ~~it is~~ the State is able to bring
~~to enforce a~~ to coerce an individual
to act in a way which ~~is only dutiful~~
is only termed dutiful by a certain percentage
of men — ~~the great majority of mankind are~~
~~being in the position they are whether it is dutiful~~
~~or not dutiful~~. However high we reckon that
percentage there are certainly some men who
assert — that the education which the State gives
to the lower classes is less useful to them than
the education or non-education they would
if left alone. These opinions may be unfounded
nevertheless: it nevertheless destroys the universal
~~[illegible]~~ agreement as to the rightness of the action of the Board
in submitting the children to this peculiar training
~~being~~ in dutiful. ~~It is equally certain that~~
~~in some cases however for them may be~~
It is also questionable whether the great
majority of men have any sufficient
mental training themselves to appreciate
the necessity of it for their children.
It is probable that it should be their duty

It is questionable whether it is their duty to state in taking the question out of their hands, practically asserts that the poor, being in a state of infant minded & infant judgment are incapable of being ~~deluded~~ deluded. All ~~not~~ only capable of obedience to the term of duty of a superior class.

But all this does not in the least prove that State education may not be a good thing.

The Individualists seem to me to confound the two questions of What duty can be enforced, & What is a moral duty.

It ~~may be true, but conversion & enforce~~ having settled from some or other sound political philosophy that duty can be enforced, they then assert that that alone is a moral duty — & then draw the conclusion that it is only a moral duty that can be enforced — &c

It is possible that the only prediction that ~~that you~~ a Government may be able to force out action ~~through that enlightenment may be~~ apt courting

good will & respect — but certainly these practices do not commend the Habits of Man's nature. A man may be courteous respectful, & with Manners well — nay yet he may be unmodified in the most ordinary sense — he may be a bad Father, a bad husband or a bad son, through self indulgence & indolence.

Perhaps when they assert — that the action of these practices alone make a man ~~can be wanting~~ wanting in ~~he has no blood relationship~~ & wounds his fellow men of ~~you~~ they strike out the instinctive relationship, they say the general condition of these practices in men — the many complicated forms of altruism which undoubtedly exist & which if a man be totally deficient of them he is regarded as a monster by his fellows.

The Socialists in the Other Room ~~argued~~ ~~start to the premises that~~ start by assuming that Morality be a man's duty & having selected the lowest of actions which they in the future state would deem to be delightful they draw the conclusion that, these actions should be enforced.

They ~~do~~ declare that there should be present in a language manifest nature that they have decided to give a specific mental training to their own children, but that they also be present the desire to give it to other ~~other~~ men's children. Having decided that it should be the desire of which to give up their earning to them, they reason that it is, and that therefore it should be enforced. That because all men ought to decide to bring themselves down, approximately so, to a common level that therefore they do decide it, that therefore it should be enforced.

It is fairly possible to conceive that it might be expedient to force a selection of men to not only do what they did not decide, but that you compel them to themselves and their offspring, but it would be adding insult and injury to insist on saying it was their duty to do it.

The question of state-interference has nothing whatever to do with the position. What is a man's duty, or what should be

U
6.

Clara Ryland (102A) 55

WESTMEAD,
AUGUSTUS ROAD,
EDGBASTON.

Oct 8th
[1885]

Dear Beatrice

What has become of you I wonder? Are you at present inhabiting a Kensington Mansion or a White chapel slum, or are you peacefully reposing yourself after the London Season on the shores of Windermere? On the principle that "all things come round to him that will but wait" I have been hoping for a long time for

a letter from you, but my mind misgives me that you also may be acting on the same maxim & thereby producing this dead lock in our correspondence. I shall be very glad to have some news of you, & to hear how you & your work have agreed together this season, & what are your plans for the winter, but what I chiefly want to know now is whether you see your way to paying me your

promised visit here, early ~~this~~ next month? The election fever is absorbing every one & I have I fear nothing more lively to offer you in the way of entertainment than a big meeting at the Town Hall when my brother addresses his constituents but if the weather is as kindly as it was last November when I stayed with you we might continue our studies of English Cathedrals at Lichfield & Worcester & it will be a

real pleasure to me to introduce
you to my new home & surroundings
Fred cordially joins with me
in hoping you will be able
to come & is looking forward
to making your acquaintance,
the terrible "Patron of your
philosophic" acquaintance, not
having intimidated him since
he had the pleasure of seeing
you in London. It seems to
me I must possess the happy
art of presenting my friends
to each other in the most
unflattering colors, since Beatrice
tells me you were relieved
to find how my husband was
not as black as he was painted
by his affectionate wife & I
believe you accused me of
conveying similar false
impressions of Beatrice & Austen
so cordially the less I say of those

Clara Ryland 8 Oct 1885 57

I care most about the
better for them & for
the truth of history!
I shall give you no news
of myself, as I hope
I may see you so soon
I want you to come
on November the 2nd &
to stay if you can till
the Saturday. I hope
Rosie is in a more satisfactory
state of health than I
when I saw you last
Please give my love to
her & remember me
kindly to Mr Potter

102C

your affectionate friend
Clara Rhyland

Mrs. Charles Booth (102D) 58

[Oct. 1885]

~~6, Grenville Place,~~
~~S.W.~~ Southsea

Dearest Beatrice,

Give you up, or alter towards you! No, I will not. Why should you fancy such things? Because you are not well, I fear, and out of spirits; for all which I am disposed to blame that. I can feel exceedingly out of charity with him accordingly.

I wish I could have
come to see you; – not
that I could do you
much good; but I
could make you feel
better than you letter,
that I love you dearly,
& care for you & for
your happiness.
It is unfortunate
that Charlie returns
on that very Sunday
the 1st Nov: that you
want

me to keep for you;
and I & Dodo shall
be in Liverpool to
meet him; but we
shall come back all
together to town after
a day or two there;
& then I hope we &
you will be near
each other for a long
time. Papa is better.
The doctor says it is
only "slight bronchitis";
but seems because
coming

upon "very much ex-
hausted lungs" and
great general weakness.
Mama says she was
a good deal alarmed
on Saturday; but now
I think that we need
not fear for this time.
He is actually better in
spirits than he was
before the attack.
At home all goes well;
the children bonny and
our new governess ef-
ficient. She is personally
rather a wearisome
companion to my thinking,

Mrs Charles Booth [Oct. 1885] 60

being a very great
talker of the most
modern, cultivated,
well read kind; but
without two original
ideas in her head;—
or perhaps without any
that she will allow
to be seen.— for I have
a sort of belief that
if I could get her to
let the veil of con-
ventional culture drop
only now & then I
should find a natural
self that would be
far more worth at-
tending to. I have not
heard from C yet. but
ought to get my first letter

102F

to day or tomorrow. — tomorrow probably, as he will address to Greenwich Place. ~~[illegible]~~ But all this is stuffing & trash about when I am thinking about you.

