

THE
ELEMENTS OF INDIVIDUALISM.

A SERIES OF LECTURES.

BY
WILLIAM MACCALL.



LONDON :
JOHN CHAPMAN, 142, STRAND.

MDCCCXLVII.

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P R E F A C E.

THE following work contains the substance of a series of Lectures delivered at the Presbyterian Chapel, Crediton, Devon, from the 9th March 1845, to the 1st March 1846.

The author offers no apology for their publication. Every book is, or ought to be, its own apology. It may merely be observed, as accounting for certain peculiarities, that what is uttered to the loving and believing bosom of a small country congregation, permits a confidingness of tone, a familiarity of speech, and a latitude of humanness, which would be misplaced in other circumstances.

The Lectures as here given are little more than heads and outlines, much of what was elucidatory and illustrative having been extemporaneous.

This book is not for Critics, though they are welcome to do what they like with it ;—this book is for those deep and earnest souls, who have sinned, suffered, struggled and doubted much, but yet have

yearned with a great yearning for holiness, truth, and faith; and who, amid error, pollution, and pain, have ever abounded in love. They will feel that it is a brother who speaketh to them. Most readers will contemptuously cast the book aside as simply ridiculous; on which the author has only to remark, that his life has been one long tragedy, and that he has thus earned the right, as he has the courage, to be ridiculous. He has borne so much more than the laugh of men which was cruel, that he trusts he can bear with becoming patience that laugh also.

Those few, those very few, brave hearts, that have clung to the author through good and bad report, will gladly testify, that his existence has for many years been too sad and solitary, too remote from enjoyment and publicity, to justify the suspicion that in presenting this work to the world he is impelled by any love of notoriety. It is not when brain and body are exhausted, and our whole environment of being is discolored, that fame can have any potent fascination.

Whatever may be the fate of his book, the author trusts that it will aid that moral and spiritual reformation of Society for which he has always aspired and labored.

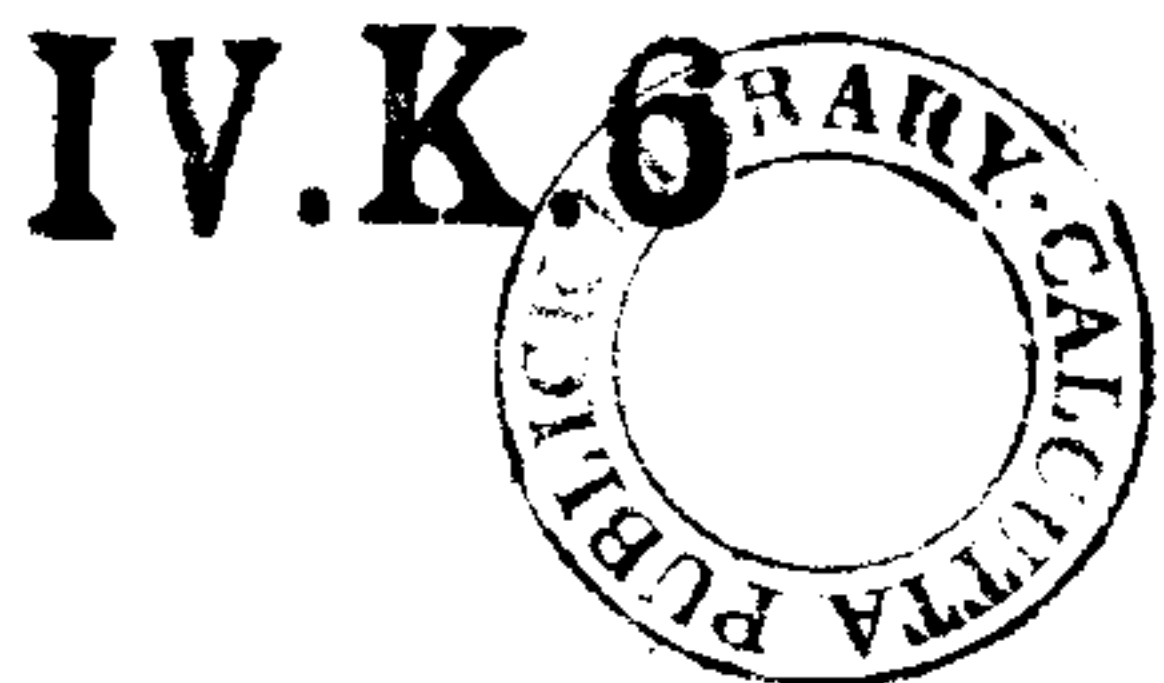
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LECTURE I.

THE CONFESSION OF FAITH.

PRELIMINARY.

I HAVE a great dislike to creeds,—a dislike frequently expressed,—and I do not come here to-night as their champion.

Still I have thought that I might suitably and profitably put in the form of a creed a brief statement of the principles which I have been setting forth and illustrating since my first arrival in Crediton.

There is no inconsistency in this,—for the harm of a creed arises from its being given as the expression of a multitude's or of a nation's convictions, whereas if it is a creed at all, that is, something which the Individual recognises, it must be strictly confined to The Individual.

I do not, then, give my creed as something which I wish my hearers blindly to adopt, but simply as my own Confession of Faith at this period.

A Creed may be defined to be A Statement of The Aggregate Experience of The Individual at any particular point of time.

This supposes two things.

First, That a Creed ought not to be confined as many confine it to Theology.

Secondly, That the Creed like the Individual must be progressive; for as he is continually receiving fresh accessions of Knowledge, and as fresh events are continually occurring in

his life, and as those accessions and those events greatly modify his being, so must any utterance of his being vary at every moment of his existence.

Regarding a creed then in this light, that is, as the statement of the consciousness and experience of The Individual at successive periods of his history, I see no harm in it, but infinite benefit if honestly given, and listened to with candid and tolerant ears.

First of all, if we were thus in the habit of revealing our whole being to each other, we might disburden ourselves of many a dark thought, many a bitter feeling, many an ominous scepticism.

Secondly,—By throwing thus wide open the inward recesses of our heart, we might shed great light on our neighbor's path.

Thirdly,—Our neighbor by doing as we do, might shed light on our path.

Fourthly,—This habit of mutual communication of experience would be sure to promote tolerance.

For men never quarrel about the individual faith which is the expression of their whole being, but about that form of words which is the statement of their borrowed theological notions.

There is not so much absurdity therefore in the Confessional of the Catholics, and in the Experience meetings of the Methodists, as at first sight we might imagine;—only that the Catholics confine that to Sin and the Methodists to real and imaginary temptations or conquest thereof by the Grace of God which I would apply to the Whole Man in the entirety of his human and individual utterance.

To these general reasons why men should confess their Faith or the Aggregate of their Individual Experience to each other, I add the following why I give my Confession of Faith now.

First, I wish to furnish you with a Summary of my principles so that you may meditate on their truth or their false-

hood in a systematic shape, and not scattered over a large surface of lectures, discourses and conversations.

Secondly, As I have so frequently indicated and alluded to some large and fundamental differences between my teachings and those of the great mass of Sectarians, I wish you to know distinctly and at a glance what those differences are.

Thirdly, As I avow myself the Prophet or Teacher of a new and more regenerating faith than any that prevails in the community, and as I aspire not only to make you disciples but missionaries, and as I cannot fashion you into Soldiers of Truth, without giving you arms, it is fitting that you should see clearly what those doctrines are, of which I wish you to be the champions.

Fourthly, I believe that a crisis has arrived in my destiny, if I may trust the impulses within me and the circumstances without me, and that if I consider myself thereby summoned to wider action it is becoming that I should utter the sentiments which this prospect of a wider field of action inspires.

Articles of Faith.

I.—I believe that I am an Individual Man.

The inference from this is, that whatever else may be the accidents of my position or the peculiarities of my lot, whether I be Christian, or Jew, or Unitarian, or minister of the Gospel, or healthy or the contrary, or rich or poor, or fortunate or unfortunate, my highest and noblest characteristic is that of being an Individual.

II.—I believe that my Mission is to develop my Individuality as an Individual.

For it is absurd to suppose that my mission can be identified with any one of ten thousand accidents that I may meet in my progress through the world, for I may be rich to-day and poor to-morrow, to-day famous, to-morrow infamous, and so forth.

III.—I believe that the grandest attribute of every man is his Individuality, and that the Mission of every Man con-

sists in the Whole and Harmonious Developement of his Individual nature.

I claim therefore nothing for myself, either as to faculty or as to mission, which I do not claim for the whole of the human race.

IV.—I believe that the Unity of the Universe necessitates Infinite Multiformity in the Universe.

This multiformity, which is the natural fruit of Unity, is warred against by the Uniformity which Man is so fond of establishing in habits and in institutions.

But as Man can control and modify only a small portion of the Universe, the multiformity which is the natural fruit of unity can be interfered with only to a very partial and limited extent.

V.—I believe that Man, being a portion of the Universe; his Unity necessitates what the Unity of the Universe necessitates—Infinite Multiformity.

VI.—I believe that in this respect, as in all other respects, that which is the law of the Race is the law of the Individual.

VII.—I believe that the community is the happiest, holiest, and most beautiful, where this law is most strenuously obeyed; and that Society can alone be regarded as progressive when it marches nearer and ever nearer to the perfect Unity and Infinite Multiformity of the Universe.

VIII.—I believe that the more human an Individual, the diviner he is, in opposition to all previous doctrines, which have invariably taught that the Divine could only be comprehended and exemplified by being opposed to the Human.

This I consider one of the grandest advantages of the system which I teach, since instead of urging, as all systems of theology, morality, and religion have urged, men to suppress and mutilate their nature in order to come nearer God, it urges them in seeking this purpose to bring forth the entire elements of their nature in their fullness, fervor and variety.

This which I regard as so great an excellence of my system

is sure to be one main cause of the opposition it will encounter from priests, as where the divine and the human are identical a man becoming diviner the more human he grows and he being the best developer of his own humanhood he at once dispenses with priestly assistance and abolishes the priestly trade.

IX.—I believe that Religion is the yearning ever intenser and intenser, of the Human Spirit, for more harmonious and joyous identity with the Spirit of Universal Being :

Poetry pictures the forms of Universal Being :

Poetry becomes Religion when it proceeds from the Multiformity to the Unity of the Universe, and Religion becomes poetry when it proceeds from the Unity to the Multiformity of the Universe.

X.—I believe that this yearning is surest, speediest, fullest satisfied when the Individual is faithfulest to his Individual Nature.

XI.—I believe that every Individual best helps all other Individuals to develope their Individuality, by most perfectly developing his own ; and that Morality is thus simply that fidelity to our Nature in action which Religion is in consciousness.

XII.—I believe that every man in proportion as he developes his own Individuality, will be more desirous that other men should develope theirs ; and that thus Tolerance will assume its sublimest aspect : for instead of being what it generally is now—mere indifference to our neighbor's feelings, thoughts, opinions and deeds—it will be a cordial rejoicing at, and zealous aiding of, the manifestation of his faculties, however different that manifestation may be from the manifestation of our own.

XIII.—I believe that the Revelations of God are perpetual, and that every Individual, while a fresh Revelation of God and of the Universe, is the highest of all Revelations to himself.

with the authority of any miraculous Revelation: it merely establishes the relative value of two things which have both great value.

XIV.—I believe that the Nature of the Individual ought not to be interpreted by sacred books, but that sacred books ought all to be interpreted by the Nature of the Individual.

This proposition strikes at all religious infallibility, for it matters not whether we make a book or a man or a company of men a standard of theological infallibility; the result is the same wherever we admit the standard of infallibility to reside.

XV.—I believe that the Teacher, or Reformer, or Prophet at whatever time he may appear, does not so much utter original and striking truths, as proclaim the Great Unspoken Want of the Age which has been, with growing but unconscious force, fermenting in all hearts.

XVI.—I believe that a Church best fulfils the conditions of a Church, not by responding to some Ideal Standard, or by offering nothing offensive to the Understanding, but by progressively embodying in as large a measure as possible, the different elements of Human Nature.

XVII.—I believe that a Government best realizes the objects of a Government, not by exactly incorporating certain political dogmas which logically cannot be refuted, but by harmonizing in the largest degree, and evolving the vitality of all the various conflicting interests, tendencies, opinions, and activities of the Community.

XVIII.—I believe that National Education can only be a national blessing, inasfar as it recognizes the claims and developes the powers of the Individual.

XIX.—I believe that the Past should be regarded as the Preparation of the Present and the Guide of the Future; but not in any respect as a perfect model either for the Present or the Future.

For if Society is progressive, that period which is most advanced in time must be that which is most advanced in moral

and intellectual excellence, and if it is not progressive it is useless to speculate on the matter, for Society becomes then merely a wearisome and hopeless repetition of the same mistakes, sufferings and crimes.

XX.—I believe that Society develops one principle of Human nature after another, and that when they have all been successively developed, then will they all combine into a beautiful and harmonious Whole.

XXI.—I believe that in the Individual likewise, the faculties are successively developed, till, when they have all been unfolded, they all contribute their united stores of wisdom, experience, and beauty, to form a good and holy man: at least this would be so, if the Individual were what Nature and God intended him to be.

XXII.—I believe that Nations, like Individuals, have their Missions.

XXIII.—I believe that Art in its noblest form, is as necessary to the Education of the Individual and the Education of Humanity, as those things which usually are alone regarded as necessary for the Education of the one and of the other.

XXIV.—I believe that in seeking to disseminate Truth, we should confine ourselves chiefly to positive teaching: not moving to the onslaught of errors, unless these hamper our free path as disseminators of the Truth.

XXV.—I believe that in estimating the value of any institution, political or religious, we should judge it, not by our mere understanding, but by our entire individuality; and in the whole of its various relations, not by principles and practices which our understanding or our wit can easily dissect.

XXVI.—I believe that the value of a theological faith, like the value of every other faith, consists solely in its suitability to the Individuality of the Individual; so that two Individuals educated in opposite faiths may, by exchanging faiths, each find that which most harmonizes with his nature.

We ought not therefore to wonder at the change from what seems a more enlightened faith to one which seems less en-

lightened, since this proposition both explains and justifies such a conversion.

XXVII.—I believe every man is better and worse than he seems ; for as every man is the Child of Infinitude, his nature encloses infinite capabilities of spiritual aspiring and of material degradation, which are realized only to the most infinitesimal extent in his personal history.

From this we may conclude that there is probably less hypocrisy in the world than we are at first sight disposed to believe, for if the bad conceal their vices and make pretensions to virtues that they do not possess, they yet have some good qualities and have done during the course of their life some good deeds which are either unknown, or if known are attributed to artifice and trickery.

On the other hand we may conclude that if the good are calumniated, or if their good deeds are denied, or if vices are attributed to them which they abhor, yet that there are pollutions of imagination, of desire and perhaps of action, which the world knows not, and of which they have in secret been guilty ;—these while covering with the tears of remorse, their conscience tells them to set against the unjust treatment which they meet with from the world.

XXVIII.—I believe that every man is good in proportion as he manifests the Spirit of Love, and great in proportion as he manifests the Spirit of Sacrifice.

Martyrdom then is a sublimer manifestation than genius ; for that which suffers for man is diviner than that which merely strews his path with flowers.

XXIX.—I believe that in the Individual, and in the Education of the Individual,—and in Humanity, and in the Education of Humanity,—the Good, the True, and the Beautiful, should be one, not torn asunder and mutilated for the sake of each other as they have usually been.

XXX.—I believe that sects and parties are simply instruments of Truth and Progress, and that though, from the social as well as from the combative nature of Man, the entire

disappearance of sects and parties is improbable, yet no man who values his manhood, who loves his brethren, and who reverences his God, should ever sacrifice the end for the sake of the instrument.

This however is what mere partizans and sectarians are very much in the habit of doing.

XXXI.—I believe that as the Doctrine of Individuality when fully carried out will prove the greatest blessing to Humanity that has yet fallen on its bosom, so the chief obstacle that this doctrine will have to encounter, and the chief curse that it will have to vanquish, is Conventionalism.

I do not fear then a speculative opposition to the diffusion of my doctrine, but simply a practical one marshalled chiefly by selfishness, cowardice, prejudice and habit.

XXXII.—I believe that the greatest and most blissful truths have had the feeblest beginnings, and that the best proof of their divinity is, that they trusted in their incipient progress to the hand of Omnipotence alone.

Discouragements, disappointments, and misfortunes therefore, so far from damping my zeal in the diffusion of that principle which I am so desirous to diffuse, inspire me, on the contrary, with new energy.

XXXIII.—I believe that Enthusiasm is the soul of success ; that he whose heart does not burn with Enthusiasm cannot be a Prophet ;—that he who cannot kindle Enthusiasm in the hearts of others cannot be a Prophet ;—and that he whose heart is dead to Enthusiasm cannot be the Disciple of a Prophet.

Unless then those who listen to me now have enthusiastic souls, they must look at my doctrine and my plans with a smile of Incredulity.

Passing from this statement of Propositions, let me impress on you, ere we part, the following points.

Every man can become the missionary of a Truth who has the resolution to be so.

The first diffusers of a Truth have never been the mighty

of the Earth, but the poor and the despised who were honest and valiant.

Power grows with exertion, and if you were once to engage in the noble career of spreading a great and regenerating Truth, the region of possibility would widen before you.

I ask you to diffuse this truth in speech, but I ask you still more to diffuse it in actions, for one brave and truthful action tells more than a million utterances of the mouth.

Never forget however that you are to be the champions of truth more than the opponents of error ; never forget charity and the God of charity.

LECTURE II.

THE TEACHER'S HISTORY.

PRELIMINARY.

I SHALL occupy your attention to-night with illustrating the first article of my Confession of Faith.

That article is embodied in the words,—I believe that I am an Individual Man.

Before illustrating this article, I may emphatically declare that it is not my wish, in setting forth the Doctrine of Individuality, to found a sect.

I do not wish to found a sect. First, Because England is the most sectarian country in the world, and I do not see that it is the happiest : on the contrary, I believe that the number of its sects is one great cause of its misery.

Secondly,—Because sects potently prevent men from feeling their own manhood and recognizing the manhood of their brethren, and the great purpose of the system of Individualism is to make them feel the one and recognize the other.

Thirdly,—Because the founders of sects are generally impelled as much by vanity and ambition as by conscience, zeal, the love of truth, the love of Man. They wish to have the shouts of applauding followers, they wish to be famous in aftertimes. Examples are, Wesley, Calvin, Owen, and a host of others.

Nothing so sweet as the possession of spiritual power.

This love of founding sects for the sake of the glory attend-

ing it not peculiar to modern times. Witness Pythagoras, Plato, and others.

But even if I wished to found a sect, I have not the capacity.

First,—Because he who would found a sect must have a large faculty for, must be largely acquainted with, and largely exercised in, matters of minute detail, whereas the whole tendency of my nature is to grapple with and to evolve comprehensive principles.

Hence I am ignorant of many things that the most ignorant completely know.

I cannot state the most ordinary event without hurrying to the conclusion and omitting the most essential and illustrative parts.

Secondly,—Because he who would found a sect must be largely endowed with tact, so as to convert every man he meets, and every incident, however trifling, to the success of his enterprise and the establishment of his institutions; whereas, in most cases, I have no more tact than a child, and obey in speech and in action the first inspiration that comes to my heart.

Thirdly,—Because he who would found a sect must be a man always calm, cool, collected, guided by the most deliberate judgment and the most worldly prudence, with no tincture of romance in his constitution; whereas my whole being is made up of impulse and imagination.

Fourthly,—Because he who would found a sect must have the gift of addressing in the plainest terms large masses of men, either in speech or writing; whereas I cannot help bringing before an untutored audience the most abstract and transcendental speculations that engage me.

Fifthly,—Because he who would found a sect must have the ability and the skill to promote a great dread of his authority, and a great reverence for the symbols of that authority;—an ability and a skill of which I am utterly destitute.

My ambition then is not to found a sect; for this I have neither wish nor capacity. What then is my ambition? Is it of a lower or of a higher kind? Of a much higher kind.

My ambition is not to found a sect, but to begin and extend The Reign of a Truth which will destroy or modify existing sects and successively embody itself in new sects, but which I myself shall never attempt to put into a sectarian shape.

My qualifications for the diffusion of this Truth I conceive to be—

First, That I have the profoundest faith in it.

Secondly, That the irresistible tendency of my mind is to embrace it, and to exhibit it divested altogether of the local, the temporary, the accidental.

An example of the contrary is Luther's doctrine of Justification by Faith, the whole interest and power of which arose from temporary circumstances.

Thirdly, That I am a man of great pertinacity of purpose.

Fourthly, That whether I state my doctrine of Individuality well or ill, clearly or confusedly, awkwardly or eloquently, no one can doubt that I am in earnest.

Fifthly, That if I know myself at all, no worldly advantages would tempt me aside, either in speech or action, from the strenuous advocacy of my doctrine.

Sixthly, That as one main feature of the Doctrine of Individuality is to estimate the Individual for himself alone, and not in connection with his conventional accompaniments or mammonial possessions, I believe, if I know myself at all, that I should not shrink in any case from carrying out this part of my doctrine, so that if I cannot gain the ear of the poor by rhetorical appeal or any other external instrument I can gain their heart by showing that my recognition of and my reverence for their manhood, for their individuality as Individuals, my feeling that they are brethren, sons of the same God, made of the same flesh and blood as myself, is no sham,

no pretence, but a deep and energetic reality inspiring my whole existence, pervading my whole career.

This I consider very important, since a truth, if it is to spread at all, must strike its root first among the humblest classes of society.

MAIN SUBJECT.

I shall divide my subject into three parts.

In the first part I shall give a short sketch of my personal career.

In the second part I shall exhibit the principal circumstances that led me to the discovery and final organization of my Doctrine of Individuality.

In the third part I shall state and illustrate what I mean when I say that,—I believe that I am an Individual Man.

First Part.

In this first part I shall only give so much of my personal history as will be illustrative of my subject.

I was born on the 25th February 1812 at Largs, Ayrshire, one of the most beautiful villages on the West Coast of Scotland.

My parents, though not wealthy, were in circumstances such as to make them, without any impropriety, form the resolution of making me a Minister among a numerous Scottish sect of Calvinistic Dissenters called Seceders, to which my father belonged.

For this purpose I was sent to the University of Glasgow when between fourteen and fifteen years of age, where I continued six years.

When at the University I was a great miscellaneous reader but not a very industrious student,—fond of writing verses, and very romantic, and I do not think that the hard blows which I have received have scourged all the romance out of my constitution yet.

When about sixteen or seventeen I began to doubt the truth

of orthodoxy, and in a short time became a confirmed sceptic with no belief in revealed religion at all.

When about eighteen I happened to enter the Glasgow Unitarian chapel.

I was so much pleased with the preacher that I went often to hear him, and he pictured Unitarianism in such glowing terms that I soon changed my scepticism for the Unitarian faith, profoundly convinced in my youthful ignorance that all Unitarians must be good men, and that Unitarianism was fitted and destined to remove all the woes and crimes of Society.

At the end of my university career I found that I could not conscientiously become a minister among the orthodox Dissenters as my father had intended, my ambition now being to become a minister among the Unitarians.

I accordingly announced my change of views to my parents, and great was their grief, for they regarded the change not only as blasting my earthly prospects but as perilling my eternal salvation.

I was not however to be turned from my purpose. I put myself accordingly in communication with the Glasgow Unitarian minister, and through his recommendation I became in the autumn of 1833 the minister of a small congregation of Unitarians at Greenock about fourteen miles from my native village.

After continuing at Greenock a year, an opportunity unexpectedly presented itself of continuing my studies at Geneva in Switzerland.

Thither I accordingly removed in the autumn of 1834, passing rapidly through London, Paris, and across the whole of broad France with great wonderment and delight.

I continued at the Theological Academy of Geneva for nearly two years, and returned to England in the beginning of August 1836.

I remained in London from that time to the of the year, preaching in various chapels of the metropolis.

In January 1837 I became the minister of a Unitarian Chapel in Bolton, Lancashire, where I continued four years.

Circumstances induced me to leave Bolton at the end of 1840, and I went successively as a preacher to London, Bristol, and Devonport.

From the latter place I came in May 1841 to Crediton, where, with the exception of three months spent at Coseley, Staffordshire, in the autumn of the same year, I have resided since.

You are all acquainted with my doings in Crediton, and on that point I need not enlarge. I may only say that in some respects my residence at Crediton has been the least eventful and in others the most eventful of my life.

Second Part.

I come now to the second part of my subject, in which I shall exhibit the principal circumstances that led me to the discovery and final organization of my Doctrine of Individuality.

Among these I may reckon first of all my country.

England has many advantages over Scotland, and the English character is in some respects superior to the Scotch, but there is no country which has not certain advantages over every other country, and no national character which has not certain excellences which no other national character can present.

Scotland has the advantage over England in that the institutions that operate most directly and potently on the people, such as the Church, the Schools, the Universities, are more democratic. This of course in itself encourages Individuality.

Then Education being much more extended in Scotland than in England, and one consequence of extended education in every nation being to encourage the recognition of intellectual power and of moral worth, and to discourage the slavish worship of wealth and rank, it follows that the Individual is more faithful to his Individuality and more esti-

mated by the standard of his Individuality in Scotland than in England.

Moreover the Scotch are more Individual than the English, for the very reason that they are strikingly deficient in qualities which the English eminently possess. The English have the best balanced character in the world, and this is the great secret of their power and success. But for this very reason every Englishman is more like every other Englishman than the Individuals of any other nation are like the other Individuals of that nation. Hence the English very naturally are more startled and offended with the peculiarities of individual character than any other nation, and almost always treat those peculiarities as impertinences and intrusions. Whenever a character differs from the commonplace characters which they are in the habit of beholding, they treat it as an audacity or a monstrosity.

The next circumstance that helped to lead me to the Doctrine of Individuality is that the character of my parents was eminently individual. Both by precept and by example they showed that Nature, not Art and Conventionality, was omnipotent over them, and the Individuality which they manifested they uniformly did homage to in others.

Moreover if no external circumstances had operated to lead me in speculation or in practice to Individualism, I was naturally endowed in no ordinary degree with individuality, so that I could not and I cannot help being enormously Individual.

Besides being so individual I was both by habit and by tendency shy, reserved, solitary, self-absorbed. Born beside the waves of the mighty Ocean, and all the early part of my life having been spent besides its shores, the grand and glorious forms of Creation were always more my teachers than books. I early learned to speculate on the Universe and to contrast it and its Infinite Spirit with the insignificance of human prejudices, habits and institutions.

Furthermore in my professional career I have always stood

alone. Few or none of my brethren have been willing to show me sympathy or to co-operate with me in my plans and purposes for the emancipation of humanity. I stood alone in Greenock, I stood alone in Bolton. You all know that I have stood alone in Crediton. Now though this has often given me great pain, yet in my religious meditations on my destiny I have learned to see the wisdom of Providence therein. Thrown so much and so constantly upon myself I learned self-reliance, I learned that in these modern times it is the Individual who must redeem the world. Had I been extensively popular in the Unitarian Body, had I always been treated with kindness by my brethren in the Ministry, I should have been induced to trust more in social effort and less in individual struggle.

I have also met during the course of my history with a great many individual men. This has often been a source of much suffering to me, for attracted toward them solely on account of their individuality without looking more deeply into their character, my unsuspecting and unlimited confidence and affection have often been crushed and disappointed by their deceit and treachery. Still their individuality while my connection with them lasted gave a potent impulse to my own.

My residence at Geneva greatly assisted in developing my Individuality and in leading me nearer to the Doctrine of Individualism.

Much of my time there was spent in solitude. This during the earlier part was in some degree owing to my ignorance of the language. At a subsequent period it was owing to sickness, which compelled me to be confined for a long time to a room from which the light was excluded.

Then in the neighbourhood of Geneva there is some of the grandest and most beautiful scenery in the world. Jura on the one side, the Alps on the other, the lake between; Mount Blanc, with its snowy brow, fifteen thousand feet high, and at a distance of sixty miles, seeming so near that a walk only of a few

miles could reach it,—these became the Teachers which the Ocean of my native shores had formerly been.

At Geneva I became acquainted with many German students, learned the German language, and studied German literature.

This opened a new world to me.

For German literature is distinguished above all other literatures for its richness, its universality, the boldness of its speculations, and though not without nationality it is comparatively destitute of this feature.

It taught me then to grapple with the mysteries of the Universe in a sublimer manner than I had previously grappled, and to look at man in the majesty of his manhood and free from conventional trammels and appendages.

Moreover at Geneva I was thrown habitually into the society of men of all nations, French, Italians, Swiss, Germans and others; this intercourse overthrew my national prejudices and made me see the human more than the national or the accidental in any Individual whom I was thenceforward to encounter.

Many of those men were refugees whom seeing bear their martyrdom so bravely I revered,—and learned thereby more deeply to venerate martyrdom in general.

