

II
#62

Would it be desirable that statesmanship be made a separate profession?

There is one advantage that this question brings with it, that it has not yet been worth threading by discussion - However vicariously, a person may examine a question for himself, however clearly, the more see the truth; yet it is not as gratifying, not as encouraging, when we think that we are only mouth-pieces for others arguments - It is a pleasure that the infant feels when first supported by its own, tottering limbs, it walks alone.

It has been doubted, by those who have experienced in the matter, that debating societies are injurious to the participants, for this reason that, being ashamed to set forth his own thoughts in a style that nature would prompt & one suited to their years & knowledge their recourse is to imitate great speakers in that part, in which imitation can succeed, winning at some not small & when they have advanced a little further to see how empty are their words - they then have recourse to the writings of others & ^{to their} ~~to~~ ^{to themselves} making any acknowledgements, appropriate to themselves that others have laboured out.

We can see in this a great truth & one too that is fitted to shape the occasions of life - If we acquire this habit of thinking in other mens shoes, we shall never develop our own minds, we bind ourselves down enslaving, that soon cramps & deadens our own powers & leaves us in after-life without hope, or in a ^{state} ~~of~~ of vassalage.

We do not doubt the good designs of writers on ~~the~~ ^{the} ~~subject~~ ^{subject} for instance but we do doubt whether upon the whole it does much good to the world. We do not doubt either that good designs of those who advise, than who suffer them. For variations in writing, to read the writings of great men we may avoid crude subtleties than our own. It makes a set of parasitic imitators who, shying by however light, can never become sense in literature. We believe in the Rhetoric of nature alone & prefer not to burden our minds with artificial rules, which nature always despises. I don't expect that a man will develop his style as soon in this way, or nature I make say, a style, as in this way. He may will, certainly, develop his own style, but when it is developed it will be good as nature makes always. The development of a style we hold follows the same laws as other mental acquisitions, it is gradual. A day, a week, a month or a year will not develop it, but a life time. And too with all this it is the easiest method by far. The mind does not bear the cramp with complicity but when stirred by the restless spirit, backed by a resolution will, the mind acts naturally & with such strength that results will follow.

In contemplating the present question, do not propose to advance any particular creed or defend any particular party; but I come to it, as I trust, unprejudiced, to examine it with candour, with reason, ready to yield to the convictions of truth.

In discussing this question as in all others, we are to give to it a practical nature, as I think, not to bandy words on a question too ethereal to touch, but with the tinge of imagination. It is not a distinction that is always sound, as I would not mention it, to is often that a beautiful creation of the fancy, is presented to us with all the attractiveness of perfection, & we are asked, "is not this desirable?" the answer is very soon us at once "that it is"; but too often when this fancy-some creation is attempted to be clothed in the homely-spoken gown of reality, it loses its attractive beauty & even becomes an ugly-looking hag or perhaps far worse & a utterly ~~disappears~~ ^{disappears} thereby like Hercules consumed by the enormous music of Desires.

The present question has naturally flown out from the spring of reform that has poured forth such blessed streams in the present age, that have revived the thirsting pulses of society & cooled the parched tongue of humanity. We will never raise our ~~voice~~ ^{voice} or stretch forth our hands to stop it, in its divinely commissioned career, as must we cease to direct it. Like every other good it depends on the use that is made of it. The course in which directed, the manner it is conducted.

We are ready to admit with the most enthusiastic approval ~~there~~ ^{there} wherever there is a visible evil, there is something wrong somewhere, which if removed would be

more the evil, but we too often merely cut off the of-
fensive branch while we leave the supplying root.

Too many of our reforms are conducted by those who
are deficient in their knowledge of human nature.
Reforms must be administered like the Physicians
doings as the subject can bear them.

Now let us apply these principles to the ques-
tion under our consideration. If any one will cast his
eyes out into the world, to any country, anywhere
that are communities of people, united in social
compact & acting by established laws, he will ob-
serve the workings of many strange & destructive
laws - in some instances ^{the whole} ~~the whole~~ civil law
prevents from its ennobling office of dispensing
justice & securing possessions & becoming the dispenser
of justice & the planner of property - again we
should see it wrapping its cloak of protection ^{enlightenment} around
some degrading superstition which, in our opinion
was gnawing at the vitals & diminishing the life blood
of that people whose interests it should protect.