I am grieved that you suffer as you do; though the more I hear & read of that man, the more satisfied I am of the rightness of your decision; and the more thankful I am that you have made it. I am so certain that however much the decision may cost you now, the pain of it is as nothing compared to what it would be if you had decided the other way. You could never have been happy with that man; — & my belief is

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Mrs. Charles Booth

[Oct. 1885]

(1029)

6, Grenville Place,
[redacted] S.W.

that time would only
have made you
increasingly unhappy
with him.

Papa sends you his
very best love.

Always faithfully yours
Mary Worth.

or in its indirect effect on modifying the Self
which will eventually come into contact with
others — Then I think we shall see that the
action is neither dutiful nor undutiful.
Therefore if a man's duty be the exercise of
those instincts or faculties which tend to
the welfare of others (and we have altogether on
one side the question of the welfare of others)
then the individual's duty is the exercise of
that particular portion of those instincts or
faculties which is centred in him. It may be
that the Will of man, may be regarded as an
eternal principle in no way dependent on the
rest of our nature may be free to discover a
development those instincts & faculties which God
or Nature has endowed him with. It may be
that an outside power — the power of God —
may find out the Good in him & destroy the
bad. But if the tribunal of his own conscience
& before God it will be the voice of the Spirit intuitive
to him — which will be required in his duty. And therefore
is pledged to take this view — of the individual's
duty — as the derivation, one from which the

general idea of duty is formed.

The general idea of duty — & this is the idea ~~seem that~~ to prevail is ordinarily ~~hard~~ effectually — is the average standard of society in considering ~~other~~ particular ~~attention~~ instinct & practice ~~which conduce to the welfare of others~~ directly towards the welfare of others are existent in the individual of any particular society under consideration. Now as I said before the conception of duty will depend on the ~~sight of the~~ character of the minds that conceive it. If it is the opinion of the minor that it within the power of the great mass of men to be absolutely temperate & chaste — then they will be regardless in their conduct ~~with the consequence to the welfare of others~~ duty. In nations & individuals under the influence of dark religious sentiment or of an idealistic view of human nature — the idea of duty will be high often extravagantly high — will lead to painful inconsistencies in the discrepancy between profession & practice. In realistic times a lower level in the idea of duty will coexist with far a higher

lent in action — in original minds — almost a negation of the idea that may coexist with a pure & altruistic life. Then again the idea of duty will depend not only in the degree of the concerning mind but upon the particular set of men he is considering — often in his opinion of the ~~conditions~~ result of certain conditions on ~~[illegible]~~ the average mean mind. Education, climate, he concludes will produce ~~[illegible]~~ the development of certain qualities, perhaps these qualities might be lent in the educated & leisure class — Social law & expectation — & will furnish the individual & class that due set of fine ideas. Now the more self sacrificing society becomes the more exigency will it demand the effect of the conditions it creates & ordains. If the idea be absolutely false — as it is I think in the socialist utopias — it is the social pressure that the power to ~~[illegible]~~ prevent its non-fulfilment. It will go on a successive course of striking out portions of itself — destroying the conditions favorable to the development of certain qualities because the result

Man wt. each expectation & this means anarchy – leads to despotism of individual or class – ~~which is~~ founded on that grand negation of duty – Respect is Rights.

If on the other hand the conditions are absolutely unfavourable of power – Society will sooner or later destroy them – & justly. Both these facts were present before the French Revolution. & radically false ideas of man – that Nature has little but power in his nature – of & were maintained by law divine & human – that all his practice of let alone & condemn the welfare of others – that men were equal & all perfect. Also the terrible contradiction of this idea in the actual condition of the educated & endowed classes – with power but without the desire to use it – wealth without benevolence – refinement without justice. Respect intellectual & despised trivial – with all the conditions, ~~material~~ apparently physical & mental which slow permanent influences are yet leading him towards & pleasure & peace

Ch. ~~Duty~~ The individual's duty is the ~~proper~~ action of those qualities which have in view the individual, <u>rights</u> the reaction of the force which has been.

To Society, justifies in striking an average right, & insisting on it. Certainly if she can without injuring the <u>rights</u> of others. If she detracts from the amount of force which other individuals extract from outside nature — or rather of the detracts from their <u>power</u> of extracting this force, the check is the force — when she is the gift of the result. She increases the <u>power</u> of the other individual.

1885

Oct 23rd Tomorrow to London town, to begin a new year of work. The Report I sent to my directors has an effect & has made them reconsider their plans. Then Mr Bond's letter asking my attendance came had forgotten all about my letter. Must look up details to support my case: also notice to prot. is proper of questions myself to begin my book on Chatterton Bentonys.
Have worked hard at Blue Books — can get do not see much light on the problem — by Jones shall have finished the Evidence & estimates to work up at — <u>to me</u>. Heaven preserve me from the conceit of supposing that this work will be of intrinsic value. I shall make a careful summary of the facts I think are established of the facts in dispute — & those which are unknown but which are to my mind very questionable. Shall then attempt to determine whether the truth be ascertainable & how ascertainable — then shall set to work to find it out. Wish to get a complete account of tenants at Chatterton Bentonys. Must think out what particular facts I want to

uncertain & so changed at it. Will be obliged to go more deeply into practical work in order to get means of observation. If is no use fighting against an irresistible tendency – however humble one may be of the work of it – & why should not I learn the enjoyment, nor I am sorry, of a thoroughly congenial pursuit. The management of men will be always a means to the study of them. Do not intend to become nauseated with my subject – intend to go through a course of reading – history, & social science. Shall digest Herbert Spencer Sociology & read Maine's Popular Government. Shall begin the study of the English Poets in periods – so as to learn their characteristics. Compare them with the present time – maintain the growth of legal & political reformation – the transference of power from class to class. The material necessities & the ideas which lead to this. I am hard on the times when shall I run off again?