Such are some of the main circumstances that influenced my developement as an Individual, and the formation of my doctrine up to the time of my arrival in Crediton.

The great advantage of my residence here has been that it has enabled me to give a comprehensive and systematic shape to what before was only a naked principle.

The scenery in the neighbourhood of Crediton, beautiful, but not striking or exciting, or filled with violent contrasts, has helped this result.

Then for nearly four years I have been left alone to myself and nature without any one to whom I could communicate my speculations on the Universe. This has never happened before since I began to solve the problem of the creation.

When I came to Crediton my doctrine was ripe for being reduced to symmetry, and Crediton by taking me almost entirely away from the bustle of the world afforded me the leisure and the advantages for maturing my ideas and organizing my system, which perhaps no other place in the kingdom could have so abundantly afforded me.

Let me not forget that all wisdom is bought with labor and pain, and that I have arrived at the High and Holy Truth which I teach through great tribulation.

I have waited till I regarded my system as fully perfected before bringing it to your notice in such a comprehensive shape as I intend to do in this and the succeeding lectures.

Third Part.

I come now to the third part of my subject, or to the illustration of the principle embodied in the words, I believe that I am an Individual Man.

When I sit down to reflect on my nature as a conscious existence I find that I have certain qualities which all other human beings more or less possess.

This constitutes my manhood.

When I sit down further to reflect, I discover that I have certain peculiarities distinguishing me from all other human beings, and which no other human beings have ever possessed, do possess, will ever possess, in the same measure and combination.

This constitutes my Individuality.

When I say then I believe that I am an Individual Man, I mean to state that I have certain qualities belonging to ~~all~~ my race along with certain others which no human being ever possessed in the same form and degree.

I further believe that my Individuality of manhood is moulded and made not by my character or my mind or some faculty of either, but by my whole nature, one in substance and multiform in developement.

For instance, I am a person of impetuous temperament,

and I have likewise a certain complexion ; my hair, eyes and so on are of a certain color, my head, hands and whole body are formed in a certain fashion. I have a certain manner of walking, a certain tone and modulation of voice ; in short, I have a variety of physical qualities which are as distinctively and peculiarly mine as are my mind, my conscience, and my heart.

Now these physical peculiarities are as much a portion of my Individuality as my moral and mental peculiarities, and if my hair had been of a different color, if my hand or brow or foot had been of a different shape, or if I had a deep bass voice or a very shrill one, my Individuality would have been as essentially modified thereby as if my capacities of judgment, of fancy, or of affection had been greater or less.

Now herein arises a grand distinction between me and phrenologists, physiognomists and all others such. Some of these say, Look at the head to know the character. Some say, Look at the face to know the character. I say, I believe that I am an Individual Man, and my head, my face, like my attitudes, my gestures, my dispositions, and a thousand other things, constitute my Individuality, and my faintest smile or the most trifling movement of my fingers may reveal more of my inward being, may tell more of my Individuality, than the most elaborate examination of the shape of my head or the most prolonged study of the features of my countenance.

The belief that I am an Individual Man implies the belief that no circumstances in which I might possibly have been placed could have changed my Individuality or made me very different from what I am. For instance, I believe regarding myself that I am physically timid but morally brave. Now I am thoroughly convinced that no circumstances could give me iron nerves and a dreadnought bearing, while, on the contrary, I believe that no circumstances could diminish my love of truth or my valor to utter it fearless of consequences.

All that circumstances can do with reference to the Individual is to suppress the developement of certain qualities.

For instance, I may have the capability to be a tolerable mathematician or a tolerable draughtsman; but if I were both, or a great many other things that I have the capability to be, I should be substantially the same Individual that I am now. I might have a few more accomplishments or acquirements, but that would be the sum of the difference.

I perpetually war then with the monstrous principle that man is the creature of circumstances. All the leading lineaments of the Individual burst forth in spite of circumstances; it is only the smaller ones that can be effaced. For instance, he who is born a poet will manifest himself a poet in whatever circumstances, even if he write no rhymes.

Further, in believing that I am an Individual Man I believe that the circumstances that now surround me constitute no portion of my Individuality.

Lastly, in believing that I am an Individual Man I believe that we cannot separate the defects from the excellences in the way in which the world usually does. For in some respects every defect is an excellence and every excellence a defect. For instance, my reserve is one of the causes of my profounder thought, and my zeal may often become rashness.

The lesson, my friends, for you to learn from what precedes is, that you cannot be more usefully employed than in studying and illustrating your being in the threefold manner that I have been doing to-night.

LECTURE III.

THE TEACHER'S MISSION.

PRELIMINARY.

I SHALL this evening state and illustrate the second article of my Confession of Faith, the second principle of the System of Individualism, and which is contained in these words,—I believe that my Mission is to develop my Individuality as an Individual.

What I mean by Mission, is the purpose for which I was sent into the world; and I must have been sent into the world for some wise and holy purpose; since, however little we may be frequently able to discern the purposes of God, all that happens in the government of the Universe must have a purpose, and sometimes the events the most trifling in appearance accomplish, directly or indirectly, the greatest and most lasting results.

We are sometimes in the habit of talking of useless people, and, perhaps, if we compare them with others who are ceaselessly and systematically energetic, there may be no great exaggeration in the language. But no human being is absolutely useless. The feeblest, most frivolous, most insipid, has his mission as divinely indispensable, if not so humanly important, as the life and the death of Saviours, Prophets, and Martyrs.

And if the useless are not without utility, neither moreover

We may not, in looking at particular instances around us, be able to establish to our satisfaction, and so as to harmonize with our ideas of God's Providence, why a certain bad man is allowed to grow gray in his iniquities, while another of our brethren, endowed with every virtue, is cut off in his prime; or why a man who, without being bad, is yet utterly indifferent to the sufferings of his fellow-creatures, and wholly devoted to self-indulgence, is furnished with every means of luxury, passes perhaps the threescore years and ten, usually allotted to human life, without encountering a single great misfortune, and descends to the grave untroubled as to a sleep, while he whom the Deity has chosen to perform some notable work for humanity is persecuted, reviled, crucified.

But if we take a more universal view of the universe, the cloud will in a considerable measure clear away, if it do not utterly depart.

In the first place, the wisdom and power of God educe good from evil in a variety of ways; and, among others, when a vice or an institution is ripe for overthrow, the bad man may be the agent employed to carry it to a putrid maturity, in which it necessarily perishes from its own inherent corruption. Without a Tetzcl there would have been no Luther. It was a succession of tyrannical monarchs, from Henry the Eighth to James the Second, that planted so deeply in the English heart the love of freedom. It was a tyrant that caused the Romans so soon to have a Republican Government, whereas if for many hundred years they had grown accustomed, under a long succession of good Kings, to monarchy, they would not, even in case of a revolution, have thought of abolishing the Monarchical Government. It was a King who knew not Joseph that was the cause of that memorable event which has exerted such an important influence on the destinies of the world,—I mean the departure of the Israelites from Egypt. If the Pharaoh who reigned when Moses arose had been a good and merciful man, instead of a remorseless despot, how could Moses have appealed with effect to his countrymen? Under the govern-

ment of a long succession of good and holy Kings they would have gradually sunk into contented slaves, and been at last amalgamated with the Egyptians. They would have forgotten their fathers, and the land of their fathers, and never have dreamt of returning to Canaan.

In the second place, the selfish, the vicious and the cruel serve to carry out the purposes of God by eliciting from the bosoms of others, qualities the very opposite of those by which they are stained. Thus he who is divinely appointed and divinely cultured to redeem mankind from their countless crimes and woes is impelled, first by his sympathy, secondly by a lofty ideal of duty, thirdly by enthusiastic devotion to the service of his heavenly Father. And among the circumstances that aid his spiritual progress the example of the good may teach him much. But perhaps he receives a still more energetic impulsion on his path of excellence by coming into continual contact with iniquities which he cannot help abhorring. Naturally generous, the sight of avarice and the disgust thereat make him infinitely more so. Naturally pure, the sight of sensuality strengthens him to walk through manifold temptation with brow as unstained, with foot as free, and with heart as uncontaminated, as an angel's. Naturally zealous, the sight of indifference clothes him with a miraculous heroism. Naturally disposed to live for others, not for himself, the sight of those who live wholly for themselves kindles within him the sublimest spirit of martyrdom. And shuddering at the abyss of abominations in which, like murky demons, his brethren are weltering, he soars by an instinctive bound to the throne of his God.

These brief hints are sufficient to show that the bad, the selfish, the feeble even, have all their missions, were all sent into the world to fulfil a purpose, to promote God's glory and humanity's perfection.

MAIN SUBJECT.

Having made these observations on Missions in general, I come now to my own Mission in particular. •

And my Mission as I conceive, and as I have already stated, is that of Developing my Individuality as an Individual.

This supposes a multitude of things.

It supposes, first of all, that I possess self-knowledge, for unless I know myself I cannot know the purposes to which my Individuality can be applied.

It supposes, secondly, that I know the relations in which I stand to the Infinite God, for unless I know these I may be attempting more than it is possible for any human being to perform.

It supposes, thirdly, that I know my relations to the Universe, for unless I know these I may, with the most conscientious intentions, increase the discord rather than promote the harmony of the Universe.

It supposes, fourthly, that I know my relations to Humanity, for unless I know these I may expend brain, heart and blood for an abstraction that has no connection with human wants or with human happiness.

It supposes, fifthly, that I know the relations between the Past, the Present, and the Future of my Life, for unless I know these I can only develop a portion of my Individuality. If I live too much in the Past, I become too timid; if too much in the Present, I become too sensual; if too much in the Future, I become too Ideal. Whereas, when taken in their fitting relations, the Past gives me practical wisdom, the Present material vigour, and the Future—that without which I could have no motive to work—enthusiastic inspiration.

It supposes, sixthly, that I know the relations between my different faculties, for unless I know these I do not know myself as an Individual at all; I have merely looked at myself in various postures, and, fascinated by those postures, I have forgotten to look at the aggregate conformation of my Individuality. •

It supposes, seventhly and lastly, that all this knowledge is not to be mere knowledge, but is converted into blissful and beautiful action which, however divine, is yet to be spontaneous, and fresh as the great aspects and emanations of Nature.

These are the seven grand primary laws by which I am to fulfil my mission of developing my Individuality as an Individual; there are many minor ones which obviously present themselves.

First, In developing my Individuality as an Individual, I am not to be surprised at the likeness or unlikeness of my Individuality to the usual aspects of Humanity around me. I may have nothing that particularly distinguishes me from most of those with whom I come into contact, or I may have a great deal. But I should be neither proud of the resemblance nor ashamed of the dissimilarity. All that I have to do is simply to develop my Individuality as an Individual.

Secondly, In developing my Individuality as an Individual, I must cherish a lofty ideal of myself, of my duty, of my destiny. But the root of this Ideal should be my own Nature. I must not dream of some Ideal man abstracted from my own Individual Being. For if I do, this abstraction will remain nothing but an abstraction. For instance, if I picture elaborately on my glowing mind the Ideal of a Prophet, and think that he should be like Isaiah in one point, like Socrates in another, like Melancthon in a third, like Luther in a fourth, like Jesus in a fifth, I may thus form a very pretty picture, but a picture most certainly it would remain, and nothing more; whereas if I felt myself destitute of the chief of those qualities which Great Prophets had possessed before, but if I felt myself endowed with certain other qualities equally fitting me for the prophetic vocation, of these it is that I should form a lofty ideal, and not of certain imaginary ones which I might wish to possess.

Thirdly, In developing my Individuality as an Individual, I am not to have regard to the conventional arrangements and

fashions of society. I am not to war with these capriciously from the love of singularity or from a spirit of antagonism, but neither am I to bow down to and serve them merely because I live in the midst of them, or because other people are their slaves. Inasfar as they help me to develope my Individuality as an Individual, I must not hesitate to employ them. Inasfar as they do not assist this object, I must not hesitate to reject them, however painful it may be to disrupt the sweet associations that gather round them, or however fierce the odium that may assail me in the energetic realization of my purposes.

Fourthly, In developing my Individuality as an Individual, though I am to unfold all my powers in harmony and unity without giving to any one power a childish preference, or in action an unwieldy preponderance, yet as the Will is the faculty which enables me to unfold all my other faculties with wholeness and force, so must I give to this faculty of Will a more careful attention and a more systematic culture than the rest. The limbs which convey our body about from place to place are not more honorable than any other portion of our physical constitution. But as the movements which Nature gives us the power to make are so indispensable to our health, so do we dread more lest damage should come to those limbs than to any other part of our frame, and are always most anxious to keep them in vigorous condition. Thus also must I devote unremitting study to the cultivation of my Will, as being that which puts all my mental and moral energies in movement.

Fifthly, In developing my Individuality as an Individual the consideration of consequences ought never to interfere with that which Nature impels me to perform;—for God's economy must be wiser than my prudence. My Individuality cannot be a right thing to be developed on one occasion and a wrong on another. It must be always right or never right. If any one were to say of the Universe that it is beautiful and good when it brings sunshine and abundance,—disgusting and evil

when it brings famine, storm, and eclipse, we should at once accuse him of shortsightedness and inconsistency. Equally shortsighted and inconsistent should I be if I said that I would develop my Individuality fully and willingly when it directly led to results which I could not help regarding as beneficial, but that I would deviate from and suppress it whenever I could not see that what I was about to do was fitted to conduct to anything blissful,—or when it obviously tended to produce pain where I shrunk from inflicting it,—or when it seemed to contradict the benevolence usually remarkable in the Providence of God. In every case where duty is the embodiment of Individual conviction God and God alone is responsible for consequences. But I must take great care not to confound with duty and not to identify with the great laws of Nature within me that which is only the utterance of a portion of my faculties, that which is only a tradition which I have received implicitly from others, that which is only an abstraction of my understanding or a dogma of my conscience, that which is an ignorant prejudice, not an enlightened faith.

Sixthly, In developing my Individuality as an Individual I am not to look on myself as anything extraordinary, anything for either myself or my neighbor to wonder at, but simply as a natural and spontaneous emanation from the great bosom of the Universe, and no more singular, no more notable than the growth of flowers in spring, the flowing of the brook, the whisper of the breeze. If I conceive that the development of Individuality is virtue, then all who unfold their Individual Nature equally are alike virtuous however different the amount of their ability,—whether endowed with the most transcendent genius or with the most limited powers. If I am favored from on high to see my Individuality more clearly and to unfold it more harmoniously than the mass of my brethren, it is a thing to be glad of, a thing to be grateful for, but not a thing which ought to excite my pride. The flowers that bloom in the depths of woods where there is none to observe and those that bloom in the gay and gorgeous gardens

of the wealthy are equally pleasing to God. And whether I be destined to pass my life far away from the crowd and turmoil of large and busy cities or to rise from my obscurity to widest fame and widest influence, provided I am equally faithful to the laws of my Individuality I am equally virtuous. It is not the Where but the How that constitutes my real value, my worth, or my worthlessness in the eye of God. At the day of final reckoning he will not ask me Where hast thou lived, but what hast thou done,—where are the proofs that thou hast fulfilled thy mission with thy might?

Seventhly, In developing my Individuality as an Individual I ought not to permit the opinion of others to influence my opinion of myself or to change in one single point the course of my conduct. Whatever the opinion of others may be regarding me I am essentially the same being as before that opinion was expressed. It may be desirable to possess the good opinion of those around me, and it may be painful to be assailed by blackest calumnies, but nothing can rob me of my distinctive being, of that which constitutes my excellence or power, but my own folly and crime. I see men who are able to act with vigor as long as they are borne up by public opinion,—but the moment this deserts them they fall into utter incapacity, and the wonder is how such as they could ever have commanded the attention and applause of their fellows at all. I see men who are virtuous as long as their neighbors believe them to be virtuous, but as soon as they are calumniated, as soon as bad motives are attributed to them that they never cherished, or bad actions that they never committed, they sink into pollutions more filthy than those of which they have been accused,—either to deaden the force of the blow or to compensate by indulgence for their former artificial virtue. Let it never be thus with me. Acting upon the knowledge which I have long acquired that excessive calumny and excessive praise are more perillous to vigor and virtue than direct temptation even of the most brilliant kind, let me learn always to prefer my own approbation

to the approbation of others even when the approbation of others is most lavishly given, and to be satisfied with my own approbation even when I have no other approbation but that,—and am pelted and persecuted by the fiercest and most vindictive calumny and spite. This may be a hard lesson to learn, but the harder a lesson is to learn the easier it is to practise; and generally the things that are easily learned are not worth the practising. However in carrying out the principle now under consideration I must not audaciously and recklessly thrust my hand in the face of public opinion." He who does so is a Martyr without any of the merit of martyrdom, and without accomplishing any of the blessings to his race which martyrdom when alike wise and heroic is certain to produce. All the calumny that I incur through my rashness, through eccentricity, through fiery temper, or through aught else, is so much power lost for doing better and higher things. I cannot show in a fashion too quiet and unostentatious that the love of praise and the dread of calumny form no portion of the ordinary motives by which I am influenced. If I tell mankind that I care not for their praise they are likely to regard the declaration as nothing but hypocrisy, and if I tell them that I scorn and despise their calumny they are sure to treat the assertion as vain-glorious boasting, and will soon discover some defenceless and sensitive point where the teeth of the backbiter will wound me to madness. It is on myself that I must urge the lesson,—in the solitude of my self-culture and self-discipline, without babbling and bragging of my strength to the world. The world will laugh at the thunders that I launch against its iniquities, if I show them the anvil on which they have been forged, and the slow and laborious process by which they are prepared. I must stand forth full-armed without any previous intimation of my intention, if I am to smite down the monster Conventionalism and victoriously to fight the battles of Truth and Humanity.

I believe then, my friends, that my Mission is to develop my Individuality as an Individual. I have exhibited the

seven grand primary laws by which I am to fulfil that Mission. I have exhibited seven minor ones, the observance of which is no less indispensable. I do not say that I unswervingly observe all these rules, for that would be saying that I am a perfect man, which I am far from believing myself to be. But those rules embrace my code of morality. They do not enable me to be perfect, but they enable me to march on to perfection. If asked where I have found them, I can honestly say that I have found them in my own heart. And you will find them inscribed on your hearts also if you take the trouble to scrutinize them. Ah! my friends, if I could teach you to look more into your own hearts and less in the eyes of your brethren, how diviner should I speedily make you. To the outward you are compelled by the necessities of your being to look for much of your comfort and for no small share of your happiness, but it is within that you must look for law, guidance, salvation and God. Never forget, my friends, when I stand up as a teacher before you, and urge upon you with earnest entreaty the truths that the pangs of experience have stamped on my innermost thoughts, that whatever I draw as an illustration from my own nature has its counterpart in your nature, and that though I suggest and counsel and inspire, it is yourselves that must raise yourselves from the prostration of worldiness to soar to the Infinite spiritualities of Heaven. Resolve to be Individual; Resolve to be the Beings girt with unity and manhood that God has made you. But let it not be a barren resolution. Let it not be formed in a moment of excitement and enthusiasm and abandoned whenever the fervor of the feeling departs. Say in all calmness, but with utmost energy of will, I dare be Individual, I will be Individual, I will be a Man brave and true even if no other man be found to stand by my side in the warfare with evil, delusion, and despotism. And as a proof that the resolution is no transitory ebullition of the kindled fancy or of the raptured breast, dare to make the first step by descending into those depths of your nature at which you have occasionally

glanced, but never thoroughly traversed, and there you will find teachings far more wise and eloquent than mine. And happy, most happy, shall I regard myself if my humble lessons can lead you to seek and to profit from those sublimer revelations.

LECTURE IV.

THE MISSION OF THE TEACHER'S BRETHREN.

PRELIMINARY.

THIS evening I shall bring before you and illustrate the third article of my Confession of Faith, the third principle in the System of Individualism, contained in the words—I believe that the grandest attribute of every man is his Individuality, and that the Mission of every man consists in the whole and harmonious developement of his Individual Nature.

This proposition may be regarded as the sum and substance of my whole system, and it is that which I have most frequently enounced, and endeavoured to explain and enforce.

It may seem as if I had brought it before you and others so frequently that it is impossible to communicate to it anything of the aspect of novelty, and that I must be condemned monotonously to repeat that which I have so often repeated.

But I think there is a great blunder in supposing that a speaker can only give variety and interest to his addresses by changing his subject as often as possible.

For, in fact, none are more likely to be monotonous and superficial than those who are ceaselessly in search of novelty of subject, however largely they may be naturally endowed with originality of genius.

For true diversity of thought can only be obtained by profundity of thought, and profundity of thought is only possible where idea naturally suggests idea, not where a man is occu-

pied with the incessant hunt of new subjects, and when one idea has no connection with the preceding idea.

Hence I can furnish you with far greater variety of ideas by allowing one idea to suggest naturally and spontaneously another idea, and by treating each fresh idea as it arises, than by allowing each transitory topic to suggest my subjects.

A man often seems to be monotonous because he recurs for ever to the same central subject, while another seems to be diversified by the unceasing novelty of his subjects; whereas it is the former who is really varied through the variety of his ideas, and the latter who is really monotonous from the paucity and poverty of his ideas amid the multiplicity of the topics he treats.

He who appears in a position such as that I now occupy has three objects: first to improve, secondly to instruct, thirdly to entertain.

His first object should be to improve, to show to his audience the beauty of holiness, and to urge them by the most potent entreaty to aspire to its possession; to plant within them the ideal of progressive virtue, and to indicate the agencies by which their individual perfectibility can be carried on; to state and illustrate the renouncement, the self-denial, the martyr courage, the pertinacity, unity, and earnestness of resolve, and all the other excellences by which they may best fulfil the purpose of their nature, best accomplish the will of God, and shine afar as a brightness and deeply spread as a beatitude in the community.

His second object should be to instruct, to reveal to their mind the grandeurs of the Universe; not to people and confuse their faculties with the paltry facts of a shallow information, but to pervade and fructify them with divinest knowledge; to show them the sublime and blissful laws by which the Kingdom of God is governed, and his plans of mercy to his creatures realized; to show them the relation of Man to God and to the Kingdom of God; to show their relations as Individuals to Man, to the Deity, and to the dominions of the

Deity; to show them the agencies that work out the Progress of Humanity, and to teach them how they may prophesy the futurity of the Human Race from a study of the Past; to show the connection between Universal Harmony and Universal Happiness, and how much this connection is strengthened by bringing their own nature nearer and nearer into identity with infinite Nature.

His third object should be to entertain—that is, so to interest their mind that it may never be fatigued or fall into vacancy, insipidity, or dreaminess when listening; to be so animated and to appeal so vividly to all the various faculties that each may find its suitable and sufficient sustenance. It may be denied by certain people, who think smiling a crime and looking sour a virtue, that the Teacher of Truth should ever seek to entertain at all. He should never certainly attempt to amuse his audience. But between entertainment and amusement there is the broadest difference. Amusement signifies the excitement, especially the comic excitement, of our superficial powers. Entertainment signifies the delighted, but not too absorbing, attention of all our powers. Now, who will venture to say that the hearer is likely to attend with benefit to the words of the Teacher if the attention is painful or indifferent? Either pain or indifference would soon cause a cessation of attention altogether. The mere force of will cannot enable any to keep up prolonged attention to that which excites his disgust.

But though entertainment should certainly be aimed at by a Teacher of Truth, still it should only occur in the subordination in which I have placed it.

This, however, is a subordination in which it very rarely occurs. Indeed, the order which I have indicated is almost universally reversed. He who stands up as a Teacher before his brethren endeavours first of all to entertain, then to instruct, then to improve; and the consequence is, that he neither improves, instructs, nor entertains.

For nothing so soon grows tiresome as the attempt cease-

lessly to procure or ceaselessly to give entertainment when entertainment is made the primary object. Even the most frivolous feels that he was made for something higher than mere entertainment. All men have a perception however dim that labour and thought are the destiny and the peculiarity of their race. So strikingly is this the case that men even the most pleasureloving and pleasureseeking convert their very recreations into objects of labour and thought, as in Athletic Exercises and Games. Even if a man only reads a novel and never reads anything else but fictitious composition, he speculates on the probable fate of the actors in it, analyzes their characters, and goes through, as he proceeds, a vast amount of criticism and philosophy. Also, if he have never any heavier or more serious occupation than going to the theatre, he instinctively converts that into a means of thought and labour which seemingly is nothing but an entertainment.

Aware of this fact, and also impelled by a higher motive, my object always is to instruct by seeking to improve, and to entertain by seeking to instruct. And though a man more gifted with rhetorical accomplishments than I may succeed in entertaining more effectually and excitingly at first, yet I am certain that the very circumstances that gave him an advantage over me at first would give me an advantage over him at last.

I adhere then from principle and from what seems wisdom to that system of Teaching to which I am naturally inclined, that of allowing one idea spontaneously to suggest another idea, instead of rambling capriciously over an infinite diversity of subjects; persuaded that if I am true to Nature I cannot be monotonous any more than Nature herself is monotonous.

The grand defect of my Teaching is one which I trust the delivery of this course of lectures will go a long way in remedying. It is not familiar enough. It is not enough illustrated by obvious examples. It should be more direct, detailed, and conversational. Many an idea of mine which seems unintelligible to you by being put in an abstract and metaphysical shape would be clear and convincing enough if put in the

language which you yourselves use in your intercourse with each other.

Let me try then to-night if I can put the proposition that comprehends more than any other proposition in my Confession of Faith the import of my doctrine ; let me try if I can put it in a more familiar and persuasive shape than I have yet been able to do.

MAIN SUBJECT.

If you reflect upon yourselves, the first thing which strikes you is, that you are, that you exist, that you are organized and sentient beings.

The next thing which strikes you is, that you must exist for some wise purpose,—for unless you existed for this you would never have been endowed by an Omnipotent God with existence at all.

Furthermore, in reflecting, you perceive that you are like none of your fellows and that none of your fellows is like you ; and as you admitted that your existence must be intended for some wise purpose you are further compelled by a necessary consequence to admit that the individuality of your existence must serve the same wise purpose.

For it would have been as easy for God to make all human beings alike in moral, intellectual and physical faculties, as to make them with the infinite diversity that now prevails,—if the sameness had equally served his purposes with the diversity.

Admitting this much you are further driven by the same direct and stringent necessity to admit that if there is wisdom, divine wisdom, in your existence, as organized and sentient beings, and wisdom equally divine in your Individuality, you must be carrying out the purposes of that wisdom by endeavoring to ascertain what your Individuality is.

And if you are carrying out the purposes of divine wisdom by ascertaining what your Individuality is, you must be still more effectually carrying them out by developing your Indivi-

duality in the entireness of its energies, since knowledge is only valuable inasfar as it conducts to successful and harmonious action.

Either then there is no purpose served by your existence at all, or you can only be effectually serving it by developing your Individuality as Individuals.

Hence you will see that I do not use any harsh or extravagant language in saying that he who is faithless to his Individuality as an Individual, is, however great his conventional excellences, really committing the most flagrant crime, a crime to which no other is comparable; for all crime consists of two things, of war against the divine will and the divine ordinances and of the diffusion of human misery.

For whatever the caprice of human law may brand as crime and crush with cruellest punishment, it cannot be considered as crime in the eye of God or in the eye of Nature, unless it violate some of the arrangements of Nature and obviously tend to produce human wretchedness. But faithlessness to Individuality by contradicting divine Providence tends directly to produce human misery, and therefore is criminal.

I am not wrong then in regarding the faithful adherence of the Individual to his Individuality as the only virtue, and rebellion of the Individual against his Individuality as the only vice.

These are no forced and strained conclusions, no ingenious special pleadings to bolster up a system. They are as closely bound together, and are as necessary to each other, as particle is necessary to particle in the formation of solid bodies.

I am no mathematician and not much of a logician, but I defy logic or mathematics to produce any closer or more unimpeachable deductions than those by which I have just proved,—that the grandest attribute of every man is his Individuality, and that the Mission of every man consists in the Whole and Harmonious developement of his Individual Nature.

If we proceed a step further we shall see, that what I

have applied to the Virtue of the Individual is equally applicable to the Happiness of the Individual. Holiness and Happiness in the case of God are one, and so are they likewise in the case of Man,—but not in the theological or the conventional sense. God's holiness consists simply in his inability to deviate from his nature as God. And this inability gives him his unapproachable happiness; for happiness can flow from no other source than from the power to produce happiness, and this power to produce happiness does not spring in the case of God from the will to produce it, or from intense benevolence, or from any one of the countless agencies that are placed in the hands of God—but simply and solely from his inability to be anything else but God. It must be the same with the Individual. The happiness of the Individual like the happiness of God must arise from his power to diffuse happiness; and the greater the happiness he diffuses, the greater must be his happiness as an Individual. And as God is the infinitely happy, by his inability to diverge from the constituents of his own existence, so must the Individual be the unspeakably happy by fidelity to his own existence. In order to be happy and the diffusers of happiness it is not necessary that the circumstances in which we are placed should be prosperous or that our influence should be extensive and commanding. All that is necessary is, that we should be faithful to our Individuality as Individuals, that we should permit no temptation to fascinate it from our grasp, no frown of the powerful to crush it into feebleness, no conventional bondage to fetter its movements, no hankering for the trifling baubles of a frivolous world to change it into a fitful and hesitating thing. So that as I always maintain, it is less in thinking of and aspiring after virtue and happiness that we can be virtuous and happy, than by permitting our nature to flow forth spontaneously in the channels that it instinctively chooses, sure that it will fertilize in its course the most howling deserts of Humanity.