In all lands, in the most enlightened, even in our
own which are compassed the best in the world
he would find many imperfections at least, of
most absolute evils - like a true philanthropist he
seeks to remove these evils - thus he thinks can
be done by removing these hurtful laws & substituting
better ones - His reasons, perhaps like this, there
are certain evils that this people suffering from
bad laws, now if these laws could be worn away
with the cause being removed the evils would fall
again there are many more laws now in force that
would very much improve the condition of this people

Now how shall these results so desirable be brought
about - How can we get these bad laws removed
& new & better ones introduced - It must evidently
be done by the law-making authority - In absolute
monarchies this would have to be done by the supreme
head - in limited monarchies by the nobles in
conjunction with the monarch - In a free country
by the congress chosen for this purpose - All laws that
are made are to pass through their hands & meet the
approval of these persons - nothing can become a law
till it has thus passed they must be originated here
also, & to originate good laws we must have men at
this post that are capable & dispassionate - In all absolute
monarchies of whatever name or kind it all depends
on the supreme head, what kind of laws there
shall be, if he is good, desirous to promote the
best interests of his subjects, he will establish such
laws as will promote this end - but if he is other-
wise & such men generally are, then no good laws
can be expected - In such countries we can see
that laws must always be uncertain, depending
on the character of the monarch - in such countries
at least there is no chance for statesmanship -

Come now to another kind of government - the limited
monarchy - here the laws are not at the disposal of
a single man, but partly in the power of the people
Here men begin to have a voice in making the
laws under which they live, & ~~the laws are~~
~~made better~~ as in appointing these men who make
the laws, there is some chance for statesmanship,
Partly at least the laws are determined by the will of the
people & will be more apt to suit the wants of the majority.

We will advance no step further on to what in
our view is the most true form of government - the
pure Democratic government - here the law-makers &
of course the laws are in the disposal of the people
Let us consider then in these two cases
how the laws are to be improved - it will be well
for us here to consider briefly, what are the ends
of law & how are they brought into existence -
We will consider the case of democracies, for it
is in only such governments or in proportion
as governments advance toward this form
that the question becomes palpable -
Laws now are made on the basis of the present
existing state of society, in view of the present
condition of mankind which it has to deal
with, in view of their present manners & customs &
dispositions - Law is to settle institutions, always
the same, but institutions in society, it changes with
society - Now if law were made a Sunday there would
be a tendency to outstrip the demand - Law ought
to make the people, but the people make the law -
The law is determined by their wants, Law is like
a garment, it is to make for the one that is
to wear it - Now it does not require sewing so
very much - wants arise that call for law & then
it is to be made - Our laws enacted since among
the Hottentots, they are too good for the people, it
is a garment that was not made for & would not
fit them - What is required then is merely to know
the wants of society in order to determine what laws
shall be made & who will know these wants
as well as the people themselves - they therefore will
elect such men to make laws for them as they

think best know their wants - as long as the power
of choosing law-makers resides in the people, laws
will be such as suit them, nothing that they have
not approved will they tolerate - If laws are made
for them which are in accordance of their present
condition, they will not be suitable & therefore
will not bear them - We can see now from this who
are to be the law makers of a free people - they
are to be those who can the best represent the
people, who know all their wants, all their interests
in fact who is one of them - Where are these men
to be found, who can best know all their wants
is it one who has been trained in a school
or who is versed in all governmental history
from the patriarchal downwards - who is well
skilled in the constitution of other ~~ages~~ ages - This
will be well, all good, the more history a man
knows the better will he be able to manage his
own affairs, but this alone is good for nothing
to him when administering governing laws for this
country & different age - His most important
knowledge is to be derived from a correct know-
ledge of the present & this knowledge is to be
gained by a knowledge of the past - But where
is this most important knowledge to be gained
It must be gained by direct observation & not
from history - Schools of rightly selected men are
much to help on towards this knowledge, but
it can't furnish him that wisdom which he can
be good for nothing - It wants superior minds to guide,
this practical knowledge, but these are always at hand -
nature furnishes them in every place -

We have been considering whether any separate
training was necessary to accomplish such a
statism. To present it still more forcibly let
us suppose one has a profession would there
not be a career one - Suppose one were to
divide of one into another branch of service
& become professional statism. It must depend
at least on the people that choose legislators
whether they are to select & men will not choose
them without it is to advance their interests & they
will not place this of any one who they do not
know. You cannot raise legislators by this means
then without you raise the whole people together
& for this you are not near any separate profession -
But there are up other objections. Will men
set up themselves in the midst of community
& demand their votes for statism on the ground
of their profession - will every one who belongs
to this profession become a legislator & then
at once you open a flood gate that will
down the reform nation in a flood of law -
makers. The love of office is so great that all
would flock to a profession that would secure
them such a station - We could easily see too
that such a profession could not exist - to make
of a profession that under one be able to do any
thing. All it was another to stations where laws
were to be made & before this they must appear
themselves to the people & how would the poor
believe him this while - No such separate profession
can the exist - It is unnecessary & un-called
for & therefore unnecessary - The fact is that this
is a matter that cannot be forced, it must
grow gradually with society, as society calls
for it - In all free governments the people them-

elves will be the only medium through which
law reform must be carried - Here is where the
matter has its roots & you must aim at the
roots if you would help the tree - It may be
some good to cut off some of the decayed limbs
but if the roots are left bare & unoccupied the
tree will perish - Here is where all true reform
must be aimed if it would realize its aims
Believing this we consider it unnecessary that
any such profession should be established -