Sunday Oct Nov. 8th

I meant this morning I had worked at my Hathaden Building Book: but unfortunately (fortunately!) my text-books were away.
I think I will keep Sunday for rest – Writing a short account of my work for the pamphlet-book.
The past fortnight I have been struggling against headache & physical depression.
Spent first 3 days with Mary Booth & the continual conversation upset me.
Rest – the Directors but I think failed to convince them: had no alternative suggestion to offer based on experience. Two long conversations with W. Barnett: I making my suggestion of associating other agencies for throwing the Poor. Here rest – Principle – this not a very pattern customer but – the way he took it up & wanted me to elaborate a plan & become the moving spirit. Shall I always disappoint myself & others when my strength comes to be tested – or will my strength increase & enable me to carry out what I initiate?
The Barnetts have new plans &

purposes are difficult — in real proof of organization & careful working out of detail.

Now I am constantly weary: life is a continual struggle — a real battlefield. but physically & mentally. Still of Rory Bell only get stronger — there is interest enough in life — & affection too — & this gnawing pain will cease — in time. I have not yet fully realised the useless pain of it.

As for work — I have done — only my hands Dep. at Hathaven Dyke — & have begun a careful record of tenants — bro. Sh. for more energy. Wed. with two fellow-workers L & K Vic: managed by Prot. Grand Women Sup. Cons. To me a dreary performance — smirking L the level of the audience, while omitting the dash of coarseness, irreverence, low humour, which gives the spice & the reality to such entertainment. To my mind the Devil is preferable — & in every way more wholesome, than a "Shapeless indifference".

Let me see what I mean by the Association of the Agencies for Housing the Poor.

About 150 over people live under the Supervision of these agencies. I should like the experience of each class of agency to be tabulated giving a complete account of these people's work occupation, family, income — where they come from, whether employed in their neighbourhood & other details.

Then method of supervision, work (care of children) ~~etc~~ relation & terms of tenancy — repairs etc.

I also like an annual meeting — & a reading of reports — for these to be made as complete as possible & published as "proceedings". That the Association be seen as a central office to provide caretakers, superintendents & lady collectors.

Nov 8 1885

This is outline of what I wish to discover about inhabitants of Chatham Dep.

Family (Occ & alive). Occupation of all members — income from work, charities, or private property. Race. Whether born in London. If so. Belonging to London Stock? If not, reason

for immigrating & from what part of country. Religion. As much of previous history as attainable.

Nov. 12th. A long day, from 9-30 to 5 o'clock work helped & Colonel Martindale spent at the Albert & Victoria Docks. They are some way out of London on the Essex marshes: only a small price includes in the Metropolis (Woolwich Docks) Rent & West-Ham & East Ham. Labourers a much finer class — English — Many married. Are practically permanently employed — live in small two storied houses. This permanence of employment is due partly to the more regular trade (steamships) partly to the fewer applicants for labour & their inability to live by other means & the absent-minded at town must be land-lessons than the former. But I do like to master the whole thing. The conductor of gentleman seemed somewhat taken aback by my question & demand for statistics — but I shall get at it — in time with patience.

These are the questions I should like

to ~~fruit~~. be answered. Grades of labour: & fragment of same. Amount? Number of men on books & of possible number of applicants. Number of boys? Whether they remain in service of Docks. Increase of labour required? Wages increased? All I learnt today was this: that lads were apprentices as messenger boys etc – became if fit pupil clerks, from that foremen, clerks etc. if unfit – stokers and casuals or preparatory or permanents. 3 classes of clerks both definite salaries – the principals get men rising from one class to another according to recommendation of superintendent.

As far as unskilled labour goes: there were the permanents receiving £1.0.0. a week regularly more or less. The preparatory paid by hours 5? – having a right for work ~~at~~ in a certain department – ticket men. And the casuals. Here there is quite indefinite number & it possible to estimate them.

Sunday Nov. 15th Worked well. Monday Western Dist. 1.50 o'clock. Afterwards saw our Whittington Club (3rd Poplar and Bethnal Green) ~~Tuesday~~ at Western Dist. Lost 4 hours.

Wednesday Attended lectures Books from 10½ to 6 a.m.
Thursday wrote morning - castle tutoring. afternoon Rather off.
Friday 4 hours work at the B. Book. Selling Rather off. 12 to 4 o'clk.
40 hours including Railway journey.

Dec 19th. A month ago today Father & Rosy returned from their little trip to York & Castle. I had written to beg them not to take it - on Rosy's account. The report of her state physical & mental brought to me by the servants & by Rip Darling were most alarming & I had made up my mind to offer to take her away for six months. They came back both looking very ill - but apparently enamoured of each other. However the next morning I broached the question to Father - I explained to him that I felt very miserable about her & convinced that nothing short of separation from him would do much good. He, poor man, seemed quite relieved with the idea of getting rid of the responsibility - & agreed to my vague suggestion I should take her away.
On Thursday 26th - Father came down to breakfast late, very unusual for him. He looked the strange - seemed so unusually slow in his

Dec. 25th

movements. Still there was nothing to cause me much anxiety. He read the papers; but did not open his letter. I found them afterwards lying on the table. I had arranged an appointment with Dr. Sir for Rosy at 11 o'clock. Father ~~left~~ 2 hours ~~[illegible]~~ ~~[illegible]~~ went with the intention of voting. I watched him from the dining-room window trembling with the lock of the dog's kennel. It struck me suddenly that he was just leaving on the morrow. Then I went about my business with a heavy heart for six months' tête à tête with Rosy was not a repining prospect. Half past ten, & he had not come back — another twenty minutes. I became nervous, & ~~walked out left~~ opened the front door & walked to the big gate. There some yards down the street Father leaning against his little Rosy, dragging his leg, his face drawn down — but seemingly quite unconcerned at the change that had befallen him. I helped him into the house. Hurried Rosy on who was pale & trembling, & sent for the Doctor. Dr. Fyrell. When he saw him said his medicate it was a stroke of paralysis

& addressing the crowd for Sir G. Clark.
His mind was touched. It was an action as much as a political speech he talked in an excited manner with Sir G. Clark when he came that evening.
The "beloved physician" spoke seriously to me that evening. "The greatest perforation of this case did not recover." He seemed to get better the first three days: then a relapse. His mind became more affected he was exhausted in his words & smiles.
Saturday 5th was the "Black Day". He dictated an extraordinary letter to Rosy & sent out for 50 or 60 pieces of stuffs from different shops. Andrew Clark eventually triumphed – the worst – was coming he feared softening of the brain & a raging ending.
Since then his tone of body & mind has become steadily healthier. He is happy & contented, slightly irritated with small things – but on the whole steady & seems to do for. It is a month now since he was struck down. His intelligence is singularly clear on some questions – & he is extraordinarily cheerful.
But there is something gone – some part of his mind sleeping or dead. Tomorrow we move from Dr. Longfield's for the Kensington.