What I have said of the virtue and happiness of the Indi-

vidual I say likewise of the Progress of the Individual. It is the will of God that as we proceed in our course we should grow liker him, we should grow diviner. But how diviner? Is this to be by throwing off all that constitutes our manhood, by strangling our most instinctive impulses, by treating our purest desires and most innocent affections as blasphemies and treasons against the Majesty of Heaven? In the books of Christian Theology this is the lesson that is taught; there, sanctification or the process by which Man grows holier is described as one in which all that is human is to be stripped off, and the Individual losing all regard for the things of earth is to pass his time in certain selfish and mystic pantings for spiritual excellence. Now I maintain in opposition to this error that sanctification or the process by which we grow diviner is simply one in which we grow more and more faithful to our Individuality. We may grow diviner and often do grow diviner by mingling more actively in the usual occupations of Society. Ceaseless meditation on God may be a more rapturous meditation than all others, but alone it does not make us liker to God, it does not bring us nearer to his ineffable image. At a certain period of life, when disgusted with the evils and sufferings and oppressions so rife in Society, we fondly dream that if we could enjoy uninterrupted, religious retirement we should be happy and holy in a manner and to a degree that none else has yet been. And if the religious element is strong within us we fly to the depths of silence and solitude to pour out our sympathies with the Invisible and the Infinite. And we enjoy indeed an ineffable rapture for a time. We have feelings, phantasies, aspirings, yearnings for the beautiful and the holy to which no words can do justice. But the rapture is too sweet to last. It is sent in the Providence of God to answer a benignant purpose. For unless we had experienced the utmost sweetness as well as the utmost bitterness of each of our capacities when acting by itself, the desire within us for the perfectionment of our whole nature would never arrive. As we have a religious phase, so we

have a poetic phase, a passionate phase, and many other phases. But it is the awakening from the religious phase that teaches us, if we are wise enough to listen to the teaching, that the religious element is only one of the elements of our nature, not to be exclusively indulged, but to work in co-operation with all our other elements, and that so far from necessitating our withdrawal from the world and from the world's activities, it is intended to give us a more victorious energy in our battle with temptation, in our resistance to oppression, in our endeavours to bless our race, and to carry out the benignant purposes of a wise and holy Deity ; that he is most the Son of God who is most the Son of Man, and that the ascension of Jesus to sit on the right hand of God and his infant slumbers in the cradle at Bethlehem had a closer connection than theologians have ever yet discovered.

Thus my friends have I endeavoured briefly to show what I have so often shown, that the grandest attribute of every man is his Individuality, and that the Mission of every Man consists in the whole and harmonious developement of his Individual Nature. I have tried to be plain and perspicuous. Whether I have been so it is not for me to say. I will take it however as a great kindness if on any occasion when you do not perfectly understand me you will at once inform me thereof. I am your brother, and I have given you proofs that I am not inclined to break the brotherly tie lightly ; you should therefore use toward me all brotherly confidence. If I speak to you as a Teacher it is not with the assumption of an arrogant superiority. You cannot therefore give a more gratifying proof of your attachment to me than by informing me wherein my utterances fail to instruct and to improve you. I wish this on your account ; I wish it on my own ; but I also wish it for the sake of communicating to multitudes besides the doctrines I have been for years communicating to you, but without any of the hindrances to their perfect intelligibility and success which have hitherto been obstacles to their progress. I can only be a good Teacher in proportion as I my-

self am willing to learn, and even the child that is scarcely able to lisp out a few words I should be willing to take for Master if it can teach me how I can better serve my God, and Humanity, and you.

LECTURE V.

THE UNITY AND MULTIFORMITY OF THE UNIVERSE.

PRELIMINARY.

THE proposition which I intend this evening to state and illustrate, and which forms the fourth article of my Confession of Faith, the fourth principle in the System of Individualism, is the following ;—I believe that the Unity of the Universe necessitates Infinite Multiformity in the Universe.

I shall divide my subject into three parts. In the first I shall illustrate the proposition itself, and in the second and third I shall illustrate the two inferences I have drawn from it.

Before however entering on the subject itself I would beg you to consider what a word of mighty import the Universe is. It is a word which I frequently use, and I never do use it without being overwhelmed by an unspeakable sense of mystery and awe. For it comprehends the Past, the Present, and the Future of all things, our own souls, our own destinies, and the progress and the doom of all into which the Creator hath breathed the breath of life. It comprehends God himself with his infinite attributes, activities and designs ; and every attribute, every activity, every design of God is an abyss of darkness and light where our most soaring and searching faculties are lost. The Universe comprehends not merely space but time, and in both alike it is boundless. Time never began, time will never end ; we stand at every moment on the

cloudy yet luminous brink of commingling eternities. Where also does space begin, where does it end? Nowhere. If we could with motion as rapid as the glance of thought pass from the position where we now are to a distance of ten million miles we should find ourselves no nearer the boundaries of space than before. And if at every instant we could travel a similar distance we should still find that we had approached not one step closer to the goal of our journey. We should find wherever we went, even if we travelled on for ever, space, matter, God. What a tremendous reflection is this! How little it causes us to appear and yet how great! How little in comparison of the grandeurs and glories that we traverse! How great when we exultingly feel that we also are a portion of this gorgeous dominion and a portion no less of its omnipotent King! How great when we know that we have capacities fitting us for admiring the greatness of the one and adoring the goodness of the other! And it is not more the magnitude than the minuteness of the Universe that is fitted to excite our astonishment. We view the spacious heavens and they tell us of God. We view the radiant sun and he tells us of God. We view the countless stars and they tell us of God. We view the rolling of the azure and majestic ocean and it tells us of God. We view the verdant earth so bounteous and so beaming and it tells us of God. We view the majestic mountains and their giant peaks and they tell us of God. But each portion of the heavens is as wonderful and as indispensably necessary as the heavens themselves. And though if we were to analyze that of which the Heavens as a whole are composed we should find nothing but the viewless air, yet each particle however small is necessary to universal life, beauty, and symmetry. Each star likewise is the centre of a system, dispenses light and heat and vitality to numberless millions of sentient existences; every ray therefore that it sheds is an indispensable agent in the beatitudes it diffuses. The sun also which illuminates the planetary system with which we are connected though in-

conceivably great yet accomplishes his blissful purposes by the minutest means. When we think of the sun we bring before our imagination his rising in glory in the east, and his sinking in glory in the west, the smile that he spreads on the sky, the gladness that he lavishes on earth and on ocean, and the hues that he scatters on the boundless landscape. Day and night, the changes of the seasons, our sorrow when he withdraws his rays, our gratitude and joy when he again bestows them, these are the associations connected habitually in our mind with his course. But how many works of mercy is the sun working while we look at his radiance and sublimity alone! He is drawing drop by drop from the ocean that, which formed into clouds, is again to descend fertilizingly on the earth drop by drop in rain and in dew; and he is nourishing each individual blade of grass, and each individual leaf on the trees, and each ear of grain, and each luscious grape, and each flower that withdraws its modest beauty from the gaze of the crowd. These and minuter, far minuter operations than these he performs, which men note not because they are as silent as they are blissful. Pass from the sun to the ocean you will discover the same fact. When we traverse its waves or when we stand beside its shores, its calms, its storms and its deep and immeasurable sweep feed and fill the poetry of our nature. There are few men however unpoetical who are not roused into poetical enthusiasm by the sight and sound of the Ocean. Heard thus, beheld thus, it is simply one of the magnitudes, one of the sublimities of the Universe. But descend from its grandeur to its value in the economy of things and you will see that this is as much suited to excite our wonder as the other. Look at it first of all as the great instrument for conveying the wealth of the world from one land to another. How social and interesting it thus becomes! Then look at it again as furnishing in abundance one of the main supplies of human food. And while giving man what is so useful, it gives him also what is ornamental, amber, pearls and jewels of the water, to vie in splendor with the

jewels of the earth. Then every drop in its mighty bosom is instinct with life, and though many of the animals that people its depths are too small for the unassisted eye of man to discern, they do not the less participate of the enjoyment which God so lavishly diffuses. Earth resembles Sky and Ocean in its power to astonish as much by its minuteness as by its magnitude. When we think of Earth we imagine a mighty globe eight thousand miles in diameter, forming part of an immense planetary system, warmed by the sun and rolling ceaselessly in the trackless realms of space, we imagine its prodigious continents and broad rivers and lofty mountains, its enormous plains, its populous cities, and all the Titanic objects that cover its surface. But no less wonderful are the innumerable plants that it nourishes, their silent growth, the variety of its sights and sounds, and colors and forms, of its insect tribes and their mode of nourishment, the bee, the ant, the silkworm, its marvels of organization, and vitality and action more and more multiplying as the microscope comes more to the aid of human research. The same is the case with the mountain as with the earth that bears it. When we gaze at its brow crowned with eternal snow, we are simply appalled and penetrated by its height and grandeur. But when we climb its shaggy sides and observe it more closely, we find at each step new productions of the vegetable and animal world. We find that it is not as it seemed when we gazed on it from afar, a dead and meagre mass, but pregnant with the same life and offering the same variety of aspects as all the rest of the Universe discloses. And even the moss on its gray rocks has a mystery and a meaning to the heart that can gaze on them with a divine sagacity. Marvellous is the Universe then my friends, whether contemplated in its magnitude or its minuteness. But when in addition to its mere external glories we behold and reflect on those which its connection with God and with Man unveils, how much more marvellous it becomes! Behold it as the great theatre of God's agency for diffusing

unlimited enjoyment. He that slumbers not nor sleeps has ever evolved and is now evolving phenomena in every part of infinitude pregnant with bliss to the beings whom he has created; bliss not brought alone from the contacts and communications of sense, but bliss like his own, bliss divine, the bliss of rational and immortal existences when communicating with and meditating on the Deity. Our brain staggers beneath this proud and ponderous thought. When endeavouring to measure the agencies which his fertile wisdom has generated for the promotion of universal harmony and happiness, we know not whether to despair or to surrender ourselves to unlimited ecstasy; but an instinct that we cannot resist impels us to bend our knees in worship, and when lowly prostrated in the fervor of humility and religion, he, the Almighty himself, whispers in our ears, that if we cannot always understand his works and ways we have always the privilege of adoring his mercy and goodness.

MAIN SUBJECT.

After having made you thus rapidly glance at the grand drama of the Universe, I come now to the statement and illustration of the proposition—that the Unity of the Universe necessitates infinite multiformity in the Universe.

One would suppose that this needed no proof if it had not been so frequently disputed.

The multiformity of the Universe has not indeed been disputed; but in all times have existed philosophical and theological systems which have represented that multiformity itself as an evil, and that evil as caused by the existence of antagonistic principles, which are by turns victorious in the government of the Universe.

The leading doctrine of all the ancient Eastern systems of mythology was that Creation was under the control of a good principle that wished to promote the happiness and beauty of Creation, and of an evil principle that wished to promote its misery and chaos; that the mingled happiness

and misery which mankind possess were the result of the conflict of these two principles—that day was the product of the one, and night the product of the other; that spirit was the product and nature of the one, and matter the product and nature of the other; that when men's passions and senses led them into guilt, then the evil principle predominated in their nature; but that when aspirations for the good, the true, and the beautiful, arose in their bosom, then the good principle had the mastery; and that finally the good principle would be triumphant, and the bad principle either utterly annihilated or brought back to goodness. This was the leading idea of the ancient Persian, Egyptian, Phenician, and many other mythologies. It is the leading idea of the Religion of the Hindoos, and of all those numberless and monstrous fables, some of which are as fanciful as the Arabian Nights' Entertainments.

These ideas were adopted in a modified form by the Greeks and Romans, the latter borrowing their religion from the former, as the former had borrowed their religion from the Egyptians.

These ideas also prevailed, though transformed, among the Jews, and our Saviour accommodated himself to those ideas, not by adopting them, but by never formally preaching against them; the reason why he did not interfere being, that he came to preach morality and religion, not to give a new theological version.

They have also been adopted by the mass of Christians who hold what are called orthodox opinions. But in the adoption the doctrine has been strangely denuded of its consistency, for Satan has a power over the higher or spiritual world, while he has no power over the lower or material world; whereas, according to the ancient mythologies, both the evil and good principles had equal power over the material and spiritual worlds; and if there were any truth in the orthodox notion of a Devil, that incarnation of the spirit of evil would be more likely to have dominion over matter than over mind:

Now I maintain, in direct opposition to those ancient my-

thologies and the modern modifications of them, that if there were more than one principle controlling and guiding all things, there could be no unity and no multiformity in the Universe. There could be nothing but chaos. The elements would be in a state of ceaseless warfare. Organic existence, and much more rational and conscious existence, would be impossible. For what the one principle set up the one moment, the other principle would knock down the next. Whereas one principle, by having no antagonist principle to thwart or oppose it, has time to create and establish whatever its wisdom prompts it to establish and create. And, being essentially one, it can have no inducement to change to-day that which it established yesterday. For its essential unity supposes that it can receive no accession of strength, wisdom, or any other quality. What, therefore, it finds good at this moment, it has always found good, it will always find good. Its purposes cannot change, its plans cannot alter, and what assures us of the Unity of this principle is the best guarantee that we can find for our own immortal progress, for if the decrees of this principle are unchangeable we can never cease to be essentially what we are now.

Having established the Unity of the principle that pervades the Universe, it is unnecessary to dwell long on the proof of the Unity of the Universe itself, since the Universe is only a reflection and emanation of the principle whose characteristic is Unity.

The proof that the Unity of the Universe necessitates infinite Multiformity in the Universe is, that a Unity cannot be conscious of itself, and cannot manifest itself except by a multiplicity of forms. It is by actively separating or actively putting together that which is without its consciousness that it comes to its consciousness. And the natural tendency of all consciousness is to manifest itself to or to create a foreign consciousness. This is somewhat metaphysical, and I do not know that I could make it plain to you even by the longest and most elaborate illustrations. I would not introduce it at

all if it were not so intimately connected with my system. But unless I established it, I should have no ground to proceed further, and I wish to march as carefully as possible, so as not to be compelled to retrace my steps. Perhaps, however, the matter may be made a little plainer by supposing, instead of God or the One Spirit of the Universe, yourselves as Individuals. Now, you can only come to the consciousness of yourselves as Individuals by putting other things in motion, or by being yourselves put in motion by other things; and when you have once arrived at consciousness, or at the knowledge of yourselves as Individuals, you would be instinctively driven to learn whether other existences possessed a consciousness similar to your own.

Another reason why the Unity of the Universe necessitates infinite Multiformity in the Universe is, that the Principle One, or God, stands in equal relation to all the external universe, and therefore could not stir one atom of the Universe without stirring the whole.

A further reason why the Unity of the Universe necessitates infinite Multiformity in the Universe is, that the Principle One, or God, could have no preference for one portion of the Universe more than another, and therefore put all equally in motion when he put anything in motion. For instance, he would have no preference of yellow to green in colour, or of the curve to the straight line in form.

I have said, my friends, that the Multiformity, which is the natural fruit of Unity, is warred against by the Uniformity which Man is so fond of establishing in habits and institutions.

One chief cause of this is the conservative tendency in Man, his dread of change, lest he himself come to peril through the alteration.

Another chief cause is his tendency to generalize, and seeing that a thing is good in certain circumstances he concludes it must be good in all.

I have said, however, that as man can control and modify

only a small portion of the Universe, the multiformity, which is the natural fruit of unity, can be interfered with only to a partial extent. All external nature maintains its multiformity, so do human individualities material and spiritual.

I have left myself room only for a few brief words of appeal. Learn to know, more than you have hitherto known, your position in reference to the Unity and Multiformity of the Universe. Never let these be violated in your own being. Be faithful, invincibly faithful, to old eternal Nature, and always be ready to sacrifice the caprices of human institutions to the eternal laws of Deity.

LECTURE VI.

THE UNITY AND MULTIFORMITY OF MAN.

THE proposition which I intend this evening to state and illustrate, and which forms the fifth article of my Confession of Faith—the fifth principle in the System of Individualism—is the following: I believe that Man, being a portion of the Universe, his Unity necessitates what the Unity of the Universe necessitates—Infinite Multiformity.

I have had frequent occasion, my friends, to contrast Man with Creation, Human Customs with the external world, not because Man is different from Creation, but because, while a part thereof, he is less faithful to its everlasting laws than those portions of it which are less nobly endowed.

But however widely and wildly he may diverge from the conditions of his existence, however barbarously he may violate that holy symmetry which is everywhere spread as the living and visible music of God's thoughts, Unity cannot cease to be the characteristic of his nature, and Multiformity the characteristic of his manifestations, more than they can cease to characterize any other aspect, or element, or region of the Universe.

Indeed, to suppose the contrary, would be to admit that Man, by the madness of his whim or the perversity of his will, had power triumphantly to antagonize the immutable purposes of the Omnipotent God, and to make his whole scene of action and his whole modes of operation an exception to the beauty and harmony that pervade God's boundless and bounteous kingdom.

Man, the child of Nature, can never become the mere slave of Custom, can never efface from his brow the proud mark of his origin divine, can never crush from his heart with the shackles of Conventionalism the dream and the daring of his immortal destiny.

Still, though Man can never altogether forget or neglect his Mother Nature, he has often proved disobedient to her commands; and though he can never degenerate into the whole and absolute slave of Custom, yet he is often so abjectly subject thereto that he needs some one who has partaken less of the disobedience, and also less of the slavery, to stand up with prophetic earnestness and apostolic purity to tell him how much he has deflected from Nature's path—so simple and so sublime,—and how much he forfeits of energy and of happiness by the rebellion. And this is what I do, whether I contrast Man's bondage to the Mechanical, the Traditional with the glorious freedom of Nature, or whether I assert, as I have come this evening to assert, that Man, being a portion of the Universe, his Unity necessitates what the Unity of the Universe necessitates—Infinite Multiformality.

By this proposition is meant, not that Man should be ceaselessly in hunt of multiplicity of form, that he should torture his brain to invent, and torture his energies to disclose, variety of action and appearance, but that he should put forth all that diversity of deed, of attitude, of expression, of which he is spontaneously and naturally capable.

I do not mean to deny that the History of Man exhibits a sufficient variety to satisfy the taste of the greatest lover of novelty and excitement. Perhaps it is quite as varied, or indeed more varied, than if Man had been healthily and naturally multiformal. But it is not variety that I am advocating for variety's sake. It is multiformality as the natural expression of the Unity of Man and the Unity of the Universe, and as the agent of universal harmony and happiness, that I stand up to state and illustrate. Now multiformality in this sense has never prevailed in the past of the world. For be it observed, I

speak of Humanity as a whole, and therefore the fact that a nation may for a brief season have displayed that multiformity which I advocate, does not stand in my way. For instance, the Greeks, in the full bloom of their glory and genius, came nearer multiformity than any other nation that has arisen in the world. But then the Greeks, properly so called, were a very small nation, and much of what has usually been attributed to the Greeks must be limited to the single city of Athens. And even the Greeks were not entirely multiform, in the exact idea that I attach to multiformity. They lived, in a large measure, naturally, in spite of some unnatural habits and institutions, and they had a keen sense and profound appreciation of the grandeurs of Nature. They produced also the most marvellous works in all departments of literature, art, science and thought. But then their life was not earnest enough. It had too much the aspect of a holiday. And without earnestness, nothing but the superficial and social faculties can be developed, and it is the glory of Christianity that it has introduced earnestness into the world. Then the Greeks were inclined to regard everything too much under an artistic point of view. This also was fatal to multiformity, for it led them to ~~use~~ Art, not as Art should always be used, as the aid and revealer and developer of Nature, but to put Art in the place of Nature. Moreover, instead of putting the Good, the True, the Beautiful, The Individual Man's Trinity, on a footing of equality, they put the Beautiful above the Good, and the Good above the True. This likewise was fatal to Multiformity. For by seeking chiefly beautiful forms, they diverged from the Multiformity of the Universe which often exhibits forms that are simply beautiful, and others that are simply good, and others that are simply true. Another reason why the Greeks were prevented from being thoroughly multiform was, that the elements of their culture were all foreign. Most of what the Greeks knew and practised they had obtained from Egypt. They indeed prodigiously improved and polished what they borrowed. Nevertheless it

was borrowed. It had not the racy flavour, the freshness, the vitality of a native growth. And that only which springs vigorously from the national soil is it which can be multiform. Take for example, of the truth of this assertion, the agencies that have operated on the national culture of the English. How tame, timid, and barren is England in everything which it has borrowed from abroad! How rich and multiform in all those things which are the spontaneous product of the English mind and character! How tedious, commonplace, and unimpulsive its music, except in those instances, as in simple lyrical expressions, when it is the ardent outflowing of the English heart! How rich and multiform its poetry, except when for a period it was corrupted by a slavish imitation of the French! Then, again, look how meagre and monotonous have the aspects and activities of the Reformation been during the three centuries that it has had an abode in England! And why? Because the Reformation was thrust on the English by the caprice of a brutal and barbarous despot. It contradicted all their ancient associations and prejudices, and lacerated many of their nearest and dearest feelings. They hated it for itself alone, and they hated it still more as being a bondage forced round their unwilling limbs by the cruel and tyrannical will of another. How manifold, how natural, how spontaneous, on the contrary, have been the fruits of the Reformation in Germany! And why? Because Germany was the native land of the Reformation. It was there the response to a great national need, a deep national yearning. It had nothing forced or artificial in it. It was not the whim of princes that created it, or that carried it to the maturity of its might. It sprung from the teeming and ardent depths of the popular bosom; and popular as it began, popular it has continued, ramifying and fertilizing in myriad beatitudes. The French afford a striking example of a nation of imitators, a nation consequently where there is much versatility but little multiformity. And while the most imitating nation, it is a curious fact that they should be the most imitated nation.

But though original in fewer departments of human effort than any nation, ancient or modern, that has played so conspicuous a part in the destinies of the world, yet in whatever they are truly original and national they are as notably multiform as any other people.

To return however from this digression to the point from which I started, namely, to the assertion that the Multiformity which is the natural and spontaneous fruit of Unity has never prevailed in the past of Humanity, that Humanity, as a whole never put itself forth multiformly all over the world, and that the most multiform nations, such as the Greeks, were only multiform to a limited extent. The majority of ancient nations were under the uncontrolled sway of despotisms, where, as in Russia at present, the entire population was subject to the will of a single Individual. Every man then in the Empire, however extensive, was the mere echo and image of this one unbridled tyrant who was bowed to as to a God. There was no room for multiformity here. There was the uniformity of serfdom, the uniformity of blind and unquestioning submission. Thus was it in the ancient Assyrian, Persian and other empires that obtained for a time supremacy in the world.

There were other countries where the government was different from this, but where the people were equally slaves, and equally prevented therefore from manifesting multiformity. There were first of all Theocracies, governments where all the power was directly or indirectly in the hands of the priests, and where all the people consequently were crushed into a sacerdotal mould. These were more fatal to multiformity than mere autocracies, for they added the terrors of the invisible to the thunders of the visible. Man may rebel, and has rebelled, against his brother Man, however formidable the authority with which he may be clothed, but he shudders to rebel against him when he regards him as the representative of the Divinity. The most complete theocracy in ancient times was Egypt, and in order to strengthen its power it was made a law in that country that no one could be King

who was not likewise priest. And the King's principal servants were also priests, and the most trifling actions of his daily life were regulated by a code of rules which the priests had drawn up. So that he was not so much surrounded by servants obedient to his call, as by masters, jailors, and spies, who were ready to poison or to stab him the moment he proved faithless to the priestly corporation. If the King was thus a slave what could the people be? Nothing but slaves, still more fettered and trampled on than he. And even the priests themselves were under the thralldom of laws made centuries before, and which they did not dare to violate. The result of all this was, as you may imagine, the most dreary monotony, where Man, whether priest or king or simple peasant, was crushed into a mere machine. This uniformity had one compensating circumstance, not indeed to the Egyptians, but to us, in the creation of pyramids, temples, and other works of art which could not have been produced in a free country, where each man's energies were at his own disposal. And it is part of the wisdom of Providence in educating good from evil, to make that which was a folly and a crime in the Past, a glory and a Teacher in the Present. For instance, some of the finest monuments of ancient Rome and other cities that have fallen into decay and which are now part of the poetry of all nations, were erected for the most cruel and bloody amusements. Such were the amphitheatres. Another theocracy, in which there were more of popular elements than in the Egyptian, was the Jewish, and which existed as long as Judea continued an independent country. The circumstances under which the Hebrews obtained an independent existence as a nation, the many laws in the Mosaic Dispensation specially directed to the protection of the poor, and something stalwart and stern in the very character of the Hebrews themselves, prevented them from falling into such abject theocratical slavery as the Egyptians. Still they were under the theocratical fetters, and they could not escape from the inevitable theocratical curse, a levelling,

deadening, paralyzing uniformity, which was varied now and then by a civil war, or by the heroic career of some divine prophet rising in the midst of universal corruption to denounce oppression and sin.

Another form of government was Aristocracy. Such was ancient Rome as long as it continued a republic, and such were the Grecian republics. It is a great mistake to suppose from the name Republic that Greece and Rome were thoroughly democratic. So far was this from being so, that the mass of the people were slaves. And of those who were free, all but a few were excluded from political influence and power. And those few were as entirely the masters as autocrats and priests were in the cases just mentioned. We have something of the same kind at the present moment in Switzerland. Still though the Governments of Greece and Rome were aristocratic, they had something of the forms of popular representation. The people were not mere and utter ciphers, for there were rival factions, and these sought to gain popular favor by homage to, and recognition of, the popular voice. There was therefore more of multiformity than the autocracy or theocracy allowed, though falling far short of that which Humanity as a Unity requires and will ultimately obtain.

The only other form of Government prevailing among the ancients was one of which Scotland, about a century ago, offered a striking example. It is that of the chieftain over the tribe or clan. It exists, though fast fading away, among the Indians of North America; and it exists in a more organized and perfect form among the tribes that inhabit the deserts of Arabia. Now this in some respects permits and necessitates more multiformity than any of the three preceding governments. As Hunters, as Fishers, as Shepherds, the members of the tribe are continually brought into contact with the grandeurs and beauties of external nature. The dangers and hardships of their existence sharpen their senses and excite their imaginations, and give them poetical sympathies and aspirings which often burst into song. Still the

life of wandering tribes can be multiform only to a very limited extent; for it is not progressive, and without progression there can be very little multiformity. The habits, the occupations, the prejudices of the Arab, now are exactly the same as his ancestor's were two thousand years ago.

Such then, my friends, were the chief forms of government that prevailed in ancient times: the autocratic, or the government of a despot; the theocratic, or the government of the priestly corporation; the aristocratic, or the government of a select and privileged few; and the patriarchal, or head of a tribe or clan. Antiquity presents no example of a democracy properly so called, and in a political point of view it is only under a Democracy that Multiformity, the spontaneous and natural fruit of Humanity's Unity, is possible; so that if there had been no other cause, political causes would have been abundantly sufficient utterly to prevent multiformity.

Having glanced at the governments of ancient times inasfar as they are connected with my subject, let me now glance at the chief influences and tendencies of antiquity by which in a larger or smaller measure distinct from government that subject is illustrated. These may be reduced to three; Sensual enjoyment, Religious show, and Warlike operations.

Sensual enjoyment was to the mass of the ancients something like an inevitable necessity. They had not learned to reflect. They had no profound and mystic consciousness, to which to retire when the pressure of their usual occupations was withdrawn. They had not even any of those innocent amusements which Modern Civilization so lavishly supplies. In a word, and that tells more than the most elaborate dissertation, they had no home, embracing all the sweet associations suggested by that beautiful word. The climate in most cases, and their social habits in all, induced them to lead an outdoor life; and their dwellings were simply places where they guarded their property and spent a certain portion of their time in sleep. And the governments for their own selfish purposes nourished this sensual tendency as much as

they possibly could. For they knew that as long as they kept the people ignorant, and supplied them lavishly with the means of sensual enjoyment, their power was secure. And the cry of the debased Romans was not for freedom, but for bread and the games of the circus. As long as these were abundantly supplied, the people were content, like the beasts of the field, with their condition. Hence a cause of the downfall of one of the Roman Emperors was his bringing a ship laden with sand from Egypt when the people were starving.