Poor little Dorg had a terrible time of it.
She reproaches herself for worrying him and his
illness – & she can not forgive wrong. But can I?
Who has it been so much has neglect on her Dorg.
These were terrible days – complicated with
financial worries – Dorg's depression & tender
& my own apprehensive dread of the future.
And the future does look gloomy indeed –
Companionless & fainting mind – a life without
physical or mental activity – no work. Good God
how awful. This time last year I was suffering
from the same feeling – with other circumstances.
There was hope for me then in work – now I am
hopeless. Except that this year I feel as if the
end of my pain must come. Still my cup is full.

Jany 26th 1886

Rocking on a lazy pillow
With weary eyes
Cushioned on a dreamy pillow
Then art not wise

Within the prison within the
sleeping
Then hast that's in thy keeping
Then wilt bless the lark when
keeping
Hard labour's price

Jany 28th.

I intend to acquire a general knowledge of English History with a special view of the condition of the poorer classes in different times, leading up to a study of my own subject: the practical influences in the training of the lowest class.

In this pursuit I shall abstract the books I read.

Freeman's Norman Conquest. Jany 26th Jany 31st Vol. I.

The salient points made by Freeman in his 1st vol are: I The remarkable ~~contrast~~ contrast between the English Conquest of Britain & the other Teutonic settlements within the Roman Empire. ~~In the~~ Whereas in the Teutonic & Scandinavian invasions of ~~from~~ Gaul & Italy the conquerors had gradually become absorbed by the subordinate race adopting their religion (Christian) & also the legislative & judicial forms instituted by the Romans, the Anglo-saxon conquerors of Britain to a great extent exterminated the native race, having them only in the outlying parts – Wales & Cornwall. They did not adopt the Christian religion until especially proselytised by a mission from Rome – (it is very possible to their acceptance of

Thirdly. That the remains in Wales & Cornwall of the Celtic population were allowed to survive — Neither were the meadows of Britain influenced to any extent by the after flow of Roman influence. This was not only due to their contempt of the natives whom they conquered but also to absence of a permanent imprint of the Roman mind on the manners & customs of the Britains.

2nd. Description of the Constitution of England in the Xth. XIth Cent. & remarking that the Norman Conquest of England did not formally alter that constitution. The powers vested in William & his Witan did not differ from those vested in Edgar & his Witan; the laws remained practically the same; the language of public documents. "The Norman Conquest was not the writing out of the Constitution, the laws, the language of the national life of Englishmen."

The changes in social condition, in the spirit of the national & local administration, & in the foreign relations of England were not the result of any one cause. The English Thegship gradually changed from a Thegship of the Teutonic type to

a Township of the later mediæval type
The change began before the Norman conquest:
it was hastened by the Norman Conquest; it was
not completed until long after the Norman Conquest.

I gather from Freeman

That the primitive form of Teutonic constitution consisted of a body of free warriors with an elective chief — a leader — not a ruler — his degree of power depending on his personal strength. He was the leader of a free society not possessor of a certain territory — the land possessed by the tribe or invaded by the tribe belonged to the whole community & when given to individuals, it was the gift of the community not of the leader, & the service asked in return was for the community. But within this body of free men arose a class of men, whose pre-fathers had distinguished themselves & acquired possessions. These were the Earls of the tribe — apparently they had legally no ~~different~~ superior political status to that of the common ceorl. Every warrior had a right to be present at the Witan of a community of the people — had a right to take part in the election of a king & to associate with his leaders in all important legislation, executi

even judicial functions. The Witan was primarily a democratic body — being democratic in the ancient sense — which allows for the presence in the society of an inferior class of slaves. Probably ~~at~~ in the ~~original~~ earliest times the King was elected for his personal prowess & ability — later on — the theological sanction in one form or another was introduced — the King was elected given a family claiming divine descent — ~~at last~~ in other words, Divine Sanction. Gradually as the Community grew — as its domain became more extensive & its relations more complicated, the governing body was slowly differentiated from the mass of the people. The ordinary freeman ceased to attend the central council, the 'stiles' engaged in the more matter affairs of his locality. Only those members of the community, who had the leisure, the zeal or the interest in public affairs, formed the Witan or assembly of the wise. The King was still elected by the assembly, but the principle of hereditary Royalty gaining ground. The distinction between the two classes of leaders, the King, & the Ealdormen became clearly defined. The King was elected

in Prof Freeman's

of his people — was in a sense, a chief & representative of his people, dependant on them for his official existence & health & he defended by them.
The Ealdormen was his deputy — the governor he sent to the distant part of his dominion.
The ~~Ealdormen~~ the was chosen by the King & his Witan & was responsible to the central body, not to those he ruled.
The second great principle is Teutonic society & defence to work for itself & great future — was the principle of commendation. This originated in a personal tie between the King — or even a leader of the detachment — & a ~~body~~ number of men who entered into his service — to whom he was actually a Lord (loaf-giver) & return for the personal service they rendered him. Thus were his thegns — personally the aristocracy of service & not of birth — they were pledged to his service & not to that of the community.
In England, with the process of the integration of the various Saxon tribes — it became usual for the heads of the weaker states to commend themselves to the heads of stronger states — for the ordinary free men to commend themselves to the Earl & equality between individuals of the same tribe

from a relationship of ~~mutual defence~~
in which the benefits were mutual there grew
a relationship in which the humbler party was
subordinate — in the later days of feudalism — to
a serious extent. Now from the remarkable change
which in few centuries brought in the real character
of the relation arose the sympathies & practices
of England & Scotland. The King & people of
Scotland commended themselves to Edward
of 24. The practice Edward initiated in the continuance
of the tie when it had proven not a bond
which implies absolute subordination —
Land was originally held from the commendee
was "bestowed" from out of the fee to
certain individuals — it was held in allodial
tenure — free of all restriction except that
the owner had taken his fair share in the jurisdiction
of the society to which he belonged & in payment of taxes
& military service. As gradually with the system
of commendation the tenure of land became
more & more feudal, subject to a personal claim
from the over-lord of the person.