The strongest influence among the ancients next to sensual enjoyment was their love of religious show. The most that they knew of religion was as a thing of pompous ceremonies and gorgeous processions. Of course the religious fibre throbbed in their breasts as it throbs in the breasts of all. But it throbbed in vain; it knew not whither to turn in the fervor of its sympathies, and bewildered it turned to waste its longings amid theatrical superstitions.

The third principal influence among the ancients was War. With them War was as much a means of expending their superabundant energies as of satiating their fierce and fiendish passions. It helped them to expend a force which would have proved suicidal if it had not been expended. It broke and varied the weary monotony of their existence. It was less the lust of conquest than a sort of rough amusement.

Such my friends were the chief influences that diversified the uniformity which the governments of antiquity inevitably and intentionally produced. But from their nature they could evolve only a very limited and partial multiformity. In one respect they were social, and to that extent multiform. By promoting an outdoor existence they threw men much into contact with each other, and elicited their social feelings.

When Christ arose he did not meddle with the governments, not because he was indifferent to the misery that these produced, but because anything like political action would have entirely defeated his mission. But he assailed those three influences which I have exhibited as existing apart from

governments. He assailed these not antagonistically, but by teaching positively, principles whose operation must inevitably lead to their overthrow. He assailed sensual enjoyments by teaching spiritual purity and elevation ; he assailed religious show by teaching religious feeling ; he assailed war by inculcating peace. His instructions were much needed and were most triumphant. But men in the excess of their newborn enthusiasm went to the opposite extreme, and therefore by being onesided were as far from multiformity as before. And ever since Christ's career they have been passing from one extreme to the other, and sometimes trying to reconcile both by sacrificing a portion of either. And such is the spectacle which the Christian world now exhibits, such is the spectacle it will continue to exhibit, till men discover that the Unity and Multiformity of Humanity demands that Sense and Spirit have equal claims and equal privileges.

LECTURE VII.

THE UNITY AND MULTIFORMITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

PRELIMINARY.

THE sixth article of my Confession of Faith—the sixth principle in the System of Individualism—is embodied in the proposition which I intend this evening to illustrate, namely, I believe that in this respect, as in all other respects, that which is the law of the Race is the law of the Individual, or in other words, as the Unity of the Universe necessitates Infinite Multiformity, and as the Unity of Man necessitates Infinite Multiformity, so the Unity of the Individual necessitates Infinite Multiformity.

The fourth, fifth, and sixth articles of my doctrine have a very close connection, and ought to be intimately interwoven in the mind of him who intends to give the doctrine itself a practical application.

Such a one ought to feel that in putting forth his own Multiformity as the manifestation of his Unity he is not developing an isolated fact, but that he is identifying himself with the Unity and helping to unfold the Multiformity of Humanity and of the Universe.

This habit of considering ourselves a portion of Humanity in its noblest sense and of the Universe in its sublimest import is more natural to some minds than to others; for there are minds whose ideal yearnings instinctively bear them up to the grandeurs of infinitude; but there is no heart that has ever

throbbed for something higher and holier than sense, (and all hearts have so throbbed,) that may not be taught the divine significance of its relation to Man and to Creation; and without the perception of this significance nothing but a morality of a very inferior kind can be inculcated.

Three kinds of morality have been taught and practised in the world; Moralities of Obedience, Moralities of Fear, and Moralities of Calculation. I would substitute for all these what I may call a Morality of Emanation.

The Moralities of Obedience have taught men to do certain things which were represented as duties because thereby they were supposed to be fulfilling the will of God.

Now most assuredly we ought to aspire in all things to fulfil the Will of God, and he who does not fulfil what he conceives to be the will of God commits a grievous sin. But the uniform reference of everything that we do or purpose to the will of God is apt to beget a slavish feeling. We come to look upon that foreign will as a despotism with which it is foolish to struggle, and which it is vain to resist. Our obedience is not a willing, cheerful obedience. It is mechanical, grudging, constrained. It wants elasticity and spontaneousness. We would rebel against this iron yoke, only that we have so long been serfs that we have lost the courage to rebel, except when omnipotent nature bursts volcanic through the self-imposed bondage, and we riot for a brief delirious hour in animal excesses, in passionate ardors, to bow when the excitement is past with a more crouching and cowardly prostration to the tyranny that has fettered us than before. How different this craven slavery from the joyous and energetic service of children to their Father God!

The Moralities of Fear have taught men to do certain things which were represented as duties because thereby they might avoid certain painful consequences in this life and certain fatal results in the life to come.

This is the morality which all theologies teach. Instead of appealing to the diviner instincts of human nature they rouse

and appeal to its selfish dread. A series of minute and formal observances, which earlier priests have invented and later priests have concocted into a system, are pictured as constituting the entire sum of human virtue, and any violation of these observances is not merely branded by the priest's anathema, but the thunders of a special providence are supposed to be always watching to blast it, while beyond this mortal scene the arrows of immortal woe from the full quiver of the Deity's wrath fiercely await it.

Now it is scarcely necessary to repeat here that which I have already so frequently repeated, that a Morality of Fear is no morality at all. All Morality supposes the energetic agency of conscience; and conscience has its terrors grim enough, as all who defy its voice can testify. But when conscience becomes a self-torturing fury it utterly fails of the purpose for which God hath planted it in the human bosom. Conscience, if it is to fulfil aright its allotted task, must be softened by love and illuminated by thought. And when thus illuminated and thus softened it is a beautiful and salutary principle of action. But Fear quenches the torch of thought and freezes the warm gush of affection, and then Conscience stumbles blind and mad amid a chaos of perplexities whenever marching more regularly than usual, led by a priest's hand, and whenever resting more quietly than usual, soothed by a priest's opiate.

The Moralities of Calculation have taught men to do certain things which were represented as duties, because upon the whole the doing of those things was likely to promote their happiness and the neglect thereof their misery.

Now Moralities of Calculation are not so debasing as Moralities of Obedience and Moralities of Fear. They involve in general less of servility and cowardice. They may include however quite as much selfishness, and not uncommon is it for them to include a great deal more. Never indeed in the most exalted and generous nature, in the nature the most prompt to heroic sacrifice, can the love of happiness and the dread of misery cease to be motives. Nor is it desirable that they

should. The evil is in their becoming the only motives. And this they are apt to grow even when we rise above a commonplace Utilitarianism. Take for instance the highest form in which a morality of calculation has been taught, and you will find that it is deeply imbued with a selfish tinge. I allude to the precept of Christ in which he says,—Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them. If the world obeyed in all things this precept it would assuredly be much better and happier than it is. Still it embodies a selfish calculation; for expressed in other words, it includes the principle that all the enjoyment that our fellow creatures are fitted to give us, we would wish to pay back by conferring equal enjoyment. Though this then is a precept of Christ, I am far, very far, from thinking that it ought to be regarded as the foundation of Christian morality. Indeed with regard to this and other precepts of Christ which wear a Utilitarian and calculating aspect, we ought to regard them as intended mainly for such of his disciples as being of a practical character were incapable of appreciating the Martyr Morality which he taught in every action of his life, and sealed by his death. And if a Morality of Calculation of so lofty a kind as that of Christ's in the famous precept just quoted was colored by selfishness, how much more selfish must be those other moralities of Calculation which are not gladdened by a gleam of Christ's heavenly spirit!

To Moralities of Obedience, to Moralities of Fear, to Moralities of Calculation, I contrast my Morality of Emanation, which is founded on the relation deeply felt between the Individual, Humanity, and the Universe in their Unity and Multiformity. I would render the Individual moral, not by the consideration of his connection with other Individuals, not by a reference to his social circumstances, but by making him spontaneously put himself forth as a portion one and Multiform of the Infinite All of Things. Morality should not be a principle in the Individual's bosom of which he is perpetually conscious. The more morality is natural, (and it can

only be morality at all by being thoroughly natural,) the more it is unconscious. We ought to be moral with the same noiseless manifestation as the tree unfolds its leaves in Spring. And we can only be so by habitually identifying ourselves with Man and Creation. We ought to be good, true, and beautiful; we ought to be one and Multiform without the ceaseless and self-analyzing struggle to be so, and to appear so. And in order to assume this attitude and this developement we have not so much to learn as to unlearn. We have simply to burst through certain artificial environments and certain conventional trammels, and cast ourselves with all freedom of movement on the lavish lap of Nature the Maternal.

MAIN SUBJECT.

Having thus illustrated the Morality that springs from the intense and pervading feeling of the connection between the Individual's Unity and Multiformity, and the Unity and Multiformity of Humanity and of the Universe, I proceed to the brief illustration of the principle that the Unity of the Individual necessitates Infinite Multiformity.

I need not again traverse the ground which I have already in my two preceding lectures so thoroughly traversed, to prove that Unity always requires Multiformity. I shall, instead of demonstrating what has been so amply demonstrated, consider what the consequences are which the proposition, that the Unity of the Individual demands Infinite Multiformity, involves.

First of all it involves the consequence that character should not be sacrificed to mind nor mind to character, but that there should be a reciprocity of intellectual and moral culture.

For if the character is cultivated at the expense of the mind or the mind at the expense of the character, there can only be a onesided developement, and therefore there can be neither Unity nor Multiformity.

We see instances of the first in Burns, Byron, and men of

the same stamp of genius. We see instances of the last in many of those who in all ages have supposed that it was a proof of Christian humanity and self-denial to spurn all intellectual gifts and acquirements. Such have been many of the anchorites of the early church, many of those who have shut themselves up in monasteries, and among those in this country called Evangelical Christians the number of such as make this blunder is very considerable.

This contempt for intellect is one source of the prejudice which many entertain against the Education of the people ; for though there are selfish considerations mixed up with the prejudice, yet the prejudice itself is mainly founded on the supposition that intellectual light is unfavorable to morality.

In the second place the Unity and Multiforimity of the Individual require that no principle however exalted should be considered as a thing apart in the constitution of Man ; for if so considered it fails of its object and mutilates the other principles of Human Nature. This has hitherto been the case with Religion or rather with that troop of theological chimeras which have been put in the place of Religion. The religious feeling and the religious aspiration are placed in the bosom of Man to be developed naturally and to blend harmoniously with the other elements that compose the Individual. But it was never meant that Religion should exclude those other elements or suppress them or interfere in any other manner with their operation. To mould and transfuse and elevate them it certainly was intended, but not in such a way as to efface them as features of the Individual. The consequence of this mistake is, that in those in whom Religion is active and pervading it grows into a monstrosity absorbing the entire being and deadening much that is eminently and beautifully human. One main source of this error is in the supposition that religion consists in certain definite and formal acts, whereas such acts are only the expressions of a sentiment which can equally find utterance in a thousand other shapes besides those that the Christian temple and its gorgeous ceremonies exhibit. On

the mountain top, on the stormy ocean, in the depths of umbrageous woods, the voice of the Human Heart can rise in prayer to the Omnipotent as fervently and as welcomely as from beneath the dome of the lofty cathedral. There is no place God is not, there is no place where we may not offer our incense and our praise. And even when the lips move not and when the eyes, weighed down by sickness and sorrow, are closed, the heart can throb its silent adoration as sacredly as if it mingled its breath with the melody of thousands. How much also of Religion may there be in sympathies and emotions of the Human soul in which it is wholly unconscious of the religious impulse! When gazing on the brow of a sleeping child, when receiving the approving smile of a parent for some deed of excellence, when standing by the bedside of the loved and the beautiful whom the grim destroyer is about to snatch for ever from our gaze, when fighting the good fight of faith and truth with a terrific inferiority of external agencies, but with the conviction of being ultimately victorious, when diffusing some grand and regenerating idea destined from on high to redeem the world; in these and numberless other circumstances that will occur to the recollection of you all, how often Religion gleams on our mind while we know not of its presence! It comes, it departs, and it fulfils its blessed mission like the balmy breeze that blows so softly on our cheek while we gaze at the Spring flowers that we taste the luxury without stopping to ponder on its cause. When Religion once more assumes the spontaneousness that it has lost, when it grows more a spirit and less a form, more unconscious and less conscious, then it will as potently aid, as it has potently hindered, the Unity and Multiforimity of the Individual.

In the third place the Principle that I am this evening inculcating requires that no portion of the Individual and none of the instruments that minister to any of the Elements of the Individual should be treated with contempt. None of the faculties of our nature are so sure to ensnare us as

those which we despise. If we entertain a reverence for the whole of our nature we shall shudder before we desecrate any part of it with sin. One reason why men live more naturally in the East than in Europe is, that much in the human body which is there looked on with veneration is here looked on with ridicule. For instance, the long beard of the Oriental, which he cherishes as the symbol of manhood and patriarchal authority, calls forth here the loud laugh and the indecent stare of curiosity. We behold a striking proof how little the Nature of the Individual is understood in the Societies which have sprung up of late years in this country for the suppression of certain vices by the practice of entire abstinence. Here the total disuse of certain things because they have been misused is in fact a condemnation of the corporeal members that use them. It is a condemnation of the palate that tastes, of the heart that is gladdened, of the brain that is exhilarated, of the blood that is stirred into a warmer and more vigorous flow, and consequently it is a condemnation of God for attaching pleasure to the use of any of our corporeal members. No one can be a greater foe of all kinds of intemperance than I; for that the human form, the dwelling of an immortal soul, should be sunk into a more than bestial degradation, Oh! how mournful, how wretched is this! But the plans at present employed for antagonizing intemperance I cannot help regarding as blasphemies against the wisdom of Heaven. Of a kindred nature to this error is that of many moralists who are always declaiming against luxury. That many of the favored of fortune spend their days in luxurious ease instead of employing their energies to aid the happiness and emancipation of mankind is lamentably true. But how few are these compared to the number of those whose days and nights are spent in the most abject penury and distress! The evil is, not that men are too much given to luxuries, but that the luxuries are not sufficiently diffused, that they are confined to a class instead of being the heritage of all mankind. What is a luxury? It is only a higher kind of comfort, and comforts

have a vast deal to do both with our usefulness and happiness. To me, for example, it would be a great luxury to be able to possess an extensive library; but if I did possess it, so far from being an injury to me it would, by supplying me with more extensive if not more accurate information, give me the means of making my utterances to my fellow-creatures more interesting and instructive than they are now. The picture gallery is a luxury to the nobleman who is rich enough to have one; but who will venture to say that it has an effeminating or in any way a pernicious effect on his character? By refining his taste and filling his mind with beautiful images it helps to excite sympathy for his humbler brethren and tends to diminish the selfishness which his conventional position is apt to create. No, my friends, let us rise above such narrow-minded morality. Let us see that everything in the Individual is human, and if human is divine. If the eye was made to behold beautiful sights, there is no object too beautiful for it to behold. If the ear was made to hear glad and grateful sounds, there is no sound too glad or too grateful for it to hear. And if the other senses, though possessed of less sublime associations than these two, were yet made for a definite purpose, they are best accomplishing that purpose by seeking their appropriate field in its choicest spots. Let us see that he who despises any portion of himself despises the God who made him.

In the fourth place the Unity and Multiformity of the Individual require that the agencies which government or society furnishes for the development of his Individuality should none of them be given as a substitute for other agencies, or in preference to other agencies. Yet this is what Government and Society are always doing. Government offers certain agencies, and a section of Society offers certain other agencies, and other sections offer certain other agencies, till the eye sickens with disgust in beholding the chaos. Government says: Let us build prisons for the criminals, and workhouses or prisons of another description for the poor. Up starts a

numerous party and says : Vain are all your remedies without an equalization of political privileges. Forthwith appears another that says that the people do not want votes, but bread. Then another who says that Churches are most wanted. A fourth appears as the advocate of schools for national education ; a fifth recommends a cultivation of a taste for the fine arts ; a sixth speaks warmly on shortening the hours of labor ; a seventh is enthusiastic in favor of holidays for the people. And each man has his own panacea for the universal woe. Now Man's Unity and Multiformity require not one of these things alone, but many of them, and many, many more for whom no advocate is found. The evil is in opposing them, instead of making them all converge toward the developement of the Individual's Individuality, and in employing them as instruments of political warfare instead of what they ought simply to be, social remedies. And every man who is in earnest for popular redemption will bring forward whatever plan he conceives fitted to fulfil it as a social benefit and not as an engine of faction.

Such then, my friends, are some of the principles which the Unity and Multiformity of the Individual involve. I have very rudely and rapidly sketched them, without attempting anything like an elaborate illustration. But as I wish you to carry out the doctrine which I inculcate, and not to listen with mere curiosity as to a glare of sparkling novelties, I trust that however rude and rapid my statements and illustrations have been, they will not be wholly powerless in helping you and urging you to be examples, convincing examples, to the world, of the beauty and excellence of the doctrine which I teach.

LECTURE VIII.

THE UNITY AND MULTIFORMITY OF SOCIAL BEING AND ACTION.

PRELIMINARY.

THE seventh article of my Confession of Faith, the seventh principle in the system of Individualism, I shall this evening bring before you and illustrate. It is embodied in these words: I believe that the community is the happiest, holiest and most beautiful where this law is most strenuously obeyed, and that Society can alone be regarded as progressive when it marches nearer and ever nearer to the Perfect Unity and Infinite Multiformity of the Universe.

As regards the latter part of this proposition, many deny altogether that society is progressive; and of those who admit its progression, few if any are disposed to admit that that progression consists in anything but the substitution of certain artificial agencies for certain agencies of a less artificial kind.

On the first class it is not necessary to waste much time. They consist either of those who are ignorant of history or of those who are bigotedly opposed to all change in existing institutions, or of those whose gloomy and morbid mind despairs of Society as it despairs of everything else.

Human progress is so slow, that a man who confines his view of human affairs to the experiences of his own life is apt to conclude that Humanity does not march at all. The conservatism of human habits is so deeply rooted, and the growth of a new opinion meets with such terrific conflicts and

disasters, that if we limit our gaze to the few short years that a mortal existence embraces, the world may seem to be absolutely stationary. For the improvement that we notice in some things is balanced by the decay which we perceive in others. And as the best things are the longest in ripening, and even when they have ripened diffuse their beatitudes silently, we are little likely to mark their effects if we do not proceed beyond the range of our personal observations and recollections. It is only by wisely pondering on and comparing the records of the Past and by tracing the influence of one age upon another that we discover how many fecundities Civilization gradually receives into its ample bosom, and what are the successive gains and triumphs of Humanity.

Again, if we have a bigoted attachment to the political and ecclesiastical institutions in the midst of which we are placed, we shall be as indisposed to admit human progression as in the previous case. For by opposing ourselves to all change in those institutions we either directly or indirectly state that they are perfect. We thus shut out all progress for the future. And by shutting out future progress we deny past progress. For progress, when applied to Humanity, is something interminable. It cannot begin and proceed to a certain point and then stop. So that a man who is so fiercely conservative as to fight against all innovation has no other way of accounting for the existence of those institutions he so much admires but by attributing it to accident. And if he denies that it is the result of accident, then he is compelled in spite of himself, in spite of his predilections, in spite of his passionate devotion to the Old, to admit, in however confused a form, that which we usually recognize as human progression.

Moreover, my friends, those whose habitual tendency it is to look with sombre and melancholy eyes on their own condition and destiny, are certain to behold Humanity as darkly and despairingly. If they read history they find its pages foul with blood; if they turn to the actual world around them they witness, in myriad forms, war, oppression, misery, crime.

Their diseased sympathies make them immensely exaggerate the amount of wretchedness that prevails, and they are little disposed and little capable of disentangling the preponderant good in the Past and in the Present from the evil that environs and thwarts it. They therefore conclude that Human Progression is merely the dream of enthusiasts, that the eternal doom of Man is to suffer and to weep, and that if ever he wrench his neck from the crush of a tyrant's heel it is to become the more tortured and trampled slave of his own bestial vices.

Let me glance now at the second class, or those who admit human progression, but who as I have said almost all confound that progression with the substitution of a more artificial agency for a less artificial.

Now this substitution, so far from being invariably progression, is more frequently retrogression. For it generally leads men away from the worship of Nature to the idolatry of Art, and when it does so what else can we call it but a going backwards? For instance, all the great mechanical discoveries and appliances that have distinguished England during the last thirty years ought, according to the usual theories of human perfectibility, to be regarded as improvements and as potent aids in the march of civilization. But few of them am I disposed to regard as such. Not that I am inclined to consider them as evils in themselves. Subordinated to higher and holier things they would be the greatest blessings. They are evils because in rendering the material of more importance than the moral they make man the timid slave of that which he should master and mould to diviner purposes. It is not an evil that man should travel on a railroad at the rate of sixty miles an hour, but it is a great evil that he should be able to do so while his mental and moral growth is so infinitely slower in the comparison. So it is likewise with all the other material developements of England. They are blessings in themselves, but curses when they bury man's immortal soul under ponder-

ous masses of dead matter. Contrast the docks, and ships, and commerce of Liverpool, with its squalid, drunken, ignorant population. Contrast the wonders of the mining districts with the brutalized wretches that people them. Contrast the manufacturing districts with the vicious beings that crowd them. Contrast London with its countless prodigies, its mighty stream of overboiling vitality, with the hundreds of thousands that in filth, and rags and disease, and guilt and anguish, find a demon's home in its putrid alleys and its dismal dens of death. In none of these cases, and in many more that might be mentioned, does the evil consist in the material improvement, but in the hideous degree in which it surpasses moral and mental progress. Nothing threatens the peace of England more than this very circumstance, that Matter is deified while Man himself is brutalized. Of course it is more or less the case in most countries, but no country has offered or does offer anything approaching to the spectacle which England in this respect presents. And this is the cause why a revolution in England would exhibit features of dread of which the bloodiest revolutions in other lands can give us not the faintest notion. It would be the insurrection, the fierce explosion, the lawless and mad assault of Matter against Man. What would not perish in that whirlwind of chaotic antagonisms? The sacred, the venerated, the beautiful, would be as reeds beneath the Mammoth's tread. It is a possibility which I never like contemplating, and yet by the views which I entertain regarding human progression I cannot help contemplating it. I view myself in these Modern times as the Prophet of Nature, and as such I cannot help proclaiming that Nature is never trodden under foot and Art enthroned in high places without writhing herself back to her pristine attitude and power with fieriest vengeance. Political and social inequalities, financial difficulties, and other kindred circumstances, might complicate themselves with the cause of impending ruin to our country that I have mentioned. But that is

destined to be the chief cause unless wisely and timely warded off by the activity of government and the self-denial of the people.

MAIN SUBJECT.

I proceed now, after these preliminary observations, briefly to illustrate the proposition which is the subject of my present address.

In the first place, I assert that the Community is the happiest where the law which I have been illustrating in the three preceding lectures is most strenuously obeyed, the law, namely, that the Unity of the Universe of Man and of the Individual necessitates Infinite Multiformity.

For the happiness of a nation does not depend upon what it possesses, but on how it acts; and it can act well only in proportion as it acts naturally, and the characteristics of Nature are Unity and Multiformity.

In addition to this, as Happiness consists in a proper alternation of activity and repose, the community in which the law of Unity and Multiformity is observed is sure to be the happiest; for that law makes repose and action the handmaids of each other.

In those communities where this law does not predominate there is either a long sickening quiescence followed by the thunder and desolation of the hurricane, or there is a constant fever of political excitement. We have instances of the first in many Eastern Despotisms, and of the second in Ireland. Now if the first of these is unnatural, the second is equally so; for where there is incessant political agitation there is no room, no taste for social improvement; and politics, instead of being what they ought to be—one of many means of human progression—become the great end and object of existence. Ireland's wrongs are many, but some of its patriots might be better employed than in feeding the fury of political fanaticism.

Furthermore, those communities where the law of Unity and

Multiformity is strenuously observed are the Happiest, because the Individual is not sacrificed to Society nor Society to the Individual, but each helps to develop the resources and to promote the enjoyment of the other. Now, so far, the history of mankind has presented nothing but a succession of sacrifices of the Individual to Society and of Society to the Individual. The liberty and the energies of all the Individuals composing Society have been mutilated and hampered for the sake of some supposed advantage to Society; and then again Society itself has been strangled and trodden for the sake of some privileged individual or Individuals. There has been no Unity because there has not been one kindred spirit pervading all; and there has been no Multiformity, because in order to obtain the appearance of a kindred spirit permeating and vitalizing the entire community, men have been the slaves of uniformity in habits and in institutions. In this state of constraint, and of enormous but useless martyrdom on all sides, where was there room for happiness? But in a condition of Society where Unity and Multiformity are the necessities of each other, there would be no need either of constraint or of martyrdom. The perfect freedom of the Individual, so far from endangering Society, would give Society stability, safety, and strength, and martyrdom would disappear, because martyrdom is needed for no other purpose but to restore the freedom of which Society or the Individual has been deprived. Man would thus have all the happiness that Society can give him, all the happiness that he can obtain from promoting the happiness of Society, and all the happiness that he can derive from the developement of his Individuality. Whereas if he seek happiness from any one of these three sources at present he forfeits the happiness arising from the others. If he developes his Individuality as an Individual he forfeits whatever enjoyments Society can bestow; and if he seeks these with avidity he must renounce his Individuality as an Individual. And if he seek happiness from promoting the happiness of Society he cannot receive happiness from the developement of his own

nature; because benevolence, to the exclusion of the other elements of his character, becomes his monopolizing principle of action; neither does Society lavish on him any of its raptures, because Society never thanks those who attempt to bless it. How warmly then should we welcome the time when under the reign of Individualism the happiness of Society and of the Individual shall be one!

In the second place, the Community in which the law of Unity and Multiformity is strenuously observed is not only the Happiest but the Holiest. By holiness I do not mean a puritanical and pretentious observance of religious rites and ceremonies, though this is the sense that is usually attached to the word: but profound and intense communion with the Deity; and the manifestation in our daily actions of the Deity's attributes and purposes. Now where is this so likely to be found as under the dominion of a system where the Unity of the Individual is a step to the Unity of Man, and the Unity of Man is a step to the Unity of the Universe, and the Unity of the Universe is a step to the Unity of God; and where consequently, by this beautiful but close gradation, the Multiformity of the Individual is identical with the Multiformity of God? Man in this way becomes holy, not by keeping his religious feelings in a state of ceaseless excitement, but by permitting his entire nature to unfold itself harmoniously. There might, under such a system, be no churches, and no chapels, and no priests; he however is yet stumbling in darkness who supposes that these constitute holiness. But there would be a perpetual worship from every human soul, not, as now, monotonous and mechanical, but varying as the Individuality of the Individual in its utterances varied. People attend this chapel or that church Sunday after Sunday, witness the same services, hear the same instructions, breathe the same praises. All novelty of impression or depth of emotion is impossible. But where Unity and Multiformity were the law of the entire community, holiness would vary with the natural experiences and outpourings of the Individual.

So that, whereas to-day he might be in a sensitive mood, his holiness would be a holiness of feeling; to-morrow, in an imaginative mood, his holiness would be a holiness crowned and illuminated by gorgeous fancies; then again in a meditative mood, his holiness would be a holiness of sublimest thought; then again stirred and enraptured by the external world, his holiness would be a holiness of sense, but sense purified and inspired. And as his moods and manifestations changed, so would his holiness be modified. Now this would not merely give holiness that which now it notoriously wants, variety, but it would bring it into the most intimate harmony with the universe. For instance, when I kneel in my chamber in a moment of sorrow or remorse, when I lead and join in the devotions of this assembly, and when I stand amid a scene of transcendent loveliness and raise my adoring heart to the skies, I feel as if these different acts had no relation to each other. This arises in some measure from prejudices of education which I shall never be able entirely to conquer, and which taught me to attribute an excellence to the formal acts of worship merely because they were formal, while they prevented me from regarding informal acts of worship as any worship at all. The great foundation of these prejudices is in the supposition of any merit in the mere formal act of worship. Another cause why I feel as if the formal and informal acts of worship have no relation to each other is, that they have very little in reality. My religion of the closet, my religion of the church, my religion of nature, do not blend as they ought to blend with each other. My religion of the closet is too ethereal, my religion of the church too contemplative, and my religion of nature too sensuous; and they are so because they do not afford each other mutual influence and impulse. A further cause why formal and informal acts of worship are separated by so wide a gulph is, that priests and others have taken the habit chiefly for the purpose of increasing the value of religion in the priestly trade, of contrasting as broadly as possible the Christian Religion and Natural

Religion. Now this is both criminal and absurd. For if there is anything in the Christian Religion which is not natural, then to the extent that it is not natural it is bad. But the effect in the case before us, of contrasting the Religion of Christ and the Religion of Nature, is, that those who think themselves good Christians consider it a species of Duty to hate Nature that they may love Christ. Whereas he will be the best servant of Christ who most deeply and rapturously feels the glories of Nature, and Christ will be more thoroughly understood and his blissful doctrines more energetically practised than they are now, when men are wise enough to see that Christ came not to lead men away from Nature but to guide them back to her path, from which they had so deplorably wandered.