The King, originally owning no land except that

which he owned as a private individual, became the over lord of all the land of his thanes — & in the greater Witan — lost his hence right of owning land as an individual.

Thus we see the ordinary freeman losing his right to participate in the government of his country, & also his free tenure of land — sinking to the condition of a villein.

Freeman describes graphically the Saxon conquest of Britain — the gradual integration of the various Saxon states into one kingdom & the consequentiate of outlying portions of Britain under native rulers to the English King & the assumption of the title of King of England of the Imperial title as an assertion of his independence of the Roman Empire & its successors.

The ~~great importance~~ over whelming importance of the personal character of the King in this imperfectly organized state is strikingly marked out.

I have merely summed the history of these Saxon & Danish kings & chiefs as it is unimportant for my purpose. There is very little in the text to give one any idea of the moral & economical

* Establishment of regular army, Horncastle retreat of commutation money paid for

(125)

Stat. of the England. The laws framed by the Witan & the marine drift seem to have been general injunctions towards goodness & justice — with special prohibition of the slave-trade & injunction to keep the Lord's day & the Church festivals. Slavery was a condition tho' to what extent I do not gather. The importance of London is shown by the vehement resistance of her citizens to the Danish invaders. The rise as an industrial centre & as a political power is noted by Freeman & the consequence of importance from the citizens to the seafaring men in the later days of Danish supremacy.* The ~~[illegible]~~ sort of the volume is establishment of a Saxon race in England the retrocession of a Danish element into the population — the gradual consolidation of the various Saxon & Danish kingdoms into the kingdom of England & the imperial supremacy of the kingdom over her Celtic neighbours.

What is lacking is the elaboration of the Saxon life: dress, description of the occupations & customs of the people, also of the nature of the local government which is only indicated not described by Freeman.

Chronology of Principal events in Hist. of Freeman.

Formation of Kingdom of England 449 – 975.
(Heathen Period of English Conquest) 449 – 597.
Fluctuations of Dominion between Northumberland
Mercia & Wessex. 577 – 828.
Imperial Supremacy of West Saxon Kings of England
924 – 975.
Danish Conquest of England 975. 1016.
(Swegen conquest 1013, Death of Ethelred 1016).
Danish Kings of England (reign of Canute his son)
1017 – 1035.
Authorities – Tacitus Germania
Kemble's Saxons in England.
The Commendation see Hallam's Middle age.
Early English Chronicles. W. Earle
Lappenberg. (467. 1. 202 Thorpe).

Freeman II vol. Eds 1st & Eds 5th

Freeman's Summary

"We have thus, throughout the three & twenty years of Eadward's reign, traced what may justly be called upon as the first stage of the Norman conquest. Under a king, English by birth, but Norman by feelings & habits, England has been brought under a double Norman influence, which seemed for the moment likely to bring with it the peaceful establishment of Norman dominion.

We have seen the Court of England swarming with Norman favorites. We have seen the Church of England handed over to the government of Norman prelates. We have seen Norman adventurers enriched with English estates, & covering the land with those growing castles, in which our fathers looked upon the special badge of tyranny & slavery. Above all we have seen the Duke of the Normans not only received with special honors at the English Court, but encouraged both in himself & the distinct succession to the English crown.

A national re-action almost had risen

& the result of a revolution has broken the yoke of the strangers, & has driven the most guilty from the land, & has placed England, having no more under the rule of the subject race.

Still the effect of three years of Norman influence has not passed out. & the very chief of the strangers has been armed with a pretext sufficiently strong to win from general support. Whereas the laws of England are unknown. ||

We see in this summary how fused political Freeman's History is, & how thoroughly he is imbued with the national ~~bias~~ bias in favor of the Anglo-Saxon race. But his History is also a graphic biography of certain personages — Godwin, Edward, William of Normandy, & Harold are described, & their education, tastes, intellectual & moral character & the re-action of circumstances on them, are detailed with the engagement of a genuine Biographer. Indeed Freeman influences you with the greatness of his heroes, & with the ever lasting importance of the personal influence ~~of their formation~~ on the History of the Times.

They stand out as creations rather than as representations. With the affairs of Normandy there is strikingly so. The account of his childhood and of the disorganised state of Normandy, the absence of any but the vagrants from ~~among~~ in the country, isolates the peculiar powers of his personality from any connection with contemporary movement among the people he ruled.

Goodwin & Harold, it is true, represented the English idea in their ~~the~~ the struggle against the foreign intruder. They were constitutional in their methods & upheld by the voice of the people. But they towered above their age. They seem for the time to have epitomised the strength. Their lives withdrawn & their ~~fellow countrymen~~ English kindred lay helpless at the feet of the Conqueror. Freeman gives us no details of the social & economical state of the nation.

~~We have only in his imagination with the great of his land.~~ In his History we have only with the great of land. We become familiar with the daily life of many rulers but we are absolutely ignorant of the every day existence of the different

Saxons who are ruled. We know nothing of their occupations, their local organization, their religious life, or of their manners & customs. There is no trace of industrial development; Ecclesiastical & religious & educational institutions are only dwelt upon as they affected the political drama. Edmund stands out as the founder of West Malling, as the protector of the monks, as the upholder of Roman & Rhodian influence, & Harold as the founder of Waltham, as the promoter of the seculars in opposition to the regulars, as the friend of the unsaxonized English Archbishop Stigand. The struggle between the monks & the secular clergy was according to Freeman only another form of the struggle between the two antagonistic races of Roman & English — this doubtless due to the result of certain traits ~~in the character of each race, lying at the roots of their~~ in the respective character of each race which lay at the root of their destiny & development by time in its harmonious aspects. The English even in their ecclesiastical bias showed their appreciation of individual freedom, their hatred of monkery

Description & Cut & Dried rules.

The Constitutional History of this time seems to be barren in changes — except for the formal introduction (probably originally in the reign of Canute) of the King's writs without the signature of the Witan, with the exact part of Country lands to Earls, Bishops & other dignitaries.

This means that the folkland was beginning to be looked at as "terra Regis". — Ha

We hear also in the reign of Edward of the appointment of a Bishop without the approval of the Witan. Moreover the Witan retained its importance in this reign, if we exclude the Norman period. When it practically was often composed of the King's foreign followers or acted under duresse.