In the third place the Community in which the law of Unity and 'Multiformity is most strenuously observed is not only the happiest and holiest but the most beautiful. Beauty, whatever metaphysicians say regarding it, is always most prevalent when there is most proportion between different objects or between the different parts of the same object. Now this proportion would be the grand characteristic of a society dominated by the law which I have this evening and on preceding evenings illustrated; because the Multiformity which is the consequence of Unity excludes two things which are great enemies to social proportion; the first of these is violent transitions, and the second is inequality of aspect and magnitude, both of which are strikingly characteristic of Society as at present constituted. The ideal community also of which I am speaking would be beautiful in another relation, namely, in being happy and holy; for happiness and holiness are seldom united where beauty is not soon present as their companion.

In the fourth and last place I assert that Society can alone be regarded as progressive when it marches nearer and ever nearer to the Perfect Unity and Infinite Multiformity of the Universe. It matters not that it has all the outward signs of

prosperity. It matters not that every art adorns it and every science enlightens it. If it is wandering farther from Nature it is marching, however brilliantly, yet backward. And though Humanity as a whole can never make any retrograde movement, yet nations can, and for the sake of Humanity nations often must. For centuries, Rome after it had lost Roman virtue was augmenting its territory and extending its power and gathering around it all that can give splendor to a nation. But all this while it was deflecting further and further from nature, and only accumulating materials for its magnificent grave.

You cannot better apply, my friends, the doctrine which I have been this evening inculcating than by fighting with heart and hand and brain against that materialism which has seized so voraciously on England. Bring Unity and Multiforimity to your country by expending your utmost efforts to make England's moral and intellectual progress worthy of her material greatness. Otherwise I am afraid that the Mission of England will be no other than to serve as an eternal lesson to posterity that God punishes with unsparing wrath the kneeling of Christian men in base idolatry to Matter however pompous its displays.

LECTURE IX.

THE IDENTITY OF THE HUMAN AND THE DIVINE IN THE INDIVIDUAL.

PRELIMINARY.

THE eighth article of my Confession of Faith, the eighth principle in the System of Individualism, is the following :—I believe that the more human an Individual, the diviner he is in opposition to all previous doctrines, which have invariably taught that the Divine could only be comprehended and exemplified by being opposed to the human.

Seldom, perhaps never, my friends, has there been what may be called a human estimate of human nature, man being either indiscriminately censured or indiscriminately praised ; or, if examined with anything like justice and calmness, examined only critically and analytically for metaphysical purposes.

I have said that he has been indiscriminately censured, and of this you need no long, learned, or elaborate proof, for what is the whole of modern theology but a furious and undiscerning calumny of Human Nature ? Man is held forth as a monster of depravity, as incapable by himself of anything good in motive or in action, as thirsting by a native, deep, immortal instinct, for sin of the most loathsome kind, and only kept from wallowing in the most putrid abominations by the mercy of God. His warm affections, his generous sacrifices, his manifold virtues, are all forgotten, and the filth of his appetites, the

fury of his passions, alone are brought into view. But, my friends, though priests and the priestridden, a numerous class, utter these audacious falsehoods as currently and as familiarly as if they were the most indisputable facts, still it is only theologically that they either believe or utter them. Neither with regard to himself nor with regard to others does any one habitually feel and act in accordance with this disgusting picture of Human Nature that his Theology presents. Indeed Society would be intolerable if men's theology were the chief and constant guide of their conduct. Each would consider himself, each would consider each, as a moving pestilence of mischief and madness; a poisonous and stifling malaria, rife with death and the fear of death, we should inhale from every contact however slight with our fellowcreatures. And crucifying suspicion, not even lulled by the broken slumbers of the night, would be the ceaseless companion of our path.

And if man has been indiscriminately censured, so has he been indiscriminately praised, and principally by Rationalists, meaning by this word those who professing Christianity take the mere understanding as sole and supreme guide in religion. Not merely with regard to the Trinity but with regard to all its other tenets,—Rationalism, as I have frequently remarked, is less a system than the negation of other systems. And thus because Orthodoxy lavished its harshest epithets on Human Nature, Rationalism as a matter of course has covered it with its choicest eulogies. But if the censure has been blind and ignorant, no less blind and ignorant has the flattery been. Rationalism has neither looked at Human Nature with a human eye nor fathomed it with a philosophical appreciation. It has talked of the beauty and excellence of Man's moral and mental constitution as it has talked of God's benevolence, without knowing or caring to know further of the matter before it than that it offered an abundant topic of declamation. And nothing has been more fatal to the earnestness and consequent success of Rationalistic sects than the habit of squandering commonplace rhetoric on subjects to which they

attach no definite meaning. For if we fall into the indolent custom of declaiming about certain things as if we felt them to be realities, we render ourselves incompetent to discover and to feel a reality when we see it. You have no better evidence of this than the fact that Rationalism, which babbles so glibly of the grandeur of humanity, is the foremost to denounce any manifestations of that grandeur which do not meet with the general, conventional recognition of the world. On heroes, martyrs, and on all who dare be honest, it hurls its deadliest hate. Now he who feels by comprehensive knowledge and deep sympathy the greatness of Humanity will be prompt to welcome and to worship every revealing of that greatness. While then Rationalism wars so fiercely and so uniformly against God's chosen Prophets and crouches so slavishly to the most hideous idols that crowd the temple of Mammon, we must view whatever it says in reference to Human Nature as nothing but a pompous, hollow, hypocritical phrase.

Of those who have neither indiscriminately censured Human Nature nor indiscriminately praised it, all who have examined it with anything like justice and calmness have, as I have said, only examined it critically and analytically for metaphysical purposes. Of course I am no more opposed to metaphysics than I am to anatomy. The one is as useful and necessary as respects the mind as the other is as respects the body. But the beauty, health, freshness, and animation of the human frame, have departed ere it is submitted to the anatomist's knife, and it is in something of the same condition that the human mind is considered by the metaphysician. For though he may examine other minds, yet the chief mind that he examines is his own, and the process by which he brings his own mind before him for analysis necessarily prevents its natural and spontaneous play; so that though metaphysics prodigiously assist the knowledge of Human Nature, yet they cannot present a perfect picture of it in all its warm and vital symmetry. This applies not merely to Human Nature but to everything

in which Analysis is employed. This is one reason why the Ancients were more poetical than the Moderns; everything in sky and earth and ocean exhibited itself in its natural shape to their eyes and fancy. Of course a great poet can view all things with natural eyes in modern times as well as a great poet of antiquity; but in order to do so he must be content to forego scientific acquirements which would inevitably damp his poetical energy.

Now, my friends, in none of these three modes do I consider Human Nature. I neither lavish indiscriminate censure like the orthodox, nor indiscriminate praise upon it like the Rationalists, nor analyse it scientifically like the metaphysicians. I view it humanly, and endeavor to put myself in the same natural attitude toward it as toward the rest of the universe. Whatever knowledge I obtain regarding it, I seek to gather by the absence of anything like violent effort or attention. When I walk into the fields when they are clothed in their vernal robes, and when all sights and sounds and odors that enrapture the sense come unbidden to my soul, and when everything around me seems a portion of myself, and I myself seem only a portion of the perfumed, breezy, elastic air, I as naturally receive those glories and gladnesses that environ me as they stream naturally into my being. If it cost me an arduous endeavor to feel the melodies and splendor of the manifold landscape, then it could not be said that I naturally felt them, and if I did not naturally feel them it could not with truth be said that I felt them at all. Thus likewise as respects Human Nature, that cannot be called a natural or human estimate thereof which requires violent effort or elaboration. When its various elements richly unfold themselves before us like the loveliness and the lavish adornment which Spring scatters on wood, and valley, and mountain, and we faithfully picture the impressions we thus receive, then, and then only, can we be said to be giving a human or natural estimate of Human Nature. We neither strive to conceal faults nor to blazon excellences, nor minutely to dissect the

features that come before us, but to exhibit everything in its natural proportion of aspect and color. And thus delineating Human Nature I set forth my system as a natural or Human exhibition thereof.

MAIN SUBJECT.

So estimating Human Nature, I maintain that the more human an Individual the diviner he is, in opposition to all previous doctrines which have invariably taught that the Divine could only be comprehended and exemplified by being opposed to the Human.

In the first place I prove this proposition by showing that the more an Individual is human the more he fulfils the purposes for which he was created by the Divinity.

What are the purposes for which a human being is created?

First of all, that he himself should receive a portion of the universal enjoyment which the hand of God dispenses. However exalted the theory which we adopt with regard to the Spirit of Sacrifice, or however ardently we praise self-denial and martyrdom, still it is obvious that even he whose entire life is consecrated to suffering for others must be a participant of the universal felicity which the Deity diffuses, as much as he whose life is a mere pursuit of sensual pleasure. What else is meant when it is said that he prefers a life of martyrdom, than that he finds more happiness from devotion to that career than any other? If he did not, most assuredly he would abandon that career for one less perplexing and perilous. It is wrong to say that it is the mere blind instinct of conscience that hurries him on. Of course, in every Martyr, conscience must be a large and active element; but there are those in whom it is larger and more active, who never, by any chance, rise to the grandeur of martyrdom. Conscience, when acting alone, generally leads rather to selfishness than generosity; for it is ceaselessly disquieted by fears that relate to personal salvation, and seeks to dispel those fears by a silly

and scrupulous observance of the minor formalities that Theology prescribes. So that it is far from being the highest praise that we can give to a man to say that he is very conscientious; he may be so, and yet have no noble impulses within him. But the Martyr, in addition to his love of Truth, has a love as deep for those whom Truth, by its final victory, is to bless, and a profound religious sentiment that rarely entangles itself with trifles of form and formula, but blends itself with the magnitude of the Infinite. Then, in addition to this, the Martyr exults in the perils and terrors and obstacles that his mission brings; they are to him what the trumpet's sound and the gleaming standard are to the Warrior who is panting for battle. So that it is the greatest of all delusions to suppose that there are beings who are excluded from the raptures of the universe. A wretch, wholly wretched, could not live. Either we have will enough and strength enough to break through the difficulties that hamper the path we have chosen, or, if destitute of these, we generally have what is equally valuable, the patience to bear the hardships of our lot; for as an author of antiquity has said,—All fortune can be conquered by bearing it, and no more valuable lesson can be taught to minds of a certain class. It may be said that there are persons who have boundless and soaring aspirations without proportionate ability, and who are thus cut off from the two sources of happiness I have just mentioned; they have neither will nor patience, they have neither strength to grasp at the objects of their ambition, nor have they patience to bear the deprivation of these. But minds of this stamp have generally a happiness of their own. The very disproportion between their ambition and their ability is formed by their imagination, and in their imagination it is that they find their happiness. What matters it whether our happiness arises from our imagination, from our hope, or from our possession of the objects for which we have for years been yearning? The main thing is, that it is happiness. Away, then, with the unhallowed, the blasphemous, supposition, that any one is sent into

the world with the awful doom of being excluded from the table of God's mercies. We have all our allotted place at that bountiful repast. The evil is, that our fellow-creatures, in their despotism, so often thrust us from it, or, in their lust of possession, monopolize our share, or, worse still, that we ourselves, from some fantastic whim, desert the bounties that are spread before us to grasp at some imaginary blessings which are far beyond our reach. This, however, we shall never do, if faithful to our humanhood. Fidelity to that will tell us where our place is in the immensity of things; and, finding that, we shall likewise find that which men seek, and seek in vain in all other manners,—identity with the Supreme. Destiny, duty, happiness, God, we shall find all to be one, and, finding them to be so, we shall not be slow in teaching our brethren a lesson so valuable, proclaiming in their ears and in their hearts, that if they seek God and identity with God, they must seek it in the rich soil of their own humanhood.

The second purpose for which a human being is created, is to promote the happiness of humanity, and here, as in the previous case, the more human he is, the more he is divine, for the more he realizes the designs of a wise and benevolent God. In all cases of philanthropy, it is not so much what Society wants as what we have the capacity to give, which is the rule of action. And would that this most important principle were not so frequently lost sight of by all the philanthropists of the day! They sit down to inquire what Society most wants, and mutilate and suppress their nature in order to supply that want. We should reflect, that the least important of us lives not for his own time merely, but for all time, and that though the blissful work which we do in obedience to our Individuality will be little felt now, it will be sure to be felt sooner or later. Take for examples of this, some of the great poets, Homer, Dante, Milton, and others, who, at the distance of many centuries, have appeared in the world. If they, at the time when they lived, had merely considered what was the Great Want of their Age, they might have done much toward

satisfying that want, but they would not have left those immortal poems which have influenced all subsequent civilization. Now we can few of us influence civilization so grandly as they, yet we can all influence it on the same sublime principle, that of doing what we have the capacity to do, without looking so much at what Society requires. In addition to this mistaken philanthropy, there is a mean and miserable cowardice which runs in the same channel. When a man is faithful to his humanhood, he not merely runs counter to his age, but he goes a-head of his age. The first brings danger, the second brings ridicule, and there are few men who can encounter both danger and ridicule. It is much easier to do as the cheap philanthropy of our day does, to take up some popular question on which nearly all the world is agreed, and rant and rave about this in commonplace harangues, and thereby gain the character of Social Redeemers, while saving ourselves at the same time and feeding our own vanity. How many questions of this sort are abroad at the present day, such as Negro Slavery, Free Trade, Teetotalism, Capital Punishments, the Abbreviation of the Hours of Labour! And there are a thousand things of the same stamp, matters which there is no risk incurred in advocating, while at the same time a man is recognized as a philanthropist by being their advocate. There is another reason besides those I have given, and a very potent one, why what are called the Wants of the Age are looked at, and popular questions are adopted for advocacy, and that is, intellectual indolence. If a man attempt to benefit humanity by being faithful to his humanhood, by developing his own capacities rather than by looking at the transitory requirements of Society, he is obliged not only to run counter to his age, and thus encounter danger and go a-head of it and encounter ridicule; but he is compelled to think deeply, intensely and originally. Now, if we take up popular questions and dilate on popular wants, we find all the materials of eloquence and argument already prepared. The questions have been debated

a million times before we touch them, and we have only to deck them out in a little tawdry rhetoric, in order to have our ability as much praised as our philanthropy. You see, then, that in this matter there are manifold temptations, and it would not be honest if I concealed them from you, when recommending so strenuously a particular course of action. I never wish to ensnare you, my friends, into the adoption of my doctrine, lest you should conclude that, I having deceived you, my doctrine is itself a deception. However, I do not think that in the case under consideration the temptations would be so powerful but for the blunder that accompanies them. It is because it is thought to be the chief duty of a Man to minister to the transitory wants of the Age, that Moral Cowardice, the Dread of Ridicule, and Intellectual Indolence, are so powerful. And when it is proved to you, as I have been endeavouring to prove, that the more an Individual is human the more he is divine, because the more he is human the more he fulfils the purposes of God; and that he best fulfils those purposes, as far as philanthropy is concerned, by developing his own nature without looking mainly to social wants,—I trust that I have endowed you with strength against the temptations I have indicated.

In the second place, my friends, I prove the proposition which it is my object this evening to illustrate, by showing that the more human we are the more we promote our own consciousness, and the larger and intenser our consciousness the closer is our identity with, and our knowledge of, the Divinity. On this point it is unnecessary to dwell, as it is so obvious. Many suppose, indeed I may say the whole world supposes, that we obtain our knowledge of, and identity with, the Supreme, from reading certain sacred books, and receiving certain religious instructions. Whereas we must find those not without, but within, in our own profound and earnest meditations. And he who has not erected a temple to the Deity in his own heart will never be a true and holy worshipper.

Thus, my friends, have I endeavored to establish a proposition which, at first sight, may have the appearance of a paradox. But it has that appearance only because men have accustomed themselves to look at all things through a priest's spectacles, instead of looking at them with their own natural eyes. The priest contrasts Man and God because he wishes to make himself of importance as a messenger of God to a race which he pretends is so degraded and corrupted. I strive to make every man his own priest by showing that the divine and the human are one, and that we must rise to Godhead by developing Individuality. Which is the holier teaching, judge ; and when you have judged, act with boundless energy and zeal. And that God to identity with whom I wish to raise you, hallow your endeavors !

LECTURE X.

THE NATURE OF RELIGION.

PRELIMINARY.

THE ninth article of my Confession of Faith, the ninth principle in the System of Individualism, is this: I believe that Religion is the yearning, ever intenser and intenser, of the Human Spirit, for more harmonious and joyous identity with the Spirit of Universal being.

I drew two inferences from this proposition in my introductory lecture.

One object of those two inferences is, to show that there is a closer connection between Poetry and Religion than between any other of the agencies that aid the Education of Man.

They are in truth the highest of those agencies, the next in order being Philosophy, and he who aspires to the perfect developement of his nature should make Religion, Poetry and Philosophy the perpetual handmaids of each other—Philosophy in the sense in which I now employ it signifying the reverent search for the harmonies that connect the Spirit and the Forms of Universal Being.

What these three agencies combined should have performed has been left to one of a very different and far inferior character, namely, Theology, the substitution of which for those higher agencies I have had frequent occasion to denounce.

Religion is as different from Theology as a hundred beautiful flowers odorously blooming in the dewy and verdant field, are from the mere arithmetical statement that there are a hundred of them. And theological disputes in general are as wise as would be the conduct of those who, instead of delighting ear, and eye, and soul, with the hues and perfumes of the flowers, would contend whether there are a hundred or a hundred and one. Theology is the simple classification, or attempt at classification, not of our religious knowledge, ideas, or sentiments, but of our religious notions; it is the endeavor to reduce to a systematic shape the least elevated portion of religion; for the most exalted portion of religion does not admit of systematic exhibition. To sacrifice Religion to Theology is, therefore, as mad as it would be to spill the blood of a Human Being to make a bath to warm his feet.

The mere circumstance, then, of a change of Theology is of no importance in itself; it is only interesting inasfar as it aids Religion, Poetry, and Philosophy, to operate on the development of the Individual. If it is only the denial of certain theological dogmas which have formerly been admitted, or the admission of certain that have formerly been denied, without leading to any further moral or intellectual results, what availeth it? A cardinal vice of sects is their furious proselytism, their desire to gain adherents, careless whether they be made better or worse men by the change. If they swell the ranks and make a show, this is all which is regarded. In this respect Rationalistic Sects have, perhaps, been even less scrupulous than the orthodox, principally because they so seldom make a convert. Hence they never hesitate to welcome Deists and Sensualists, without considering how dearly, how fatally, the small augmentation of numbers is bought. The effect is to give a tincture of unbelief and immorality to the whole sect, which tells fearfully against its missionary power. We should never, my friends, occupy ourselves with theological proselytism. We should aim to make our fellow-creatures

wiser and better, to enlighten and to spiritualize them. If a revolution in their theological opinions follow as a consequence of the moral progress and mental emancipation of which we have enabled them to participate, we should regard it as an event worthy of our study, but still as far inferior in interest to the other blessings which we have made their mind and heart to enjoy. Besides the glory that falls on him or on his sect, who has been the means of another's theological conversion, a further reason that makes men seek more earnestly to gain others to their theological faith than to promote their moral and mental improvement is, that theological conversion is generally something definite and sudden, whereas the moral and intellectual advancement of an Individual in whose bosom we have awakened the deep longing for Goodness, Beauty, and Truth, is usually slow, and does not admit of any precise, detailed and accurate history. However great, then, the virtue and the knowledge and the enlargement of capacity which we are successful in bringing to one of our brethren, it produces no excitement because it takes long years to accomplish. I regard it then as the very first and most indispensable lineament of a spiritual reformer in these modern times, that he should be profoundly indifferent to varieties of theological opinion. He should simply feel that he has a Truth to utter, and that the earnest utterance thereof will potently and blissfully tell on the members of all sects who are darkened by ignorance, crushed by misery, polluted by sin. The next twenty years enclose great revelations in their breast, but none greater than the fact which is dimly, very dimly, beginning to be perceived by mankind, that politics and theology respond only to a small part of the needs and help to develope only a small part of the resources of Humanity. Happy is he who sees this fact more clearly than those around him ! Holy is he who, seeing it, gives it practical application !

MAIN SUBJECT.

Let me now, my friends, proceed briefly to show that Religion is the yearning, ever intenser and intenser, of the Human Spirit for more harmonious and joyous identity with the Spirit of Universal Being.

If Man is eminently one thing more than another, he is a sympathetic being. He clings, by an instinct that it is vain for philosophy to analyse, to everything that surrounds him, to everything that, however casually or for however short a period, is thrown across his path. It is not merely beings of his own race that excite this interest; the various tribes of inferior animals, the lamb, the dog, the horse, the bird, also awaken a deep affection in his breast. Neither is his sympathy confined to things endowed with life. Flowers, trees, stars, the rainbow that spans the sky, the gentle wave that comes rippling to the shore, and all the glad and glorious forms of Nature, he never meets without welcoming as friends. Nor on Nature alone, whether living or lifeless, does he lavish forth his heart, but also on the products of Art. The statue, the painting, the edifice on which successive generations have bestowed their worshipping adoration, he not only admires for their beauty or grandeur, but he pours out upon them far warmer and tenderer emotions than mere artistic wonder would be fitted to excite. The temple also where we have long worshipped our God, the house where we have long dwelt, the village where our earliest years have been passed, how fondly we linger in memory over these when the changes and chances of our pilgrimage have torn us far away from them! Nay, so full, so ardent are our sympathies, that the most trifling articles of domestic use have a worth in our eyes far different from their pecuniary value. There are little insignificant portions of furniture in our dwellings which the rest of the world would cast aside as worn-out lumber, which to us are objects of sincerest veneration, because they are identified with so

many histories of the Past. What man, the most indifferent, does not form a species of attachment for the implements of his trade, and when he is obliged to exchange an old implement for a new, it is not without a pang that he does so. It is not simply because they are our property, or because they help to ornament our persons, that we are so much attached to the garments that cover us : they participate of that universal sympathy which we lavish on all things. To a Student, what a world of suggestion is in the mere sight of his books ! It is not their intellectual associations which cause his emotion. It is not because they enable him to hold intercourse with the illustrious dead, and to pervade himself with the chosen thinkings of those whom God has sent as Teachers to mankind. There is more than this. He loves his books for the sake no less of what may be called their physical qualities, that in the storm and sunshine of his pilgrimage alike they have presented themselves to him always in the same garb, printed in a certain manner on a certain kind of paper, and with a certain description of binding. Examples might be multiplied to infinitude, but it is unnecessary to increase them, seeing that the fact which I endeavor to establish is so familiar. Even in our very antipathies there is a species of sympathy, since, however much we hate a man, we feel ourselves drawn toward him by an interest that we cannot suppress, and are sometimes disposed to drown his worst misdeeds in the gush of our human impulses.

Such then is the law of Sympathy which binds us to everything around us. Now it not only binds us to things visible but to things invisible, and the bond by which it binds us to things invisible is Religion. It is a mistake to suppose that Religion is a principle apart in our Nature ; it is no more or other than the sublimation of this principle of Sympathy. There is this difference, however, between our sympathy with the visible and our sympathy with the invisible, that the former is always overshadowed by the dread of loss, whereas the latter is darkened by no such terror or misfortune. The invisible then is,

from the very nature of the case, the Unchangeable. The dearest of visible things are always those which make us shudder most, lest they should be torn from our grasp; whereas the more the idea of the invisible becomes a deep and perennial feeling within us, the more it is crowned and irradiated with Immutability. There is another difference between our sympathy with the Visible and our sympathy with the Invisible. However great the sympathy between the things we see and ourselves, we never feel as if there was perfect identity between us and them. It is by being material that they are made visible unto us, it is by material instruments that we perceive them, yet it is our spirit and not the material portion of our being that is the servant of our Spirit by which we are enabled to feel sympathy with them. So that here are a whole mass of obstacles standing between us and identity with the visible things with which we most strongly sympathize. Between us, however, and the invisible there are no such hindrances. The moment we descend into our consciousness we are brought into contact with the Invisible, and contact with the Invisible always signifies more or less of identity, for here the things that blend, and the means by which they blend, are the same. They are the same in essence and the same in action. Sympathy, then, when it takes the form of religion, may be described as an energy and a process by which the Spirit, conscious of its own mutability and of the mutability of everything around it, throws itself on a Spirit kindred to itself in nature, but Immutable. We sympathize with things around us because we feel their weakness, we sympathize with the Invisible because we feel our own. So that the most killing of our sorrows and the most triumphant of our consolations spring from the same root. It is Sympathy that gives us our keenest pangs, and it is Sympathy that conducts us to the heavenly fountain where our woes may be relieved.

But, my friends, though Religion is only a sublimation of Sympathy, it is chiefly in its commencement that it is so. For in its growth it puts on somewhat different aspects. It is at

first felt to be a simple refuge from the misfortunes that befall us in a world of Mutability. It thus begins in sadness, though it ends in joy. Having sought the Invisible and the Spirit of the Invisible as an asylum in the midst of our conflicts and disasters, we come to seek it and him in other and calmer hours, when we are far removed alike from the clouds and the sunshine of this transitory world. Then it is that Religion becomes what I have described it, the yearning ever intenser and intenser of the human Spirit for more harmonious and joyous identity with the Spirit of Universal Being. It passes from Sympathy into Meditation. It does not, however, remain mere Meditation, it still partakes of sympathy, though only to the extent that sympathy is dissociated from pain. There are few men in whom Religion puts on this its highest aspect. The religion of most men generally remains in its first form of Sympathy, whenever it becomes active at all. In the earliest dawnings of their experience it was Sympathy that threw them when sorrowing on the Invisible and the Immutable, and in all their subsequent career they never turn to the Invisible and the Immutable but when the Visible around them is dark and troubled. Those serener and sublimer moments which convey the soul away through the gate of Mystery to the throne of the Infinite, and which make the proudest pursuits of earth appear but as the small dust of the balance, those moments they never know. Far less can they know the transcendent regions which the Spirit traverses when Meditation becomes a cherished habit of the Individual. For it results from my definition that Religion is not a stationary thing, but that once it has passed into the form of meditation its progress is illimitable. It also results from it that it does not merely suppose identity of the Individual Spirit with the Universal Spirit, but harmonious identity; that is, that there is a perfect and unfettered reciprocation of the beautiful harmonies through which God accomplishes the happiness of Creation. It further results from it, that there is not merely harmonious identity but joyous identity; that is, that the

Human Spirit not only is made participant of the purposes by which the Deity diffuses boundless felicity, but becomes from intercourse with Deity a participant of the joy which is the Deity's everlasting heritage. Finally, it results from it that * the Human Spirit is not only raised to a height where it sees all the gladness that the Deity dispenses, not only shares in the rapture which crowns and irradiates the Deity's own existence, but by rising to the breadth and brightness of God's universality in some measure puts on the Kingly look with which God surveys his immeasurable dominions.

The mistakes, my friends, respecting Religion are numberless. Many of them I have on former occasions noticed. One or two, which are not likely to strike a casual observer, I shall now indicate, as it will help further to elucidate my subject.

In the first place, many suppose that Religion is identical with Worship. Now Religion may lead to Worship, but is very far indeed from being identical with it. The most religious men have been those sublime philosophers who have passed their life in self-communion, and who, perhaps, have seldom mingled in the adoration of their fellow-men. I do not mean to say by this that it would be desirable to abolish Worship; far from it. Few are gifted with the power to be sublime philosophers. And, for most men, worship will continue to be a suggestive reality. I only wish to correct the blunder which supposes that the more there is of Worship the more there must be of Religion, whereas the more there is of Religion the less there is of Worship. Self-communion, which is the characteristic of Religion in its noblest manifestation, is incompatible with social worship, for it supposes the deepest solitude, and those have made an arrant mistake who, like the Quakers, have endeavored to unite self-communion and social worship. Jacob Boehme, as an example of self-communion, is worthy of deeper study than he has yet received in England.

In the second place, many suppose that Religion is identical

with reverence. Now, whenever Religion takes the form of worship, they certainly are, if not identical, yet very closely united. But when Religion appears in its sublimest form as self-communion, then Reverence is very far indeed from being one of its characteristics. There is an obvious reason why Reverence should be the characteristic of Religion when it takes the form of social worship. When we bow down to adore our God with our fellow-creatures, we come, or are supposed to come, with the same wants, the same frailties, the same feelings of repentance, the same need and yearning for pardon as they. What more befitting than reverence in such circumstances? We can never bow too lowly at the footstool of our heavenly Father when seeking with his erring children to have our sorrows consoled and our sins forgiven. But Religion, in its form of self-communion, has no moral relations. It casts no glance at our social circumstances. It simply excites our yearnings as Spirits for the Universal Spirit. It is not, then, as something higher or holier, but as something partaking of the same spiritual essence as ourselves, that self-communion brings us to God. Reverence therefore, here, would be altogether misplaced, for by terrifying us with the consciousness of our sins it would prevent us from yearning for that identity with a kindred nature which religious self-communion tends to promote.