One of the formal scenes in early English history was enacted on the 17th September 1052 without the walls of London — & is closely connected with the history of the Witan & significantly descriptive of its character.

Godwin called back by the voice of the English people, in defiance of Edward

& his Norman favorites, scattered & free
from London & his supporters by her citizens
endowed with his army of horsemen
& of unnerving English is practically obliged
to submit to his great subject. But the Earl
of the West Saxons, the defender & representative
of his race, restrained by the free eloquence
the ardour of his followers. He humbly begs his
King & Lord to call a meeting of the Witan &
to allow him to clear himself of the charges
made against him & his family. Thus
submission is made easy to the King &
the revolution is a bloodless. The double-faced
a gathering of armed freemen, with the great & small men together
rescued the walls of London & ~~the~~ North Way
proved the fathers of the Witan power & the
co-ordinate authority with the English King.
~~The London citizens stood out with honourable~~
The English characteristics of moderation & the
preference for constitutional means are
strikingly demonstrated by the behaviour of Goodwin
& the people he led. Goodwin's pre-eminence
as an orator, & the great part this talent

plays in the success of his life, in smoothing down of the popular character of English institutions.

Nevertheless these institutions were being slowly undermined by foreign influence — & the slow & fair window season was for a time the sculpture by the stronger will & more unfettered desire of the Normans.

Eng. 8" Shirley Brooks' 1st book of English verses. To my mind weak & slipshod (pseudonymous) Browning's poems of 7" & 8" century. Striking "that which then in the poet's mind to say was realized past, & then uttered with a dual-earnestness that carried every thought strength home to the apprehension of the listener. ... The key words embodying were often realized by practical analysis into that form usually called metaphorical, which is as common in the use of simile in rate.

Freeman Vol. III. July 5th July 8th
The Drama played out by William & Harold.
Description of Nature of Normandy & Brittany
of the assembly before William's mission.
Difference of this Norman conquest of Saxon
& the English Witenagemot. William's consummate
diplomacy. Scientific & religious sanction for
his invasion of England. Fatal "Holy Week".
Personal purity, austerity of life, economy,
religious zeal, & widely-based statesmanship
of William. Simplicity of Harold.
July 9th & 12th Letter on Public Order for William & a
Prose Sent. & Ballade made.

Stubbs Const. History.
Picture of Character of German race: industry, chastity, kindness.
(Unable mention the purity of the French race).
Gradual change of land. Hospitality. Hunting & war
& the rearing of cattle. No aristocracy & slaves:
No central organization: land tribes commanded by
their own leaders chosen in the assembly of warriors.
Tribes in state of transition from nomadic life
to settled cultivation.

The Nations had their definite territory surrounded by belt of uncultivated land.

Tacitus: "A great congeries of tribes, independent & homogeneous throughout: speaking same language, worshipping same gods; marked by common physical characteristics & common institutions, but having no collective name in their own tongue & no collective organisation" Common property in land. The village a community of separate households. Freeman possess his homestead & surrounding ground completely & generally; & had regard to use of perpetuate enjoyment of property & alienable.

Classes of Freemen: or rather Freeholders: forming the political power of the primitive Teutonic state. Nobles: distinguished by illustrious birth & with customary regard & large share of common land. Freed men: personal liberty - no political power. Slaves: ~~from debt or conquest~~. Divided into two classes: colonii; or subject tillers of the ground, very likely the subject race. & slaves from debt or prisoners of war.

The Principes, or official magistrate elected by the assembly of freeholders & faced by voluntary effort - with principle of keeping a comitatus

a body of personal ~~[illegible]~~ followers: forming the standing army? & responsible only to him?
A body of warriors personally dependent on the chief. No federation of the tribes: great hundred men have common ~~[illegible]~~ religious rites &c.
Priests a distinct body of men restricted to religious & ceremonial functions.
"The King" elected from the body of nobles or the elders of distinguished & divine birth, seems rather to occupy a more powerful position than the principles of the non-of monarchical tribes. He differed from them only in the "spirit of" certain sacred dress & partition which no doubt added the "weight" to his position of he happened to be a "great man". Certain laws seem to have been due to him as royal, which point to the existence & state in the non-monarchical tribes.

But the central institution was the assembly of the civilian - in both the monarchical & non monarchical tribes. Priests proclaimed & enforced sentence.
King, princes & elder spoke; or any one specially gratified. Proposition was received by loud shouts; assent by the shaking of spears; disapprobation by

by the chiefs of Sparta & Thebes.
Popular gatherings of freemen, discussed business first. Magistrates for administration of justice were elected by the popular assembly & the latter retained the power of hearing complaints & trying capital sentences.
Local courts of justice were held by the elected principes in the larger divisions or pagi, & in the villages or vici. They were composed of a hundred assessors & consisting of those who were in fact the freemen.
Hanging was the usual punishment for treason & desertion:
the lowest 12th slaves were smothered under hurdles.
Fines were accepted as compensation for homicide, half going to the State or King & half to the family of the deceased or to the injured person.
"The Hundred" seem to have been the political unit of the German tribes — the hundred pledges — the hundred warriors sent by each village to the host. The leader in battle was not necessarily the principes or king but the chosen champion of the Hundred. The Druids with their Council seem to have been an independent portion from a political point of view. The Druids stepped in in

but too as wide as civil council as the Regulator.
3 principles in the military system: a national free
consisting of the Dux & seven centurions of infantry:
(Hundred?): the professional warriors with their train of
disciples: the principes fighting for victory, & the comitia
for the principes — and last but not least the mass
of freemen.

Stubbs seems anxious to impress in his 11 chapt. on the
mind of the reader that German political institutions
as described by Tacitus are not due to any one form of
social organization. There are evidences of the Patriarchal
theory — of the village system, of the manorial system,
of the mark system — (no trace of the City).

There seem to have been no defined rules of
authority — the king of a monarchical state reigns
but does not govern — the sanction is religious — he does
little more than represent the mind of the race.

The national council under the chosen head
(principes) is sovereign in peace, but in war its
powers are vested in a Dux chosen for military
distinction. Except the authority of the Dux over his
comitatus is not due to any official position but to
a personal tie between him & the followers.

It was no doubt due to this very elaborate of social principle that the success of the great German nation in the invasion & government of Western Europe was so remarkable.

The three great principles of social integration – kinship, community, & personal influence, complement & complicate each other.

Land-tenure. Personal character of land. In the King was King of the nation & not of a territory, the land belonged to the community, to the freeman as an efficient individual of the community. It was the bond of his freedom not the condition. It was hereditary. The land became less plentiful – the freeholder, holding both a noble rank – ~~& the freeman~~ ~~did not necessarily person land but contributed to for his land~~

The freeman, without land, is the descendant of the settlers admitted to political rights – & beneath these two classes a free class of labourers working on the land of others. These 3 classes are very persistent, & are distinguished by different amounts of wergeld.

Bournemouth.

Feby 11th At. Life seems to my consciousness a horrible fact. Sometimes I wonder how long I shall support it. I am never at peace with myself now — the shade of my past looks like an irretrievable blunder — the future looks sere — like a desert-waste! I have mis-taken the facts of human life as far as my own existence is concerned — & I am not strong enough to live without happiness. What the hell is life? Oh! it is! — it fills me with the fact — again & gradually losing his grasp on all things — material & spiritual. I struggle through each new day — waiting with succeeding thoughts each in turn — begin with determined effort to free my thoughts on the old lines of continuous enquiry — & meet back feeling only the narrow rut of duty. Religion, Love, & Ambition have died — perhaps even their death struggle is still there causing moments of terrible agony. When will ~~[illegible]~~ pain cease? Hopelessness is not yet complete: I look out tonight on the beating of that hateful grey sea, the breaking & the vanishing of the surf on the shore, ~~[illegible]~~ the waves break & vanish like my spasms of feeling — but they return again & again — & behind them is the bottomless ocean of despair

Sept-twenty! living a life without hope – now again driven by a movement of physical energy & the falling back into that deadly monotony of despair. No future but the bare repetition of the breathing years of existence.

Sep. 14th 1930.

W. Stubbs is certainly rd. easy reading – quite sufficiently moderate & the moderate mind is sure to be profoundly wrong. In his chapter on the expansion of the Tudor system in England, one mistaken point is unfortunate. "The King" the recognised representative of the nation, becomes a mere mouthpiece & is conferring from entirely independent of the nation. The election of a king depends wholly upon the principle of heredity in so far as the election can confine itself to the noble or divine family concerned in. The King's power was strengthened & he became of co-ordinate authority with the Witenagemot & exercised in his person civil, judicial, & religious headship.

The process of colonisation, except for the conquered lands of Scotland, seems to have been based on the military division of the Hundreds.

Each hundred had its allotment, varying

in extent proportionately to the number of hundreds or villages it represented. The land not allotted to a hundred belonged to the nation became the folkland. As smaller kingdoms coalesced the inferior folkland became the folkland of the integrating race — gradually as the whole of England became under one king the folkland became the property of the whole English race.

The Hundred divided the land into villages — these villages allotted it to individuals, who became the freeholders, the political units of the community. There is no reason to suppose that the allotments were equal — but rather proportionate according to service done in the invasion. A particularly prominent man with his comites ~~made~~ magistrates & large grant a condition of joining the community & giving to the protection of his strength.

These original freeholders holding their land on hereditary ~~were subsequently merged~~ in from the primitive allotment of the community were subsequently merged in the owners of bookland as distinguished from folkland. The latter is the king ~~bookland~~ booked to certain individuals afterwards to religious institutions

The holders of bookland were also subject owners & were subject to the state but their share in the maintenance of society: military service, the repair bridges & roads. The free freeholders of large properties but their lands were let to yeoman cultivators & it is to the innumerable conditions of these tenancies that we owe the retention of land among & the multiplicity of the cultivating classes.
~~Further we have the fact~~ Not only the bookland was let on uncertain tenures but also the folkland so that we have tenants in the community, quickly hampering ~~[illegible]~~ the liberties of the king.
In another principle was at work – the personal tie between the free man who voluntarily chose a Lord – who in return for certain services both answer for him & protect him. At first this tie was only between the landless peasantry, the freeholder having a recognised place in the community needed no other protector, but later on not only did the freeholder find it convenient to commend himself but the commendation & rose step first themselves into a the protection of a powerful person

So that we have the three classes reappearing in a quite different form — the true freeholders become gradually entitled to the great land, the smaller freeholders merge themselves in the great body of free dependants or tenants not carrying social status & different land tenures. Beneath these the proper cultivators — the different classes of slaves whom the they were owned & mainly were protected by laws of & the spread was land & the soil & serfs of the land.
~~The principle of total forfeiture went beyond slaves and conquerors~~ even. We must not expect to find that the personal tie between a lord & his man became also sanctified by religion — a bond which could not be broken & which was transmitted to the children.

As for the constitutional machinery, that is even more hopelessly intricate. There the difference of classes & different forms of land tenures! & W. Stubbs in the subject is almost impossible to condense. I quote him "The unit of constitutional machinery, the simplest form of social organisation, is the township, the vill or vills or vicus. It may represent the original allotment of the marked subdivisions of the

the community, or the settlement of the township
adventuring on their own account, or the estate of the
great proprietor, who has a tribe of dependants.
We hear more in the Tin gelefen, Rho in the dependant
township, i.e. of tenants nominated by the lord, but
in the independent one may have been originally
a chosen officer, although when the central power has
become stronger he may be, in the Slavonic world,
the nominee of the king, or his officer.
The internal organization in both cases seems to have
been much the same. In the dependent communities
land probably in most instances been originally free,
or reduced to dependence by a powerful neighbour;
in some compare of the 'mounds' where enclosure takes
place, a portion of green waste, where lord has
purchased or accumulated by interchange.
In the earliest stage it may have been the community
of free tribesmen cultivating or what is called the Mark-
But Stubbs with his "institutes" professedly "goes on
to explain that there can in the Anglo-Saxon period
very little of the primitive mark left. The only abiding
influence seems to have been: the possession of the
of land in common; 2 lands belonging in

modified to the members of a community.
It is to this system (Marsh) that the origin of some part of the machinery of local control of the manor & township can be traced. (It is not that these were created by the manor & the township!)
It is as an owner of land, not as a member of the marsh community, that the freeman has rights & duties & there is no common that in England the only way of owning land was the hereditament of the marsh.
In further stage township appears in its ecclesiastical form as a parish.
The Hundred must be regarded as a subdivision of the Hundred & it is possible that it is a relic of the Danish system, seen in the organization of the Scandinavian Thing. But as we in England it marks the transition from the Germanic to the Scandinavian organization of the English race. It is after Norman times & indicates a different idea the association of ten men in common responsibility legally embodied in "frankpledge."
In this sense the Hundred was for judicial purposes & appears to have been in the Continent & only in England in the 11th and 12th centuries. It was the unique association of men & companies of ten & again ten

hundreds for the purpose of raising troops for the crown. In case of murder or of a theft, the tithing was primarily responsible for the individual, & the hundred for the tithing.
The capital pledge (Head man) represented the tithing in the local courts & the way of again connection with the township.