In the third place, many suppose that Religion is identical with the recognition of God as our Creator. That religious feelings may hallow this recognition and convert it into beautiful gratitude I can testify, and I doubt not many of you will be able to bear a similar testimony. But that recognition is not itself Religion. Indeed this recognition is neither warm enough, nor frequent enough, nor comprehensive enough, to deserve such eminence. The feeling that God is our Creator is one which in general is rather suggested to us by others than the spontaneous product of our own reflections. It embraces only one of the relations of God toward us, and Religion must include them all. Certain minds that are much

struck with the facts in what is called Natural Theology, in which the proof from design of the Existence of God receives a prominent place, are very much inclined to the blunder I am now exposing. But they are minds of a prosaic, logical, mechanical kind, and, however great their acquirements may be, their authority ought not to weigh with us in the question, for Religion is eminently a thing of sentiment and contemplation.

Such then, my friends, is my definition of Religion, and such are some of the mistakes which men have committed regarding Religion. To the height to which when defining Religion I endeavored to rise, may he, who is the Great Object of Religion, assist you to soar, preserving you from the mistakes that would hamper this your celestial journey!

LECTURE XI.

THE RELATION BETWEEN THE INDIVIDUAL AND RELIGION.

PRELIMINARY.

THE tenth article of my Confession of Faith, the tenth principle in the System of Individualism, is the following : I believe that this yearning is surest, speediest, fullest satisfied, when the Individual is faithfulest to his Individual Nature.

It follows from this that the most natural Man is the most religious Man, and that that cannot justly be called religion which demands the sacrifice of any of our natural tendencies or the suppression of any of our natural impulses.

Here perhaps may be as suitable a place as any to show how Religion which in itself is as natural as any other of our natural aspirings and emotions came to assume those unnatural lineaments which render it often so disgusting.

This inquiry carries us very far back, and will evolve one of the most singular facts in the History of Man, namely, that all the unnatural in our race is produced in the first instance by too close and literal fidelity to Nature.

In my preceding lecture I have shown that Religion is Sympathy sublimated into Meditation, without however ceasing to be Sympathy.

In the earliest dawn of human things this sympathy could not be otherwise than of a very sensuous kind. The chief occupations of men were pastoral and agricultural, varied by

hunting and fishing, and the battles of hostile tribes. Men dwelt in caves, in the woods, and wherever beneath the benignant climate of Central Asia, the Cradle of Society, Nature offered a rude couch and built a wild home. Life was wholly a life of outward existence, and if by degrees the cave yielded to the tent, and if a few clumsy arts and instruments of Civilization gradually crept in, this produced little change in the general modes of action, habit, and employment. It was still in the open air that men lived hardened and scourged into iron health by the fierce glare of the Sun, and by the onslaught of the Storm, and by the alternations that the Seasons brought. There were no towns, no books, no division of trades, no complicated governments, none of the thousand things that excite the collision of intellect, that suggest profound reflections or ingenious speculations. Man was simple and uncultured as the world around him.

Simple and uncultured in all things, Man could not but be simple and uncultured in his religion. Of God as the Universal Spirit of Universal Nature of course he could have no idea. But my definition of Religion could not be correct if Man had not had that as a feeling which at a maturer time has become an Idea. And this undoubtedly he had. Feeling however till illumined by Idea shows itself in very childish, capricious and cumbrous shapes. And the Religious Feeling of Man was not an exception. It adopted two channels for manifesting itself. It first lavished itself, as I have shown in my little book called the Agents of Civilization, on departed Heroes, on those who had done some lasting and conspicuous service to the tribe to which they belonged. And then it took a wider and loftier range by making the stars, the moon, but especially the Sun, objects of worship. In adoring Heroes and the Host of Heaven, Man attributed to them Spirituality and Universality as far as his glimmering notion of these went. The Hero to him was not merely a dead man. He was an invisible power mingling in and influencing the All of Creation. The Sun also was not the mere visible diffuser of light

and heat. He was regarded as the centre of the Universe, and not a lifeless mass, but a conscious energy. So far all was natural enough. It was quite natural that Man in the slow march toward Truth should ascribe that to the creature which belongs only to the Creator. But when Man made the departed hero into a God, he could not forget that Hero as he had been, and God as he had become, he was still a dead man. And it was this shadow of death which first introduced the unnatural by introducing the gloomy into religion. For, certain times and certain ceremonies being established to honor the deified Hero, times and ceremonies would be established in commemoration of his death. Among those ceremonies none could be cheerful, all would have a relation to death. Weeping and lamentation, tearing of the hair, laceration, mutilation of the body, and sometimes in the fever of religious phrenzy suicide, on some spot sacred to the Hero's memory, would be the chief of such ceremonies. What had at first characterized only the ceremonies intended to commemorate the Hero's death, would gradually spread over the whole of the worship that men dedicated to him. And what had at the beginning been the most spontaneous outburst of Human feeling would degenerate into the maddest aberration of Human fancy. Thus likewise would it be with the worship of the Heavenly Host, and especially the worship of the Sun. Different ceremonies would be required at different seasons of the year, to express men's sympathies with the physical revolutions that the Sun was the instrument of bringing. In the Spring, when the Sun was gaining power, his worshippers would celebrate his growing dominion with ceremonies pervaded by ardent and abundant joy. At the summer Solstice, when Day was longest and Night was shortest, more exuberant would be their rapture and more lavish and gorgeous their modes of expressing it in worship. But when Autumn approached, bringing shorter days and longer nights, and decreasing heat and falling leaves, and every dreary sign of darkness and decay, gladness would give place to gloom.

The God of the Sun-worshippers was losing his power and splendor, and they could not help mourning over his declining dominion and blighted glory as sincerely and as lavishly as they had welcomed his earlier magnificence and might. The religious ceremonies which they then employed would be the faithful expressions of their feelings, and would be sorrowful as they. They would have relation to death, to bereavement, and to all that is sad in the lot of Humanity. And when Winter came to complete the desolation that Autumn had begun, still louder would be the wail, still more bitter would be the cry; the cloud on the brow would respond to the cloud in the sky, and every symbol of grief would be multiplied as if Universal Nature were about to suffer an eternal eclipse. We cannot be astonished at the extravagances to which this sympathy with the Sun, the apparent God of the Universe, conducted. We cannot wonder at what was so natural in itself conducting to unnatural excesses, and that the excesses were perpetuated when the original natural impulse from which they sprang was forgotten. Noteworthy in this relation are the ceremonies which were usual in Egyptian and other religious processions, and the representation of the different seasons by the periods of human life; also the similarity between these and some of the observances of Christianity, such as Christmas and Easter.

MAIN SUBJECT.

Having thus shown how Religion, in itself so natural, has been disgraced and disfigured by so many unnatural observances, I proceed now to illustrate the proposition which is the special object of this evening's address, that the infinite yearning which constitutes Religion is surest, speediest, fullest satisfied, when the Individual is faithfulest to his Individual Nature.

In the first place the more faithful an Individual is to his Individual Nature, the more he is brought into contact with the great forms of Creation which are the best food of the

religious feeling. Enslaved by the frigidity and formality of an artificial and conventional existence, we lose all relish for the beauties and beatitudes of Earth, and Sky, and Ocean. We are content to move in the petty and monotonous round of a despotic etiquette, squandering our intellect and God's precious legacy of time on matters all unworthy of a rational and immortal being. We may, as a sort of variety, walk into the fields or hasten with the unhealthy excitement of the traveller from one famous scene to another. But this is not the natural love of woodland, and mountain, and valley, and brook, which brings calm delight and religious emotion. It is the diseased spirit seeking to dull its pain, not the spontaneous overflow of soul expending itself over everything excellent and lovely that the Creator has made. This is the case sometimes with the most poetic natures. It was the case even with such a magnificent genius as Byron. Born a great poet, few could be more keenly sensible than he to the grandeur of the external universe. We need no assurance of his biographers to tell us that he was so. He has left us in his poems some of the sublimest descriptions that poet ever painted. But transcendently wondrous as they are, there is a sad and sickly hue over them all. Nature did not lead him to God, it served him as an additional apology for scepticism and misanthropy ; it was a refuge to his jaded brain and disgusted heart from the double curse of his own vices and his conventional position. From his rank and education Byron could not help being trammelled greatly by conventional observances and conventional prejudices. Some of these he had not the courage to attack, and what he assailed he assailed with the worst of all possible weapons—the outburst of his own fierce passions. If a nature so richly endowed as Byron's was prevented by conventionalism from feeling and loving Creation aright, and in such a way as would have borne the fresh incense of his soul to the throne of the Eternal, how other but most pernicious must be the effect on inferior natures? Creation to most of those who

are thus enslaved must be merely a thing which they now and then read of in the pages of a poem or a romance. On the other hand, the Individual who is distinguished by no intellectual superiority, but who has never swerved from faithfulness to the laws of his being, instinctively turns to the varied magnificence of Nature, with a profound and healthy sympathy. He does not make rhymes or rhapsodies about it, indeed, but he does what is far better. He communes with it fraternally and piously, as a portion of the marvels that manifest the infinitude of the Highest. Spring with its flowers, Summer with its radiance, Autumn with its fruits, Winter with its tempests, are to him not mere changing seasons ; they carry him nearer and nearer to the purities and splendors of Heaven. It is evident then that we are doing more for the religious elevation of Society, by inspiring far and wide healthy tastes for what the finger of God has moulded above and around us than by thundering the paradoxes of theological speculation in its ear. I never yet knew a man who gladly and healthily felt the beauties of Nature who was not moral and religious too. And I am certain that not rare have been the instances in which some one who has wandered from the path of Virtue, and who has turned a deaf ear to all the warning and reproof that counsellors and friends could urge, has been converted from the error of his ways by accidentally wandering among scenes that recalled those in which his Childhood's steps had trod. Conscience and Prudence for years had spoken in vain ; every terror of the Future had menaced in vain ; but the sight of trees, and flowers, and rocks, and fountains, and groves, similar to those in which he had wandered with the distant and the dead, has melted all the weeping nature within him : he thinks of his mother's grave and of his father's hoary head ; he casts himself down on the cold sod, and exhausting in tears the whole agony of his remorse he rises a wiser and a better man. And without needing perhaps any of us such a total conversion as this, we have all expe-

rienced, in a lesser degree, something of the same kind. When sick and weary of the occupations which had formerly yielded us the greatest pleasure, when our favorite books could afford us no delight, when our will seemed powerless, and all our usual principles of action seemed paralyzed, when nothing that those nearest and dearest could whisper into our soul could cheer or strengthen us, how often has a walk in the fields afforded us the consolation and energy we so much needed! Authors enlarge on the pleasures presented so abundantly by an intercourse with Nature; they have overlooked too much its moral and religious benefit: and we should make our Individuality and this intercourse the reciprocities of each other. We should be individual in order that we may keep vital and vigorous our sensibility to the loveliness of Creation, and we should maintain commune with the loveliness of Creation in order that we may perfect our moral and religious worth as Individuals. And not only to ourselves but to the Education of our Children should this principle be applied. The feeling of the beautiful is one still earlier developed than the feeling of the good and the feeling of the true. Children perceive the beautiful before the good, and the good before the true. It is so early that we can scarcely tell the time when it commences that they are attracted by sparkling colors and by striking forms. Nothing can be more interesting than to watch the dawning sense and intellect of the child in commune with the external world. How exuberant its delight! How its whole face kindles and speaks long before its tongue is able to utter articulate words! There, if we are wise, can we begin the Education of the Child by unfolding in all fullness and harmony its feeling of beauty. And having done so we shall come with tenfold power and success to the Education of its feelings of the good. The latter, instead of throwing itself on the mere abstraction of Virtue, or expending itself on the mechanical details of a commonplace morality, will be the offspring of the beautiful, and will for ever

bear the features of its parent. And having educated the feeling of the good as an emanation of the feeling of the beautiful, we shall be prepared to pursue the same process with the feeling of the true. Instead of cultivating it as an isolated manifestation, and thus giving it a dry and repulsive aspect, we shall bring it forth naturally and melodiously as the product of the feeling of the good. The only education of the feeling of the true which children usually obtain, is the command never to tell a falsehood. But a child has no definite notion of a falsehood when spoken of in this manner. It becomes a thing which it is afraid to tell because it is forbidden, because it is girt with terrors which it fears to encounter; but it has no accurate conception of the guilt thereof. Whereas if we so deepened and refined the sentiment of the beautiful that the child could never be otherwise than good; and if we so deepened and refined the sentiment of the good that the child could never be otherwise than true,—then we should be preparing for Society that which Society much wants,—Men and Women in whom the Good, the True, and the Beautiful, would be one, and whose hearts would instinctively bound up to the Creator whenever they beheld the stars of the sky, or of the earth.

In the second place, the more faithful an Individual is to his Individual Nature, the more he develops his social nature, and every developement of our social nature tends toward the developement of our religious emotions. Solitude is natural to no man, even the most disposed to lead a quiet life, and to pursue profoundest meditations. And any indulgence of habitual solitude must proceed either from ostentation or from a painful bashfulness and timidity which certain unfortunate circumstances have created and nourished, or from misanthropy. But he that seeks solitude from ostentation is thinking all the while of the effect which his solitude will have on society, so that he proves his social nature by this very circumstance. And, as regards the bashful, none so earnestly

yearn for society as they, though a habit which they cannot conquer, and which grows very rapidly upon them, drives them far away from that with which they most thirst to blend. As respects the misanthrope also, it is from the very excess of his social nature that he has grown to be what he is. The mass of men, however, as far as concerns solitude, do not seek it either from ostentation or from bashfulness or from misanthropy, but because the artificial relations of society compel them to be solitary. There are social barriers separating class from class, and preventing the Individuals morally and intellectually the most suitable to each other from coming together. And by the time those barriers are broken, the interest which we feel in congenial natures has departed. Now to the extent that we are rendered solitary by those social causes are we rendered irreligious by them. For we are inclined to attribute to a blunder of Providence that which is a monstrosity of Man. But if we have the courage to tear off our conventional shackles, then we can clasp Humanity again to our warm and heaving breast, and derive not only rapture but religion from the embrace. Loving our brethren with a human love, we are taught thereby to honour the Divinest with worship. For however conventional Society may be at any particular period of History, there are always enough of unconventional people to respond to our unconventional sympathies. If we do not find these in the class above us, or in the class in which we ourselves move, we shall assuredly find them in the class below. And what matters it where they are found, provided they are men yearning like ourselves for affection, and using affection as a torch to kindle devotion? What matters it whether those we frequent are clothed in fine linen and fare sumptuously every day, or live on earth's commonest and scantiest food, provided they are willing to make blended bosoms an altar to Jehovah?

This subject offers many more points for consideration. But these at present must suffice. May what I have said carry you to Nature and carry you to your brethren. Culti-

vate a healthy love of the external world. Cultivate a warm and generous philanthropy. I do not wish to depreciate whatever other means you may adopt for keeping alive your religious feelings. It is no part of my philosophy to depress anything that is good in order that something else that is good may be exalted, but I have pressed upon your attention these two points, because probably you have never considered them in the light in which I have presented them; and I trust that my illustration of them, however brief and rude, will produce an abundant harvest of virtues in your being, and stir great thoughts which may become great actions.

LECTURE XII.

THE NATURE OF MORALITY.

PRELIMINARY.

THE eleventh article of my Confession of Faith, the eleventh principle in the System of Individualism, is the following : I believe that every Individual best helps all other Individuals to develope their Individuality, by most perfectly developing his own ; and that Morality is thus simply that fidelity to our nature in action which Religion is in consciousness.

At first sight, it might seem, my friends, as if the System of Individuality were an unsocial system ; it might seem as if it put the Individual in an isolated position, and gave him a Giant's power because it condemned him to a Giant's solitude. But the proposition which I shall this evening illustrate shows the falsehood of this notion. My doctrine addresses itself chiefly to the Individual, it is true, but then Society is composed of Individuals ; and if I help to raise every Individual, I thereby help to raise the whole of Society. I consider my System the most social of all Systems, simply because it does not make social, but individual, reform its prominent purpose. Social Reform is merely a vague unmeaning phrase, unless it addresses itself specially and pointedly to the elements of which Society is composed. There are many well-intentioned persons at the present day who talk glibly enough about Social Reform, who, if you asked them what they wish to indicate by it, would be greatly at a loss for a reply. They have a belief,

and a very just belief, that there is wide-spread and deep-rooted disease in Society. They sympathize with the sin and the suffering of Society. They would wish to see the Community around them much healthier, holier, and happier than it is. But if you ask them how they would make it so, they can utter nothing but a few sentimental aspirations, or echo only the thousand and one quackeries which pretend to banish for ever human delusion and human misery. Now I go to the root of the mischief, by urging every Individual to contrast that which he is by nature with that which a conventional despotism has made him. And if I can bring home to him the whole effect of the contrast, the moral and mental transmutation which would thence result might well be called miraculous. But in order that this transmutation may be perfected, I do not tear the Individual from Society and banish him from all his previous connections, associations and employments, till he regenerate and refreshen the qualities which Artificialism has distorted and marred. No, it is for Society as much as for himself, and it is from closer, more continuous, and more energetic contact with the whole influences of Society than he has previously had, that I would make him again that which Nature made him. Of course there is a vast deal of miscellaneous and frivolous companionship among those classes whose only occupation is amusement, which the empire of Individualism would be sure to annihilate; but such companionship, so far from being favorable, is antagonistic to social union and social enjoyment. All that intercourse which springs from congenial tastes, and tendencies, and feelings, Individualism would potently promote, and such alone being social, such alone, of course, can be desirable for Society.

MAIN SUBJECT.

I shall divide my present address into two parts. In the first part I shall show that every Individual best helps all other Individuals to develope their Individuality by most per-

fectly developing his own; and in the second I shall show that Morality is simply that fidelity to our nature in action which Religion is in consciousness.

In proving the first part of my proposition, I commence by observing that every Individual best helps all other Individuals to develope their Individuality by most perfectly developing his own, because there is a power in that which is eminently natural, which even that which is most artificial is incapable of resisting. Even those who hate an Individual Man most, are ashamed of their conventionalism in his presence, and rouse their latent and mutilated manhood fitly to commerce with that which they feel to be far grander than the forms and the formulas with which they hedge themselves in. This is easily explained. Whatever strength an Individual Man puts forth is his own. He can, therefore, trust to it implicitly, in all circumstances, having tried it in numberless dangers and difficulties of the past. Very different is the strength of the artificial man. This is all borrowed. It consists simply in certain traditional weapons which all other artificial men employ in the same manner as himself. It can only be used in certain given situations and joined to certain given accompaniments, and when required to act in new situations and made liable to certain fresh and unexpected contingencies, there is the utmost bewilderment and dismay. Now, contact of the Artificial Man with the Individual Man is to the former one of those new events and positions. He cowers before the phenomenon and abhors it, and feels himself dwindled and paralysed by that which he abhors. Yet as the most Artificial Man is not wholly artificial he cannot help yielding in a greater or less degree to the example of that which he dislikes so much, and thus raising for a time into new life his prostrate Individuality. So far there is no great benefit, for the moment the Individual Man's influence is withdrawn the Artificial Man relapses into his former Artificialism. And here is the place to observe that, however elevating and redeeming a doctrine may be, many

will be always found whom it can neither change nor cure. Not few are those in the present day whose education and existence have been so wholly artificial that not even if one rose from the dead would they repent. Morality has its incurables as well as Medicine, and every Reformer, however great his confidence in the agency of Reformation that he employs, should frankly avow this. But neither in Medicine nor in Morality are the mass of men in this helpless, hopeless state. And hence the power of the Individual Man in assisting others to develop their Individuality. It is the conscious and willing slaves of conventionalism who alone are incurable. There are many who are the slaves of conventionalism, not from any love of conventional observances or any reverence for conventional forms, but because they have not the courage to break chains whose galling weight they keenly feel. They sigh for deliverance, and are frequently on the point of conquering freedom for themselves by the force of their own right arm, and then timid and irresolute they shrink from the attempt. It is not so much the worldly loss which might follow the overthrow of their thralldom which they dread. It is the fear of doing that of which they think the motives might be mistaken, which restrains them. Now to this class the example of the Individual Man gives the courage so much needed. They only required something to give them a stimulus to that for which they secretly yearned. And having obtained it, they break their shackles once and for ever. There are others who are the thralls of Conventionalism without knowing that they are so. All their instincts, their entire being, indeed, thirsts for the natural and the individual: but they have been tutored to regard these as follies and crimes. Their habits and their impulses are thus ever at war with each other, and by turns victorious. When an Individual Man is thrown into contact with these, he promptly works upon their deeper and better faculties in numberless blissful manners. They behold in him that which they had long mistily dreamed of, yet shuddered to dream of, because it was represented as

unholy. They see that it is not monstrous, but unspeakably and divinely beautiful, and that it was nothing but the cloud which stood between it and them which gave it its horrent aspect. Formerly they could perceive nothing but a riddle and a chaos in the Universe because they were unable to perceive the purpose of their own destiny ; now the Universe discloses itself to their soul as a harmony sublime and glad because they have come to feel themselves as necessary parts in its accordant tones. For it is in vain, my friends, that moralists and philosophers and priests elaborately paint and prove to us the beauty and wisdom of the Universe, if we feel ourselves to be incongruities there ; we cannot avoid thinking that it is a blunder as long as we cannot perceive the purpose of our own individual existence. Whereas, whenever we discover what and how sacred is our mission, we need neither priest, nor moralist, nor philosopher, to indicate to us the divine excellence and aptitudes of Creation. When an Individual Man acts in the manner I have been describing on those who are naturally Individual, but who are unconsciously conventional, the latter are apt to rush into an extravagant individuality, and their individuality thus becomes as unnatural as their conventionalism had been. But this evil soon cures itself, as all reactions, however violent, are sooner or later exhausted. And what hastens the cure is, the example of the Individual Man. They see, that however natural and individual, and however pertinaciously, and boldly so, when the occasion demands it, there is nothing of spasm or of volcanic turmoil in his manifestations. And then they gradually subside into a calm and spontaneous Individuality, convinced that a rampant eccentricity is as great a sin against the benignant laws of Providence as the most frigid artificialism. Thus, my friends, an Individual Man doubly aids the Individuality of those with whom he comes directly and immediately into contact. He calls forth their dormant faculties, while, at the same time, he prevents the awakened faculties from converting their new freedom into a wild and reckless revel. And

this is more difficult from the circumstance that the disgust at having been deceived is in this case as great as the indignation at having been enslaved. We have further to consider, my friends, that whenever an Individual Man, by his example and by the agencies and ideas which he diffuses, makes another Individual develop his Individuality, he forms the links of a progression which is interminable. For this Individual becomes to others in his turn a source of Individuality. And they in their turn become sources of Individuality, spreading abroad, over the community the beneficent influence which has been kindled at first by one. This is one of the most cheering principles which we can adopt as the foundation of our own morality, and one of the most encouraging that we can offer to others as the foundation of their morality. For it endows every brave and truthful man with something of the omnipresence of Deity. High is the delight resulting from following a sincere and earnest and courageous course, even if it did nothing more than satisfy our conscience ; but when we think that however humble our position it clothes us with a mission immortally diffusive, no words are adequate to paint the gladdening prospect that our strenuous Individuality bestows.

But, my friends, every Individual best helps all other Individuals to develop their Individuality by most perfectly developing his own by another and a grander manner than the preceding. Every Individual can put forth his Individuality in direct and social contact with his fellow-creatures. But few are those privileged by the Highest and Holiest to be Teachers of Individuality. Consider, however, the magnitude and the might of their influence who are thus transcendently privileged. One such man rising in the midst of a corrupt and benighted generation is sufficient to change the destinies of the world. A great mistake which we make in reading the history of our race is in supposing that it was something singular and attractive in the teachings of the Reformer which produced such extensive changes. But if we

sit down calmly to analyse those teachings we find nothing remarkable in them. With greater or less varieties they all consist of denunciations of current iniquities and proclamations of impending woe and an invitation to flee from the wrath to come. It was not anything peculiar in the teaching that produced so remarkable an effect. It was because the Teacher was more an Individual Man than any of his contemporaries that he was able to work such miraculous results. What was the power of the old Hebrew Prophets but this? There is doubtless in their prophecies much that is exceedingly beautiful; many pictures drawn with a vigorous hand, many denunciations fitted to arrest the attention of the unthinking. Everything that can rouse the feelings, that can terrify the imagination, that can startle the torpid conscience, is marshalled in rapid and formidable array. But all these literary resources would have been useless unless the Prophet himself had been the most powerful of prophecies. It was the manhood, the example, the Individuality, which went forth conquering and to conquer. For, doubtless, contemporary with those Prophets were men who intellectually were as highly gifted as they, and who probably had far more numerous advantages of a worldly kind to aid them in their career. But even if they assumed the mantle of the Prophet it covered only a cold and apathetic heart, which prompted to no great and redeeming deeds. They prophesied, but they themselves were not prophecies, and, therefore, the people remained indifferent to their appeals. Thus also as with the older Prophets was it with John the Baptist. I have taken more than one occasion to speak the praise of this great and good man. Few reformers have ever lived so thoroughly forgetful of selfish objects and considerations as he. And there are few among the Heroes of the Past to whom our homage should be more warmly and lavishly given. But mentally he could not claim much superiority over his brethren. He seems indeed to have had fewer of the mental characteristics of the Jews than the great Prophets, such as

Ezekiel, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, and Amos, and others who went before him. Their ardent imagination he seems altogether to have wanted. But his moral excellences were as high or higher than theirs. We have only to look at the effect that his preaching produced to be aware of this. For it was much more difficult to excite the attention of the Jews in the time of John than at the time, some six or eight hundred years before, when the Ancient Hebrew Prophets existed. In those early times the Hebrews were less civilized. The influences that had then operated on the civilization of Judea were chiefly native influences. But at the time John lived many foreign influences were operating, and had for years been operating on the civilization of Palestine. It had become a Roman province, and Rome had introduced all the splendors and luxuries which then characterized its civilization. A taste for the gorgeous in architecture became one of the most prevalent, and magnificent cities and palaces rose on every side. Rome even introduced the brutal games of the circus. Wherever Roman civilization went, also Grecian civilization accompanied or followed it. The Greeks were a much more refined people than the Romans, with far more genius for literature and the fine arts. What Rome did in these was mainly an imitation of what the Greeks had previously done. When, then, Rome took possession of Palestine there came streaming into the latter country all the intellectual treasures of Greece, its poetry, its philosophy, its sculpture, its painting, its soft and luxurious manners, even its language. Now, it needs not much sagacity to see that the more cultivated the period at which a Prophet appears, the more difficult it is for him to obtain the attention of the multitude, at least such an attention as would lead to thought and reformation. For in the first place, cultivation tends to make people indifferent; and in the second place, it offers them a great variety of occupations and amusements, so that the Reformer has to them not even the aspect of a novelty, supposing that they

were earnest enough to listen to his words. Formidable was the burden, then, which God laid upon John, and marvellous must his moral energies have been to bear that burden so nobly. Look upon him, then, as another triumphant proof that it is individuality, manhood, moral example, which alone can be effectual in a grand moral reformation. And if I had not so often introduced Jesus as an example of every truth which I endeavor to enforce, I should introduce him now as an evidence of the truth which I am now enforcing. Whatever his mental superiority might be, it was unquestionably his moral superiority that made him the Redeemer that he was. Contrast Calvin and Luther, the former the most ingenious, the latter the most individual. Contrast Plato and Socrates, the former the greatest prose writer that ever lived, the latter who never wrote anything, but who was the more effectual reformer by having more weight of character if less originality of thought. Look also at George Fox and John Wesley, whose main power was a moral power. In modern times, a striking example of what a man can do by simple moral eminence, by individuality, is Father Mathew.

I have left myself very brief space for the illustration of the second part of my address, namely, that Morality is simply that fidelity to our nature in action which Religion is in consciousness. This by some may be regarded as a very dangerous doctrine—for if Nature is infallible in action as in consciousness, and as every bad deed must have more or less of natural impulse and life to make it a deed at all, my doctrine may seem to obliterate all distinction between right and wrong. The mistake in this case consists in giving too narrow an interpretation to what I mean by nature. When I speak of the nature of the Individual I mean his whole nature: including all his moral, mental, and physical faculties in a state of harmonious and progressive culture. Of course it is natural for an Individual to commit murder if nothing but his destructive impulses are indulged; and it is natural for him to revel in sensuality if nothing but his

senses are obeyed ; and it is natural for him to do a thousand monstrous and hideous things if a portion of his being is made the slave of some other portion. But it is precisely against this fragmentising of the Individual that I have always protested. The Individual would do none of those abominable things of which I have spoken, if his whole nature were put forth ; and if he would not do them, but would scorn and shudder at them as much as otherwise he is prone to commit them, and would make himself as conspicuous for the fulfilment of his duties as otherwise he is conspicuous for their neglect, what safer, what wiser, what nobler principle of Morality can I teach ?

I now, my friends, leave this subject in your hands. Learn your own lesson from it. Develope in action that which I have developed in speech. It is little comparatively that I can teach you in so brief a space. But it is much that you can teach yourselves if you sit down seriously to ponder on what I have been impressing. Rise to the height of that idea which I have wished especially this evening to instil into your breast, that an honest and courageous example is an everlasting sermon that speaks to remotest generations.

LECTURE XIII.

THE NATURE OF TOLERANCE.

PRELIMINARY.

THE twelfth article of my Confession of Faith, the twelfth principle in the System of Individualism, is the following:— I believe that every man, in proportion as he develops his own Individuality, will be more desirous that other men should develop theirs; and that thus Tolerance will assume its sublimest aspect: for instead of being what it generally is now—mere indifference to our neighbor's feelings, thoughts, opinions, and deeds, it will be a cordial rejoicing at, and zealous aiding of, the manifestation of his faculties, however different that manifestation may be from the manifestation of our own.

Most men, my friends, are a curious compound of intolerance and indifference. Where, as respects their neighbor, they should be strenuously active, full of wise zeal, untiring sympathy, the dispensers of generous blessings, there it is precisely that the eye is blind, the ear deaf, the hand shut, and the heart cold. But where they have no right whatever to interfere, where their interference can produce only mischief and misery, there it is that they most unwelcomely and pertinaciously obtrude themselves. If their poor and hapless brother is dying in the next street, on a pallet of straw, worn by disease, but still more worn by famine, they hasten not to his hovel to relieve the wants of his body, and to soothe the sorrows of his soul.

They allow him to fight out the fierce last fight with the grim destroyer as best he can. They look complacently on the comforts which surround them, and wonder how you can be foolish enough to ask them to quit these, even for a brief space, to gaze on or alleviate woe. If you direct their attention to the ignorance, and crime, and wretchedness of the community, some of which can be removed by legislation, but no ordinary portion of which is within the reach of private benevolence, and if you ask them to put their hand to the holy work of diffusing light, and purity, and happiness, they shrug their shoulders and tell you that they have enough to do to mind their own affairs, and that really they are no politicians. It is in vain that millions pine and perish. It is in vain that the heel of tyranny is on the neck of the poor, and that they long for deliverance. It is in vain that they darkly grope for knowledge and truth, and, goaded to madness by starvation, violate laws the moral propriety and worth of which they have never been taught. They live uncared for, they die unwept by the large majority of those classes to whom Fortune has been more merciful. But mark the difference, my friends, when, instead of a deep human want or a terrible human suffering, a theological peculiarity intervenes. Then all those whose apathy toward the sin, sadness and guilt of their fellows has been most flagrant and deplorable are suddenly endowed with most energetic vitality. They aid their priests and their priests aid them in trying to convert such as for want of the true orthodox faith are supposed to be stumbling in deplorable error. It is not that they desire morally to improve, religiously to elevate, and in the entire individuality to expand, and furnish, and adorn their unregenerate brethren, that they expend such an amount of trouble on their conversion. No, they wish them to adopt the theological dogma for the dogma's sake, and chiefly because it is their dogma. And if those to whom it is presented refuse to accept it, then those who offer it have the pleasure of consigning them to the flames that devour the eternally

damned. Such is the strange and dismal spectacle that Society discloses; thus monstrously, thus cruelly, do apathy and bigotry fraternize; thus harshly and despotically is all that is sweet in the human, and all that is venerable in the divine, sacrificed at the shrine of the theological. There are not a few, however, who along with the general apathy to the moral, mental, and physical privations, and wrongs, and anguish, of the unfortunate and the indigent have no tincture of theology bigotry. These it pleases men of the same stamp as themselves to characterize as tolerant. I am always disgusted when I hear a word so noble and so full of beautiful meaning as tolerance so absurdly misapplied. Yet those who possess such tolerance as this plume themselves prodigiously upon it as if it were an extraordinary excellence. That a man in addition to being too Epicurean to care whether the mass of his fellow-creatures live or die, are happy and prosperous, or the contrary, should be too sceptical to take any interest in what is popularly considered as influencing their immortal fate—curious tolerance this. No, my friends, true tolerance must be the companion of earnest zeal. And, enthralled as Society is by Mammon and Conventionalism, there are not wanting who are thus grandly tolerant. They work for Man with hand and brain, and the whole wealth of their bosom, not indifferent to his speculative errors, but striving mainly for his social redemption. Blessed be they for the blessings they dispense. Pity that they are so few. But that they may be multiplied, that instead of being the exception they may become the rule, it is one main object of this evening's address to help in accomplishing.

MAIN SUBJECT.

I have established in my last lecture that we best help all other individuals to develop their Individuality by most strenuously developing our own. The Development of our
 is therefore the celestial law which we are never
 to disobey. But as the more individual we are, the more

affectionate we are, it follows that the more individual we are, the more will the Individuality of others be an object of loving attention unto us. And thus engaging our sympathies far more profoundly than if we were the crouching serfs of Etiquette and Artificialism, there are numerous reasons why, in proportion as we develop our own Individuality, we shall be anxious that others should develop theirs.

In the first place we have experienced that Individuality alone constitutes happiness; it is natural, therefore, that what we feel to have promoted our own happiness we should wish to make an instrument of the happiness of others. However indifferent most men are to the weal and woe of their fellow-creatures, yet they nearly all desire that others should derive pleasure from the adoption of their dominant taste and favorite pursuits. However frivolous and insignificant that taste and those pursuits may be, yet to those who cherish them they are full of importance. There is something of course attributable to the flattery of self-love in this matter. They are our tastes and our pursuits, and therefore we wish that others should choose because we have chosen them. But unless we had derived pleasure from them, assuredly we should be less strenuous and persevering in the attempt to inoculate our brethren with them. For instance, suppose our chief delight is in country walks, in admiring the beauties that the changing seasons bring, it is most natural that we should endeavor to inspire in others the same feeling for the glories of Creation which we ourselves cherish; first, because we do cherish it; but, secondly, because cherishing it, it yields us unspeakable delight. And here, by the way, I may observe, that in few of our actions are we actuated by a single motive. Sometimes consciously, but oftener unconsciously, numberless motives pervade and animate at the same time our heart. In the same action, besides the motive that may be visible to all, there may be lower motives and higher motives which no one suspects. We are frequently annoyed at this, and in some cases with great justice. But we should reflect that what others do to

us we do to them. Do we not all habitually attribute motives to those with whom we come into contact, and sometimes from a very short and superficial knowledge of their character? And though it is a habit that ought to be carefully indulged, it must not be altogether and unconditionally condemned. For if abandoned entirely a worse habit arises, that of never giving an opinion about our neighbors at all, which would be tantamount to the destruction of public opinion as an instrument of censure and amendment. There are many unprincipled men belonging to the class self-titled respectable, over whom Society would have little or no control if they did not dread the sharp eye that pierces through the mask of their hypocrisies to the foulness of their heart. Men of this stamp may overlook the rebuke of their vices, however bitter and harsh, but they never forgive him who is shrewd enough to detect the hidden mechanism of deceit in the depths of their tortuous nature which contrasts so flagrantly with their ostentatious pretensions of honor and justice. That we should have mixed motives then in wishing to kindle in others our favorite tastes, and in urging them to adopt our favorite pursuits, is not wonderful, since we are inspired by mixed motives in the most trifling actions that we perform. No less must we have mixed motives in desiring that others should develop individuality because we have developed it. We are anxious that they should develop their individuality, simply because we have developed ours, but also in developing ours we have experienced unspeakable happiness from the developement, and are desirous that they should participate of the same exalted delight of which we have become the partakers. We are desirous that they should feel how grand a thing it is to be in perfect harmony with the infinite Universe and in perfect identity with the Infinite God; to be, instead of social slaves, the agents of social emancipation; to bow down to none of the monstrous idols that human weakness or human vanity hath carved; to have the brow always bold and beautiful as if the glad and immediate smile of Heaven were upon it; to tread

the green earth, not as timid and outcast intruders, but as intrepid and sacred possessors; to be radiant in the midst of surrounding darkness, and strong in the midst of surrounding cowardice and imbecility; to spurn, not merely fetters for themselves, but to break the fetters of others; to be at peace with all men, while ceasing not to war with the anomalies which are curses to all; to be missionaries of regenerating ideas, while failing not to perform faithfully and aright the most commonplace duties; and, thrilled and inspired by the recollection of glorious deeds and the consciousness of augmenting purity and power, to pant exultingly for a loftier and a loftier Ideal of excellence and bliss. Having experienced all this from the developement of our Individuality, how cold and selfish should we be if we monopolized it to ourselves as a luxury which we grudged to communicate. Indeed, it would be a glaring contradiction, for the more we develop our Individuality, the more we are raised into a region where the egotisms of the terrestrial do not reach. That, therefore, we should be egotists in nothing but in the grudging reservation to ourselves of that which has eradicated egotism from our hearts—how impossible this! No, in this case freely we have received and freely we give. The diviner the raptures which Heaven vouchsafes us, the more we are disposed to lavish them on others; it is not real but imaginary blessings which we are inclined to hoard and jealously to guard, as incapable of enjoying them ourselves, as unwilling that they should communicate enjoyment to our fellows.

In the second place, in proportion as we develop our own Individuality shall we be more desirous that other men should develop theirs, because Individualism induces indifference to opinion that has no moral relations; and it is the interest that mankind manifest in the speculative opinions of their neighbors which is one chief cause of the apathy which they manifest toward the moral and mental developement of their neighbors. He who is imbued by the Doctrine of Individuality does not say, for if he hold that doctrine aright he

cannot believe, that it matters not what are the opinions that his brethren entertain. But if he hold that doctrine consistently he will regard opinion as alone important when connected with spiritual progress. In this respect, so far from attaching less importance to opinion than others, he attaches infinitely more, for he knows that without a revolution of opinion and a very profound and extensive revolution, the moral changes which he desires cannot happen. On an immense number of things it is impossible for the sagacity of Man to come to any determination. Such are, the relations of Spirit to Matter. Such is, the state of the Dead. And such are also a great many questions in history on which the evidence is dubious or imperfect; for instance, Whether Mary Queen of Scots was guilty or not; Who was the Man in the Iron Mask; What has become of the Jews who were carried away in successive captivities. These and a thousand other questions are mere questions of speculation. Now it is evident that whatever view is taken of them by the disputants argues neither morality nor immorality on the part of either. There is no more morality in believing that the globe on which we live was created six thousand years ago than in believing that it has existed twelve thousand years or four thousand years. Now, when it is said by certain pretended liberals that we have nothing to do with our neighbor's opinions, I deny the statement altogether. We have a vast deal to do with our neighbor's opinions, since it is through a change in his opinion that we expect to work a change in his character and life. But we have no right to call opinion, simply as such, either moral or immoral, and we ought carefully to distinguish those questions that have moral relations and those that have none. Occupying itself almost exclusively with the former, and caring for the latter, only inasfar as they may lead to more accurate information on disputed points, Individualism conducts directly to the profoundest interest in the moral condition of our fellow-creatures. Have we occupied ourselves solely with the great problems which help to solve for us the mysteries of Infinitude

we are naturally desirous of seeing how far the solution of these can be further promoted by their application to beings similarly circumstanced with ourselves, exposed to the same temptations, sufferings and doubts. And every new Individual whom we encounter is a new battlefield on which we are anxious to test by stubborn conflict the truth of our principles.

In the third place, in proportion as we develop our own Individuality we are more desirous that all others should develop theirs, because under the System of Individualism the Individual takes a significance which no other system gives him. It looks on every Individual as the Child of the Infinite and the Divine, and gifted with aspirations that stretch and yearn into the deep bosom of Immensity. How unholy then would it seem in any one pervaded by such lofty views of the Individual's nature to be indifferent to the Individual's destiny ! Oh, no, he cannot be, he is not, indifferent. One of his main sorrows is, that there are so many individuals slumbering on in sin and sense, with none to rouse them from their slumber, and that he can do so little in a work that he regards as so blissful. This it is, this alone it is, which can ever disturb the current of his happiness. There are so few to whom his influence extends, and the process is so long and so tedious by which men are awakened from dead formulas to a living faith, that it often seems to him as if his existence were nothing but a vain show. And if in more hopeful hours he is inclined to look more favorably on the influence which his Individuality exerts on other individuals, still must it ever seem to him as if there were much to be done, and as if he were doing only a very small and insignificant portion thereof. And it is only by looking up with trusting eyes to the throne of Omnipotence that he derives patience and strength to battle on bravely amid obstacles, conflicts and disasters.

In the fourth place, my friends, the more we develop our own Individuality the more we are desirous that other

men should develope theirs, because we would not wish to stand in the unsocial attitude of being the only Individuals who developed Individuality. While then our chief motive for desiring that other Individuals should develope their Individuality is, because we wish to accelerate their spiritual progress, and to augment their spiritual happiness, a minor motive is, because we are social beings, and wish that others should be joined to us as companions. If we would wish, through the Individuality of the Individual, to be giants, we would not wish to be solitary giants, or that others should be scared by our height and shudder at us as monsters. As I have before shown, Individuality is to nothing opposed so much as to eccentricity and singularity, though apt, by superficial observers, to be confounded with it. It runs the risk of appearing singular, only that what is extraordinary and exalted in mind and morality may one day become the inheritance of all.

In the fifth place, my friends, the more we develope our own Individuality the more we are desirous that other men should develope theirs, because we wish to make men that which we are ourselves—missionaries. If a principle is good for anything it is worthy of being diffused, and it can never be better diffused than by the lives of its believers. With no doctrine is this so strikingly the case as with the doctrine of Individuality. As it requires the Individual to put forth his whole and unmutilated manhood, it strives strenuously and pauselessly to make as many as possible do this, in order that they may be living and irresistible arguments in the midst of the community: better than preaching, better than books, it would send a few men forth in whom other men could visibly read the marks traced by the finger of the Highest and turn from the error of their ways.

In the sixth and last place, the more we develope our own Individuality, the more shall we be desirous that other men should develope theirs; because, as I have formerly shown, the System of Individualism might with as much propriety

be called the System of Universalism, since its chief object is not merely to bring forth the whole and harmonious faculties of the Individual, but also to make everything in the Universe hold the relation to everything else in which the Creator of the Universe has placed it. Now, every Individual whose manhood is mutilated and suppressed is dislocated from this appointed relation and position. And we as Individuals, pained by the spectacle and desirous of remedying the mischief, promptly adopt the most efficient means for this purpose. And what is this? No other than that we should make the Individuality of the Individual the same reality to others which it has become for ourselves.

I have thus, my friends, very briefly and rapidly illustrated the subject before us. To some of the points I have scarcely been able to do more than allude. The truth is, that I must deliver this series of lectures in the rude and sketchy manner I have hitherto done, or not deliver it at all. Either here or elsewhere, wherever indeed a Higher than I deems proper, I expect at some future period to deliver a more elaborate course. But it is a maxim with me to do the good I can, expecting that a time will come when I can do the good I wish. In the meantime, may God bless for your hearts and minds my present teachings!

LECTURE XIV.

THE PERPETUITY OF GOD'S REVELATIONS.

THE thirteenth Article of my Confession of Faith, the thirteenth principle in the System of Individualism, is the following:—I believe that the Revelations of God are perpetual, and that every Individual, while a fresh Revelation of God and of the Universe, is the highest of all Revelations to himself.

Most people in speaking of Revelation apply it to the manifestations of divine power of which the ancient Jewish people were the instruments, and of which Moses and Jesus were more especially the agents. They employ it to distinguish what are regarded as the extraordinary from what are regarded as the ordinary arrangements of Providence. Now this seems to me a very limited and partial view of Revelation. No doubt Moses, and Christ, and the miracles of Palestine, have been the means of bringing immense advantages to the world; but they are not the universe; they embrace only a small portion of God's Infinite Kingdom. And to view them with a mad fanaticism as if they embraced it all, may be abundantly consistent with theological and sectarian bondage, but is not worthy of Man's divinity and destiny as an Individual. Revelation, according to my interpretation thereof, signifies whatever God sees fit to reveal to us of himself, in whatever manner or through whatever medium the revelation is made. Now God's attributes being always the same, their developement must be always the same. They cannot be unchangeable and yet capricious. It is incon-

sistent with his nature then to suppose that he would begin, and then discontinue or intermit, certain unfoldings of his marvellous essence. For the same necessity of his nature which impelled him to certain manifestations of himself once, would impel him to the like manifestations always. The two circumstances, my friends, that have prevented this rational view of God's administration from being universally adopted are the following. In the first place it is supposed by the majority of those calling themselves Christians that there is a peculiar excellence in the mere recognition of the miraculous or supernatural in the Christian system, even though those who recognize it make no effort whatever to understand or to realize the moral truths of that system. Those, on the other hand, who apply themselves to understand and to realize the moral truths of the gospel are denied the Christian name, if from mere deficiency of the poetic faculty of wonder they are incapable of believing what is supernatural in the recorded actions of the Saviour. Thus faith, which, when purest, noblest, and most comprehensive, can only be the creator of virtue, is made identical with, or rather is made a substitute for, virtue itself, and the Christian character is measured, not by the amount of its celestial beauty, but by the amount of its servile credulity. In the second place, the miraculous or supernatural is regarded by religionists in general as a higher display of divine power and goodness than the natural; and, therefore, it is regarded as a more devotional gratitude, that which lavishes itself on the extraordinary than that which is given merely to the ordinary unfoldings of Deity. That the Creator should build the arches of the boundless sky, and brighten the depths of space with starry worlds, and clothe prodigious globes with sunshine, and verdure, and glory, and give life and the raptures of life to numberless beings, from the humblest insect, whose career is a summer's day, to Man the bold in brow and the sublime in aspiring and idea, whose heritage is immortality,—that the Creator should do all this and much

more than my feeble tongue can tell, is esteemed of incomparably less importance than that he should empower one of the most exalted of his creatures to feed the hungry, to give sight to the blind, by means which contradicted men's usual experience. By thus contrasting the natural with the supernatural, and by giving an immense preference to the latter, our brethren, so far from honoring God, are doing their best to dishonor him; for this preference inevitably supposes that there are some actions more difficult for God to perform than others, and thus in a large degree it questions his perfect omnipotence; and if his omnipotence is questioned, what becomes of his other attributes? I am not speaking here against miracles; far from it. I have no sympathy for the cold and shallow logic with which Rationalism attacks them. If my mere captious and critical understanding might repugn, my Individuality, as a whole, gladly and gratefully accepts them. And, indeed, their belief or rejection, their fitness or unfitness, is entirely a matter of Individuality. To him who is unable to believe them, they can afford no spiritual sustenance; to him who can believe them, they afford this in abundance. All that I object to is the exclusive value and authority with which they are clothed, by which the character and providence of God are flagrantly misrepresented, and Man's views of that character and providence are wretchedly narrowed and darkened. Nature is God made visible; instead, then, of bringing ourselves nearer to God we are increasing the distance between us and him when we raise anything to a transcendent eminence above Nature. The supernatural, when regarded merely as one of the harmonies of Nature, is beautiful and holy; when placed in fierce antagonism to Nature it becomes of course the unnatural. Now, it is this antagonism which is the root of all theologies, and which makes men swallow absurdities at which they would otherwise revolt. Wonder and Fear are very closely allied in all things: in nothing is the alliance so close as in religion. And he who does not perspicaciously pierce into this alliance

will never be able to explain all the errors that Superstition has caused. In looking at the monstrous and cruel things which religious fury and folly have engendered, we hastily trace them all to the fears of our fellow-men; and an ancient author has said, that fear first made Gods. Fear, my friends, has merely prolonged what Wonder began; and to banish the Fear we must educate the Wonder. We must not do as mere doubters and deniers are always doing, tell our fellow-creatures that nothing in the providence of God is wonderful; we must tell them that everything is wonderful, and then will they cease to give to anything that the Deity accomplishes or has accomplished, a monopoly of astonishment. Where all is miraculous, that is to say, where all is infinitely marvellous, nothing is terrible. Not, indeed, that I have any sympathy for that commonplace and childish feeling, which prompts certain men, these sometimes being Authors, to burst into ecstasy at every display of divine energy and benevolence which they see. This is converting into a frigid formality what I would wish to be a living and abiding spirit. Wonder was never meant by our Creator to occupy the place of the understanding; it was merely meant to correct the defects of the understanding. It altogether fails of its office when it meets every trace of the Supreme in the Universe with a vacant stare of surprise. To look wisely and aright on the perpetual revelations of God, we should look on them at once, philosophically, poetically and religiously; philosophically so as to discern their signification; poetically so as to admire their beauty; and religiously so as to feel them as connecting links between ourselves and the infinite Deity. To him who thus looks on Deity and the revelations of Deity, what a wide field is opened! Not a flower that blows, or a leaf that falls, that is not a revelation to him. The changing clouds, the dashing waves, the howling winds, mountains, and forests, and the entire garniture of earth, are revelations to him. The resurrection of fields and of valleys from the death of Winter he feels to be as great a revelation as the

resurrection of Jesus or of Lazarus from the grave. No event, however trifling, in the Present or the Past, which does not wear to his soul the aspect of a revelation. Art, and the products of Art, Science and the discoveries of Science, come with a full treasure of revelations to his bosom. The history of every nation, and especially the history of nations so illustrious, and which have exerted influences so permanent and profound as Greece and Rome, are a succession of revelations. Whatever morally, mentally, or physically, has aided the civilization of Man he welcomes as a revelation. When he stands in the midst of famous cities that, through their ruins, disclose the magnitude and magnificence by which they were formerly distinguished; the crumbling arch, the tottering and defaced temple or theatre, the prostrate statue of hero or of god, are all so many forms through which the Deity blends himself with his being. When he reads the biographies of those who for good or for evil have made themselves notable in the annals of Humanity, it is not mere amusement or information that he seeks; but the incidents in the lives of each of these are revelations unto him of Omnipotent Benevolence and Power. This is the case with them all, but more especially is it the case with those, the Saints, the Prophets, the Martyrs, who have bravely consecrated their energies to the service of mankind. Truly they to his worshipping spirit are, God manifest in the flesh. But if all in the Past and in the Present that has aided the march of humanity is a revelation to the Individual gifted with a lofty comprehensi likewise is himself a revelation of God and of the Universe. He is not merely a recipient of the divine light, he is a communicator of the divine light, not only because he contains, as all things more or less contain, a portion of the Divinity, ~~but~~ because nothing has previously appeared on the scene of human action with the same lineaments and endowments as himself. And this applies not alone to the good, who are the conscious and willing agents of the Deity's love. It applies to all, however

bad or depraved they may be; for however sunk in corruption, their individuality can never be utterly effaced; and their individuality as individuals helps to make clearer to the discerning eye the grandeur of the Supreme. We are all more or less inclined to view the good as revealers of the divine character; but we shrink from regarding the wicked as such. Yet to be consistent we must do so; for did not the finger of God mould them as he moulded Jesus, and Paul, and Moses, and all who have lived for the sake of Humanity? And have they not faculties as marked and as elaborately combined as the bravest of the brave, the most magnanimous, the most pure, who have displayed the most signally the spirit of sacrifice? Oh, my friends, that we could disaccustom ourselves from seeing revelations only in dead and frigid books, and see them more in the myriad faces of mankind. And the evil would be less if, recognizing those books to contain the only revelations, men were content to receive them as they find them there. But still more slavish and stupid, they dare not read those books with their own eyes and understandings, and they ask other men to be their interpreters. And who are the men to whom they entrust that sacred office? Why, the very men who have most interest in falsifying and sophisticating those books, and in darkening and deluding the minds of such as accept their guidance. The cure for this is one which I have often impressed. It is not Protestantism; it is not Dissent; it is nothing theological. It is this, that however various the revelations we may receive from ~~with~~out, and whether we recognize among those revelations certain sacred books, we should yet feel that the highest and most beautiful revelation is that which is within; that the Individual is to himself the great revelation by which all other revelations must be tested. What is without may mislead him, what is within never can. When I speak of the Individual as being to himself the highest of all revelations, I do not limit my remark merely to his conscience. This is a most valuable faculty, and one which,

when enlightened, helps us to be perfect, even as our father who is in heaven is perfect. I speak not, however, of his conscience, but of his consciousness, of the power by which he can grasp and meditate on his entire Individuality as an Individual. This it is which should be the Individual's supremest revelation. If he put anything above this revelation, then that, instead of being a revelation to him, becomes a despot, grinding his most soaring faculties to the dust. And this is a point of view which I would wish most earnestly to impress upon you all. What is the value, what is the intention, of a revelation? Is it not to teach us something, the knowledge of which is to contribute to our usefulness and happiness? But it cannot be a teacher and a tyrant too. Yet men first convert their recognized revelations into tyrants, and then they expect them to be teachers. It is easy declaiming against this and other follies to which our brethren are liable; but declamation is a most profitless employment. What we have to do is not to declaim, but to deliver ourselves and others from the thralldom which I have been delineating. There is one striking fact which convincingly shows that the Individual ought to regard his own Individuality as the highest of the revelations with which he can be blest from above. It is this. There have been, and there are, countless diversities of religious systems pretending to the authority of a revelation. In Christian lands there is one system; in China there is another; in India there is another; in Turkey there is another; and in the four quarters of the globe, barbarous or savage, or civilized, there are myriads. Now, if God had meant any external revelation to be a higher revelation to the Individual than his own Individuality, he would have supplied it at all times and in all lands, and abundantly and convincingly, to every Individual that has ever existed. It would have come so clearly to every Individual that he could no more doubt its truth and its application to his circumstances than he could doubt the light of the sun. But this is so far from being the case, that the

world had existed four thousand years before the noblest of external religious revelations, Christianity, appeared; and even though that revelation has been in the world for eighteen hundred years, not above a sixth of the earth's present population are Christians. Is not this enough to prove to you that what in the wise providence of God has been dispensed with cannot be regarded as indispensable? But narrow the question further, and you will see still more forcibly the proofs of the principle that I am attempting to establish. Of those in this and other lands calling themselves Christians, how many are Christians in any thing but the name? Probably not more than one in fifty, if so many. Are then the forty-nine, who are Christians only in name, entirely destitute of revelation, entirely destitute of something to teach them the way of Truth and Duty? This cannot be so, else there would be no morality at all, and it would be impossible for Society to exist. They have then something. What is it? However marred and darkened, it is that higher revelation for which I am contending now; it is their individual consciousness. But to the one in fifty, who is a Christian in reality, and not in name, is it the external or the internal revelation which is the usual guide of his conduct? He, himself, if questioned, might be disposed to say that it is the external revelation; but if you analyse his motives and the usual tenor of his career, you will find it is the internal. When are men most themselves? Is it not when they are most earnest, when carried away by some omnipotent impulse? Now, those who are Christians in verity and not in pretence, persuade themselves in their calm and meditative moments that they have derived all the divine light which they enjoy from Christianity. But whenever called to display fervent enthusiasm and heroic sacrifice, then it is that the Individual, the inner revelation, rises, and in all majesty, and asserts an invincible claim to the highest position. But, moreover, an external revelation, to be the highest revelation to the Individual, would need not only to be catholic in its diffusion, but uniform in its interpreta-

tion. Is this, however, the case? Far from it. The interpretation is as varying as the diffusion is limited. You are heterodox; others call themselves orthodox; some of your brethren are papists; others are protestants,—yet they all pretend to go for authority to the same book. They all recognize that book as the chief source whence their faith is drawn. However infallible therefore this book may be to those who regard it as infallible, yet it wants that further infallibility which would confer unerring wisdom in its interpretation, and without this second infallibility, the first alone cannot confer the title of highest revelation. Furthermore, my friends, after having been educated a Christian, I may be early torn away from all Christian influences. I may be thrown by a tyrant into a dungeon, and, far from the free light and gladsome air, left to pine away the remainder of my days in grimmest solitude. Or I may be thrown by shipwreck on a desert island, where no human brother may ever again come to cheer or to deliver me from my desolation. In these and other similar cases, which will readily occur to you, is it not evident that my highest, and indeed only revelation, must be my own Individuality? I have not the Christian books; I have merely the recollection of certain Christian precepts, and of the beautiful life of Jesus; and these may give me acceptable comfort; but still my main aid, my main strength, my main consolation, must be myself. These brief hints are surely enough to show you that, in all cases, the highest revelation to the Individual must be the Individual himself.