The township besides representing the manor & forming the basis of the parish, has a share in creating the jurisdiction of the manor, & the later township formed on the basis of a related where enfeoffed manors. The lord of the manor had the jurisdiction of civil & criminal courts. The <u>liberty franchise</u> — for in early times the governing interest of justice formed no inconsiderable advantage of judicial power.
But under all these forms, the townships retain the rights of meeting & exercising some sort of jurisdiction — (not by claim!). They had the power of making by-laws, of allotting the responsibilities in the courts of the hundred & tithing — of carrying out the requests of the higher courts in the way of levies & other exactions, the pursuit of criminals & search for stolen goods'

it exists as a public agency.
The comparatively entire character of the town of Ware local court was probably the reason why the liberty of Ware was allowed to exist in time when it had ceased in the larger towns of the kingdom.
The Burh. a more organised & probably walled fortified township. — was sometimes governed by 12 burghers who inherited the franchise — therein had much the constitution as the hundred.
In such towns were analogous to township or parishes. The Burh-gemot in the latter 3 times a year: the meeting of the hundred monthly, & the shire half yearly. The township probably had weekly meetings.
But it is much easier to trace existing monumental vestiges of early offering systems than to construct out of them any consistent view of a uniform constitution.
The City of London & other large towns were communities based on the township, the town-shot, the parish & the guild & had practically the constitution of the hundred. practically a chartered township.
The Hundred (origin previously discussed) was a chartered township. The court was held monthly & consisted in lords of the lands within the Hundred or the stewards

Mr Tracist Trial; the recent (?) and form best in
in the township. The judge, vested with the whole body
of the men, but in doubtful measures a representative
body of 12 seems to have been instituted as a judicial
committee of the Court. ~~Then 12~~ What constituted
the term of office of the 12 it is difficult to say.
Hereditary, elected for life, or for the occasion.
The jurisdiction of the Hundred was criminal
as well as civil — but the criminal jurisdiction
was cast out of the grants of the Crown in the privileges
of great men & was lost in merged in the general
jurisdiction of the Crown exercised by judges in an age
in which it appears only as helping to constitute
the justice.
Was a fixed information as giving the basis for taxation

Mr. 15th Last report. Read the Summaries of Lectures.
In supplementing the recent Statistics given of his description
of the Social State of the Germans, the Antiquarian Tacitus
Tacitus on etc: The <u>nature & habitual character of the race</u>:
The judicial & executive & other relations of subordination
were left to the women, the wealth & the magic.
The Latrum only was the political unit of the

The knowledge of law and duties in individual hands. Poverty & Slavery of life. Tender description of relations of the sexes in Romantic world; with the religious reverence for women & continence before marriage: Mad love & love of extraordinary kind. When not engaged in actual battle, the passion to speak the time of commercial finite. Or. or can not in words but in blood.

Hospitality. The person of the guest was sacred.

Strong feeling of kindred: Freedom of speech. Discussion & the influence of oratory in the meetings of freemen.

Gambling — They would stake their liberty & almost the slavery with in an incredible duchange of their debt. Strong romantic sentiment — sacrificing of the religion celebration with religious enthusiasm. (Melancholy & wild nature of their poetry).

Slaves. The earliest time of Franchises & Liberties of which the foundation was laid in private hands arose in a confederation Hundreds, much in the same way that Lords manors entire into relationship with towns. The King W. grant sac & soc, tolls & them to ecclesiastical & civil Lords. The Liberties towns were not exempt.

from the jurisdiction of the Shire & may be regarded as Pseudo-Hundreds.

Before we have the Hundred we add that there seem evidence of a double headship – the elective head & the deputed head sent by the King.

Shire. A district of Hundreds & in no way coincident – ~~with~~ is analogous with the modern shires tho. the seem to division of the Kingdom in certain parts. The number of Hundreds seem then indefinite, the 'in every 3 Hundreds' suggestive & shire should seem that & there must have been a multiple of 3.

A shire consists in fourfold – convening of the men & the men from each township, all the Lords of the land, all public officers (ecclesiastical) presided over by the Ealdorman & the Sheriff. The Ealdorman was a national officer chosen by the King & his Witan & commanded all the military men ~~of the~~ within the shire – of the Contingent of the Lords of the manor & ecclesiastical leaders as well as of the Hundreds. His office was regarded hereditary in custom. The Sheriff was chosen by the King – the King's & not the nation's deputy. He fiscal officer, collecting local & national taxes & acting as chairman & the "folk-mote" in the judicial

Mercia. The Ealdorman divides the
Duties of judicial administration.
Every Shire has its Sheriff, not necessarily the
Ealdorman. The ecclesiastical District, mark out
for the Archdeacon coincides with the Shire.
The Bishop doubtless sat in the folk moot as a
Lord of the land, not in his Episcopal capacity.
We have therefore, the Township, the Hundred
& the Shire — the government of each of which
can be seen as popular representation tempering the
Royal to the free-man in the Kingdom of the
community — ~~the the two other~~ The two other
elements of government, were the Lords of the land
by virtue more powerful from the increasing importance
of the feudal tie, & the introduction of the hereditary principle
into the office Ealdorman. Thus earlier in the natural leaders of
the Lords of the land, & the King's Sheriff, a direct
Royal Governor from the King & in succession of the
fiscal & judicial functions. So that the popular
power of the freeholders decline rapidly, & then he belongs
to a subject-race & Norman Conquest practically leaves
him not the only possible relation to power of Englishmen
& Royalty preserves the remnant of his liberty.

(153)

2 [illegible]

A turning point in my life

fol. 88 n.

(153 A)

PALL MALL GAZETTE
NORTHUMBERLAND STREET,
STRAND.

Feb 13/86

Dear Madam,

May we place your signature at the head of your article?

Yours truly
The Editor
P. Gill

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