And now, my friends, permit me to say, that it is not to weaken, but to strengthen the authority of the Christian religion, that I have treated this subject in the manner I have done. I want you to view it as the highest of the external revelations, but still subordinated to the consciousness of the Individual. If you make that consciousness your supremest guide, Christ and Christianity will come to you with a power that they have never formerly manifested. They will come to you as teachers, without that tincture of tyranny which has hitherto marred their noblest inculcations.

LECTURE XV.

SACRED BOOKS AND THE CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE INDIVIDUAL.

THE fourteenth article of my Confession of Faith, the fourteenth principle in the System of Individualism, is the following :—I believe that the Nature of the Individual ought not to be interpreted by sacred books, but that sacred books ought all to be interpreted by the nature of the Individ

Sometimes, my friends, a religious faith continues for long centuries, without possessing sacred books ; and not few are the instances in which a religious faith has never possessed any sacred books at all. But all those which may be called the culminating religions of the world, such as have exerted a wide and permanent influence on civilization, uniformly treasure up their teachings in books pretending to a divine authority. Savage tribes, or barbarous nations, unless they adopt the religion of a more cultivated people, have seldom any sacred books. Their religion is entirely traditional, and is kept from changing by the same fidelity to olden habit and opinion which generally characterizes them. A religion, however, cannot enter on a mission of propagandism without sacred books. If it is to conquer other regions to its sway, besides those in which it originated, it must have documents to which to appeal, as containing a statement of its doctrines and a history of its founder or founders. Christianity cannot be brought forward as a refutation of this assertion. For, though it was preached for a certain number of years, with-

out possessing any sacred books, and though a longer period elapsed before those sacred books were gathered into one, to form what we call the New Testament, yet, as Christianity was less a new religion than the expansion of an older religion, of which Moses was the chief author, and continually appealed to the sacred books of that older religion, we see that thus the objection at once falls to the ground. I recollect only one instance in the history of primordial religions in which the sacred books had a single author; I mean Mahometanism. Mahomet was at once the organizer of his faith, the hero of his faith, and the chronicler of his faith. And, I doubt not, that this, its unity, was one main cause of its rapid and triumphant success. Its charms for the senses and the imagination of Eastern nations were certainly great; but though these would have induced them to adopt it, they would not have made them the resistless conquerors they were. No, it was its prodigious unity that accomplished this result. The simplest and rudest mind that embraced this religion had only to seize a single salient fact. It had not to entangle itself amid a maze of manifold claims, and authorities, and persons. There was the one great gleaming energy—Mahomet, which enshrined in a moment in the brain and in the heart, became as quickly the inspiration of the sword. Christianity, on the contrary, is an exceedingly complicated religion, and you cannot have a better proof of this than that no two men are exactly agreed as to what Christianity is. The character of Christ had certainly nothing complicated, and there was nothing complicated in his teachings. But with what a mass of incongruities that character and those teachings have been connected! It would seem to an impartial mind, that nothing should be regarded as Christianity but what Christ consecrated by his precept or his example. It would seem that what certain men said, or did, or wrote, many years before he was born, or many years after he died, could not, with any show of justice or reason, be considered as an integral portion of his religion. Look, however, at the

fact. Does not nearly the whole of what is popularly regarded as Christianity consist of notions gathered from the prophecies of the Old Testament, and from the writings of the Apostle Paul? This is a source of endless confusion. It requires a bold mind, a sage and strong, to disentangle the sublime personality Jesus, from the cloudy and cumbrous mass of details, theological, historical, or other with which it is surrounded. The truth is, that though Christ is professedly the great hero of the Bible, the Bible itself, by the superstitious reverence bestowed upon it, is exalted to a place far above Christ. Now, if we take a large view of the civilization of the world, that which in one point of view is a defect, is in another an excellence. The immense variety that the Bible presents is favorable to the various culture which Humanity successively requires. It stimulates and unfolds its most opposite faculties, by the fertility of suggestion that it offers. But it is a fertility wild and lavish, as the untamed woods of a tropical clime, and where, however gorgeous the colors, however gigantic and striking the forms, it is often difficult to find a path. Not till the chaos has been reduced to something like order, will the moral and mental unity of Christ, and the spiritual unity of his religion, be beheld by men as they were manifested by him.

The Greeks, my friends, had no sacred books, at least none that were given as manuals of theology to the people. Theirs was not a dead dogmatism, but a living religion, moving and breathing in glory and beauty before their eyes; and their sacred books were the lyrical, epic, dramatic, and other productions of their great poets, from Homer and Hesiod downward. These contained so many allusions to and records of the Gods of Olympus, they so closely and harmoniously intertwined heaven with earth, that it was difficult to tell where Divinity ended and Humanity began. The religion of the Greeks was poetry, and their poetry was religion; the theological element, so pernicious to the unity of national culture, mingled with both only in the very smallest degree. Their religion could

never cease to be natural as long as it was so poetical, and their poetry could never cease to be moral as long as it was so religious. If sacred books had never taken any other shape but that which they took among the Greeks, it would have mattered little whether the Nature of the Individual had been interpreted by sacred books, or sacred books had been interpreted by the nature of the Individual; for both being essentially the same, whichever was made the test of the other, the same result would follow. But in this, as in almost all other things, the Greeks stand alone in their unapproachable supremacy; they are the only people in whom Art, Religion, Poetry, Philosophy, and Morality, have been one; the only people, therefore, among whom the theory of human nature, and the manifestations of human nature, have been the same. In most other nations, from the preponderance of the theological element, or, which is the same thing, from the boundless influence of the priesthood, the theory of Human Nature, and the manifestations of Human Nature, have been the directest antagonisms of each other. For sacred books never confine themselves to what we should consider their proper office; the exhibition of the nature of divine beings, and of the manner in which the duties of human beings toward them should be performed. But they present, along with these, and indeed with more prominence and detail than any thing else, a theory of Human Nature. Now, the evil of this theory is, that it is not founded on observation and experience, but is simply a tradition from the remotest times. When and where it originated, when and how, and through whom it first took its place in sacred books, are alike subjects on which inquiry is almost vain. One feature, however, characterizes all such theories. They every one suppose or narrate an event called the Fall of Man. For this is not peculiar to the Bible, but is a fundamental portion of all theologies. The priesthood never, in any case, originated this notion; they merely turned it to a theological purpose. Indeed, there is no notion more natural. There is no tendency of the Human heart more

spontaneous, more universal, than that which surrounds the past with a gladness and a splendor that it never possessed. How often we turn with ineffable regret to our childhood and our youth, clothing them with a thousand roseate hues, with which in reality they never glowed! How bright then was the sun, how green the fields, how limpid the brook, how teeming with life the whole wide immensity of creation! Now every thing seems colorless and dead, and though the varying seasons return, they do not seem to bring the rapturous emotions they formerly brought. And if creation seems changed to our eye, Man also seems changed to our heart. None seems to love us as then we were loved. And we rush in fancy to some lonely grave, where sleeps in peace, what was to us in years far gone, that which we cannot persuade ourselves we have now—a friend. And if Creation and Man seem changed, we also ourselves seem changed. We imagine that formerly we had far more innocence and vigor and sensibility to happiness than we have now. We forget that ever since we could reflect or remember we placed the Golden Age in the Past, and that the boy of fourteen wept over the scenes and fervors that were no more, as bitterly as the man of thirty now weeps. We forget also that as long as God leaves us the power to dream of that Golden Age we cannot be the changed beings we suppose; for is not the dream itself a marvellous delight? What we do individually Humanity does as a whole. Historians and Philosophers may theorize as they please about human perfectibility; they may most learnedly and triumphantly prove that Man marches, and will continue to march, nearer and nearer to whatever is fitted to make him good, great and happy. Man himself will ever be more the Child of Memory than of Hope. His own feelings will ever be stronger than the logic of others, and his feelings will never cease to tell him that the youth of the world enjoyed a happiness and a purity which can never be enjoyed again. Nor does this regret extend alone to the earliest ages of the world. There is many an ideal period in the Past, endowed with

virtues, capacities, and enjoyments, which seem for ever to have departed from mankind. This is the origin of Puseyism, Young Englandism, the Middle Age Mania, and all similar exhibitions. These all point to an imaginary period of social beauty, excellence, and felicity, which they would strive to revive. This sentiment is also a great source of strength to every species of Conservatism; it is not the mere bigotry of habit, or the dread of change, or party feeling, or selfishness, which makes the mass of men so attached to existing political and ecclesiastical institutions. But with all these various motives mingles the idea that these institutions bear the stamp of a time when men were wiser, better, stronger, braver, happier, than they are now. Now this sentiment, which throws such a radiance on the Past, is often harmless, often beautiful, and, indeed, is sometimes of utmost value, serving as a potent bulwark against the fierce march of mere destructive innovation. It becomes, however, the most terrible engine of wickedness, and woe when it passes through the hand of a priest! He transmutes into a theological dogma what with the Individual and Humanity is simply a feeling. He interprets as a literal fact what Tradition merely offered as an allegory. Thus, for instance, no one who reads the earlier chapters of Genesis with human, and not with theological or sacerdotal associations, can mistake their meaning, and intention for a moment. The Paradise which is there pictured it is very certain never existed. It was not, however, the invention of him who records it. He merely put in his unambitious chronicle a tradition that had been floating for hundreds, perhaps for thousands, of years in the mouths of men, and which had been successively embellished by successive generations.

Besides the feeling, my friends, which makes us see in the Past a beauty and a glory that it never possessed, another circumstance has given rise to the notion of the Fall of Man, which forms so fundamental a portion of all theologies, and, therefore, of all sacred books. However untutored, however

rude, men may be, the dark and mysterious problems of the Universe cannot fail to press themselves on their attention. And among these none is more perplexing than that which relates to the origin of evil. It is puzzling to the human understanding that a Being, good, wise, and omnipotent, such as everything teaches us God to be, should permit sin and misery to enter into the world. Of course only God himself can explain so great a mystery. But men have not been content to accept the fact without explaining it, and numberless are the explanations that have been given, some of them prodigiously shrewd, and some of them as prodigiously silly. One of the most obvious is that which supposes that Man has fallen from some original state of purity and peace and boundless joy, and that the pain he now suffers is the penalty of his guilt. But this only removes the difficulty a step; it does not explain it. For the question immediately presents itself,—Why did God create Man with such a liability to temptation that in certain circumstances he could not help falling? Indeed, all we can say about the matter is, that God, as far as we can discern the plans of God, could not have evolved such an amount of happiness as that which now exists from any other combination of circumstances than that which at present reigns in the Universe. Metaphysics, the most acute and comprehensive, can never come to any wiser or more satisfactory conclusion than this.

The Fall of Man is of indispensable importance to the priesthood, because without its admission as a theological dogma, their power immediately departs. The prevalence of natural and universal corruption in the hearts of mankind supposes of necessity that no man can form a morality or a religion for himself, and that he must resort to some species of supernatural aid in order to have the ability to cherish one single religious emotion, or to perform one single virtuous deed. A fall also, of course, supposes a redemption. If men have rebelled against God by sin, some agency must be employed to bring them back from rebellion to obedience.

Now to whom must this agency of redemption, this means of moral and religious regeneration, be committed? To whom but to him who holds himself forth as the chosen Messenger of Mercy from God to Man, the Priest? Wonder not that he should fight so furiously for original sin, for deprive him of that and his craft is gone. Teach the Individual that he is endowed with infinite capacities; that he has invincible power to be great and good if he but resolve to be so; that mere energy of will can make him priest and prophet and king to himself; that Man, so far from having fallen from some great spiritual height, has from the very first moment of his appearance on earth been rising higher and higher in his career of perfection,—teach the Individual this, and kindred doctrine and the priest's trade is immediately destroyed. What then to others is an illusion of the feelings, is to him a cold and selfish calculation, and he will battle for it to the last.

But whatever, my friends, may be the origin of this notion concerning the fall of Man, or to whatever purpose the priests may apply it, or whatever prominence it may occupy in sacred books, it is evident that it is quite preposterous to make it, or the sacred books which contain it, the standard by which the Individual is to be judged. The notion originated in the earliest ages of the world; the writings also which contain it were composed at a very remote period, and whatever attention and reverence we may for other merits of theirs give them, it is absurd to make our Individuality as Individuals be judged by their declarations or their doctrines. We should think this ridiculous physically; if people were to reflect, they would see that it is not less ridiculous morally and mentally. If the Bible or any other sacred book were to assert that Man had three ears, when we know that he has only two, or that he had two mouths, when we know that he has only one, we should not hesitate an instant in preferring the evidence of our eyes to the declarations of the sacred book. Why should it be otherwise when the sacred book contradicts the experience which we have of the spiritual capacities of our-

selves or others? Whatever in the sacred book gives light to my mind, or sustenance to my heart, or support to my struggles, that I should cheerfully and gratefully accept. But when I am conscious of qualities which the theory of human nature in the sacred book denies me, I must without hesitation prefer my own conviction to the dogma of the sacred book. What matters it if the sacred book or its interpreters picture me as incapable of a single good thought, word, or deed, if I know that my whole and ceaseless aspiring is to consecrate my energies to the service of Humanity? If I yearn with a holy yearning to be the Redeemer of my race and to make others redeemers; to spread far and wide an idea fitted to make men divine; to undergo all privation, peril, and pain, rather than renounce my loyalty to truth; to spurn comfort, convenience, pleasure, worldly advantage, all that others hold dear, rather than flag and falter in my generous purposes,—ought I not to accept this evidence of my own nature, however much it may contradict traditions that originated five or six thousand years ago? And if around me I behold few or none utterly destitute of goodness, and many who, amid the temptations which the world so thickly presents, magnanimously devote themselves to philanthropic action, and fountains of benevolence gushing where only kindred benevolence can perceive them, ought I not to accept this as a further proof that it is by the deeds of Man that Man should be judged, and not by priestly theories and theological speculations? And if I turn to the Past what do I see? Do I not behold generation after generation made beautiful, and blessed by patriots, and sages, and martyrs, and prophets, and apostles, and men facing the dungeon, the sword, and the flame, rather than desert their allegiance to their God; and beholding these, ought I not to be still more confirmed in the belief that Humanity and the Individual ought never to bow to Theology, but that Theology ought always to bow to them; that the sole infallibility to which we should kneel is the infallibility of consciousness, and that the

most sacred of all books is that which is written by the finger of God in the depths of the human heart?

I have thus, my friends, addressed you on a most important principle, a principle which, if properly understood, would put an end to many of the theological controversies of the present day, and to the political and other conflicts springing from these so fatal to the Unity of Man and the March of Civilization. All sects, orthodox or heterodox, whether they profess to recognize an external infallibility such as the Popedom, or use the language of the broadest liberality, are unvarying in the endeavor to make the members of the sect bow and mould themselves to the authority and the theory of certain sacred books. By placing the Individual on the height to which I have been aiming this evening to raise him, I give him a power and a deliverance which sects or their systems can never wrest from his grasp.

LECTURE XVI.

THE CHIEF CHARACTERISTIC OF THE PROPHET.

THE fifteenth article of my Confession of Faith, the fifteenth principle in the System of Individualism, is the following :—I believe that the Teacher, or Reformer, or Prophet, at whatever time he may appear, does not so much utter original and striking truths, as proclaim the Great Unspoken Want of the Age which has been with growing, but unconscious, force fermenting in all hearts.

Truth, my friends, is the most vital food of Humanity. No nation, no constitution of Society, however numerous, however formidable the other foes with which it has had to contend, has ever perished from any other cause than that Truth has ceased to be its sustenance. Many a treatise has been written, many a speculation has been indulged, on the main agencies that originate and necessitate the revolutions of empires ; but the chief agency will ever be found to be that men loved darkness rather than light because their deeds were evil. The proximate causes of revolutions are easily enough discovered : famine, intestine division, financial embarrassment, a foreign foe,—these or other things may be the immediate bringers of the most woful catastrophes. They, however, but consummate a mischief deeply rooted and long begun, and without which they would be alike superficial and transitory in their influence. That mischief is that men have ceased to yearn for truth as the indispensable sustenance of their souls. They have become the mere slaves of appearances ; but, more

than this, they have become indifferent to, and ignorant of, the distinction between appearances and realities. By truth, at present, I do not mean abstract truth, or the truth that mathematicians, metaphysicians, or other philosophers and theorists evolve, or persuade themselves that they have evolved, from analysis and research and meditation. I mean those great moral principles which have an eternal response in the conscience and consciousness of the human heart, which, doubted or denied by sophists or by sciolists, only the more vigorously assert their divine claims the more fiercely they are assaulted, which instinctively soar to God as their author, guardian, guide, and which, however buried for a time under passion and selfishness and Mammon, have an inevitable resurrection in remorse and retribution. This is the truth without which man cannot live, which is the very breath of his nostrils, which, as it invigorates and inspires him when all else is dark and desolate, so by its absence is sufficient to countervail the most splendid advantages of fortune. Now this human, this universal truth, is so far from depending on the nature and extent of the discoveries made in abstract truth at any particular period, that when the latter truth is most rapid in its conquests, or, at all events, when the taste for it is most diffused, the former truth is often sunk in the foulest degradation. In ancient times speculations regarding abstract truth generally commenced when the great moral principles of which I have spoken were showing symptoms of decrepitude and decay. Men did not theorize on the nature of Virtue till Virtue itself had lost much of its beauty and power, nor on the nature of the Divinity till religious feeling was growing cold and religious faith was tottering, nor on the distinctions between good and evil till evil had become the victor over the good. Greek patriotism certainly long survived the birth of Greek philosophy; but it gradually ceased to be the stalwart fact it had been as the taste for the subtleties and ingenuities of speculation extended. The stern and lofty character and severe manners of the Romans also seemed to suffer an eclipse

from the time that Greek literature and philosophy began to blend themselves with the national culture. The sudden growth of an enormous power, and the consequent luxury and wealth and dreams of giddy and grasping ambition, may all have assisted in undermining the excellences that distinguished the Romans in the earlier periods of their history. But it was the seductive sophistries, wafted from the shores of Greece, that most fatally dried up the sap of Roman energy. Though the Jews had little of the speculative tendency of the Greeks, yet the traditions of the Elders were nearly to the one nation what metaphysical inquiry was to the other. They were the substitution of moral problems for moral practice, of the cobwebs of the brain for the brave hand, the worshipping brow, the pure and generous heart. Of course, one grand evil of those traditions was, that they put the form for the spirit, and the minute in detail and observance for the comprehensive in principle. But their worst evil was, that they weakened the authority of the Mosaic law, by bewildering the mind in a maze of pedantic jargon, and by feeding the pride of intellect they destroyed that true humility of soul, without which there can be no earnest faith and no deep sense of moral obligation. What was it, also, that so early dimmed the lustre and paralyzed the vigor of the Christian religion? It was not the imitation of heathen practices, it was not the growth of priestly power, it was not the connection of the Church with the State; these and other things, no doubt, had their influence. But the master curse was the mingling the philosophy of the schools with the simple teachings of Jesus, by which the latter, by being denuded of clearness, were denuded of strength. Christianity was rendered false by the attempt of its learned converts to give it a scientific symmetry and a literary air. The mass of men will ever be incompetent to the comprehension, much more to the practical application of metaphysical distinctions. Nothing can strengthen a moral law but what directly and intelligibly appeals to the conscience of the Individual. The attempt to

find a reason for the law in considerations drawn from the mystery and the origin of things, will make conscience itself one of the matters of debate, and will thus tear up the rock on which the foundation is placed, to make buttresses and embellishments for the building.

In more recent times, we equally perceive that speculations regarding abstract truth, so far from aiding the triumphs of moral principle, have accomplished a directly contrary result. From the Middle Ages down to the Reformation, metaphysical theories and dialectical subtleties and logical distinctions were rife enough, but those who were so busy in constructing hypothesis upon hypothesis, on the Constitution of the Universe and the Nature of Man, forgot that Man himself was ignorant and wretched, and a slave. The Schoolmen battled with each other for the chimeras of their own fancy, and the crudities of their own understanding, but they had neither the affection nor the daring to lift up a finger in the warfare for human rights.

The Reformation seemed the dawn of brighter, better, more blissful things, in this respect. The claims of Man, as Man, and apart from idle and pedantic jangling about mere abstractions, were, for a time, boldly asserted. And, as far as the Reformation was a rehabilitation of the Human Conscience, it can never meet with sufficient gratitude and praise. But it did not long continue to wear its first aspect or to lavish its first beatitudes. It soon grew as pedant as paltry, as prosy, as presumptuous, as the schools had ever nursed. It deserted its Mission to Conscience, and entangled itself in the labyrinth of theological dogmas. It committed the blunder which is daily committed, of endeavoring to expound and elaborate Truth at the expense of Humanity, not seeing that Truth is only valuable inasfar as it elevates and enlightens and gladdens humanity. It learned what, unless we are most watchful, we so easily learn, to prefer the symmetry of a system to the happiness of mankind. The creeds which it established, and the majority of the questions which it de-

bated, had no more relation to Man, and to Man's enjoyment and progress, than the researches for perpetual motion or the philosopher's stone.

The most important event since the Reformation is the French Revolution. Now, what was the condition of the French for fifty or sixty years previous to that Revolution? Why, my friends, that very condition which I have been delineating as so deplorable. There was abundance of metaphysical and every other sort of speculation, but the great moral principles which are the lifeblood of the human heart, were flagrantly set at nought, and the mental improvement and the social welfare of Man were entirely disregarded.

From these hints you may easily deduce the consequence to which they point, namely, that it cannot be to propound ingenious theories that God raises up the Reformer or Teacher or Prophet, but solely that he may teach a truth that may be energetically and earnestly applied to the moral and spiritual wants of the community.

Society has ever had, and will ever have, my friends, the following succession of aspects. The first is, its normal and healthy aspect, when it instinctively and cheerfully obeys the divine moral laws which are planted in every breast, and to which some divinely-appointed Saviour has recently given impulse and sanction, and vitality and light. As this condition of Society is the healthiest, so is it likewise the happiest and the holiest. The second is its abnormal or unhealthy aspect, when there is not merely positive moral declension, the divine moral laws being felt to be a trammel and a burden, but when men begin to investigate the nature and obligation of those things which hitherto they have sincerely believed and vigorously, valiantly practised, and when speculations regarding the origin and end of existence, by involving human habits, no less than human beliefs in universal scepticism, complete the evil which sensuality began. The third aspect of Society is the appearance of the Teacher, or Reformer, or Prophet, in the midst of this general depravity and doubt, to proclaim,

not a speculative, but a practical truth, and the wide and deep revolution produced by his appearance. With any single woe, of ten thousand woes which are abroad, it does not become the Reformer specially to grapple; with any single theory of ten thousand theories which are crazing the heads of mankind, it does not become him to intermeddle. All that he has to do is to proclaim the Truth that is burning in his own bosom, knowing that it will kindle a regenerating flame from heart to heart and from conscience to conscience, till, sacred and benignant, it gleam to the rudest and remotest shores of earth. Thus have all Redeemers done. Thus did Socrates. His philosophy was of the plainest and most practical description. It had nothing subtle, nothing ingenious, nothing abstract. It spoke in a language that all could understand, struck to the root of general corruption with one Titanic blow, contrasted Pleasure with Virtue, and showed the folly still more than the sin of those who could be the slaves of the former, and so far from dealing in theories and speculations, poured unmeasured ridicule on the crotchets and controversies of the sophists, and in its hatred to profitless conflict on those things, which the capacities of man are obviously inadequate to seize and to appreciate, it was too apt to include in this class, matters on which Modern Science has shed the brightest rays of its illumination. Socrates was so much the Prophet of Common Sense, so much the Teacher of that Wisdom that cometh by experience, that he seemed inclined to deny what yet all true sons of God must admit, that the light of celestial salvation can fall on the heart that yearns for it, as well from the lightning's flash and the comet's glare, as from the beam of the Sun. John the Baptist, though a far different man from Socrates in almost every respect, yet strikingly resembled him in his disposition to contend only with tangible evils, and to enforce only practical remedies. The truth that he found in his own soul and conscience, that, and that only, did he thunder in the ears of men. He did not shut himself up in a studious chamber

among books, to ascertain what saints had done and sages had written. He took counsel alone of the ardor and boldness of his own nature, of his hatred of sin and of his love of man. He left Sadducees, Pharisees, and sectarians all, and Philosophers, real or pretended, to jabber and jar as they listed, solely intent on rousing men to a consciousness of their guilt, and on urging them to flee from the wrath to come, by repentance and amendment. To speculate on the Nature of virtue, while men were wallowing in vice, or on the Nature of God while men were violating all God's righteous commands, would have seemed to John as absurd as to give a long lecture on anatomy to a poor tortured wretch, the immediate amputation of whose diseased limb is the only chance of saving him from the grave. Jesus Christ differed from John the Baptist in possessing a genius capable of piercing the abstrusest mysteries of philosophy, and there is no doubt that in the Gradation of Christ's Individuality those mysteries must have occupied a large share of his meditation. There are evidences, not faint or few, in the Gospels, that in the preparation for his prophetic career he must have wrestled as grimly with every Demon of Scepticism, as he struggled with earthlier forms of temptation. Such faith as his, so rooted, so divine, could only be bought by such pangs of doubt as tongue can never tell. But when Christ stood forth as the Redeemer of mankind, he clearly saw and profoundly felt that, useful as it might have been to the developement of his own nature to have passed a season in the region of theories, yet that it was not by the construction or realization of theories that his mission was to be fulfilled, but solely by unfolding in word and action the intuitions of his deepest consciousness, without permitting any intellectual refinement or any fastidious nicety of the brain to check and chill their outpouring. His ambition was not to preach the new but the true, and the true not as a logical formula or a naked proposition, but as a comprehensive moral and religious sentiment enlightening the con-

science, spiritualizing the heart, elevating the soul, regenerating the entire being of men ere it proved and approved itself as an idea to their reason. It is not, my friends, from Jesus, or such as Jesus, that we are to seek ingenious and picturesque thoughts. Merely considered as thought, there is nothing which we can strictly call by that name in the gospels. It is from men like Montaigne, who had nothing of the Prophet in their nature, and who obeyed every impulse of their own wayward phantasy, that we must chiefly look for suggestive thought. The mere author entertains us, the Prophet pervades us with an overwhelming conviction. And therefore we can derive no improvement from the Prophet's sayings or from the Prophet's example, if we read them as sectarians in general do, with the mere eyes of the understanding, and not with the wide and loving glance of our entire nature, stirred into fitting mood by the breath of devotion.

If subtle and original thought were to be the characteristic of the Prophet, then assuredly Luther was no Prophet, for though his mind was exceedingly vigorous, and though he both wrote and spoke with great force, yet there was not much either of novelty or of depth in his ideas. Certainly as a mere writer or orator, he would never have risen to the supremacy which he attained. Calvin, on the other hand, was a man who gained and kept his position by the sovereignty of talent, and the more willingly we bow to his talent, the less we feel inclined to concede him the Prophet's name. Prophet, however, Luther eminently was, earnest, brave, individual, no spinner of curious speculations, no elaborate organizer of systems, but a fact, a power, a marvellous glory in the midst of a generation yearning for truth, but requiring such a living argument as Luther to cleave that truth home to their hearts. Luther's doctrine was irresistible, because it was felt with electric universality to be the full and faithful utterance of his whole and harmonious being, an instinctive revelation from the bosom of a man to the most godlike instincts of Humanity.

There are prophets, my friends, who do not appear in such a venerable form as John, and Jesus, and Luther, to whom the principle that I am this evening illustrating is not less applicable. Such, for instance, were the satirists, Juvenal, Persius, and others, who scourged, with scorpion scourge, the Roman court and the Roman people, when it was evident that Roman virtue had for ever perished, and that the extinction of the Roman empire was surely, however slowly, approaching. They could not hope that their denunciations would regenerate a nation so utterly debased. They could not help giving breath to their own fiery wrath, while in a few they might expect to awaken ameliorating visions of Rome's ancient patriotism and renown. But in the mass so effeminate, so sensualized, they could not hope to kindle one throb responsive to associations so illustrious. Their fittest designation would therefore be, that of the prophets of Despair. Yet though despairing, they were still Prophets in the sense which I affix to the term; men not striving to startle by profound and ingenious thought, but to rouse their brethren to a horror of iniquity, and to the love and practice of virtue, by the stern and zealous reiteration of those great moral principles which are old as Man himself, and which are the basis of all that is noble in his nature and enduring in his achievements.

At present, my friends, it is as it has ever been, in regard to the Prophet. Who can deny that Society needs a Prophet? Who can doubt, after what I have said, what he ought to be? A theorist, a metaphysician, a philosopher, a subtle and suggestive thinker—such he must not be, if he is to fulfil his mission aright. If this were all that men required, then Europe has had a brilliant succession of Prophets during the last sixty years, appearing partly in France, but chiefly in Germany. The latter country has, during the last half-century, performed miracles of thought, if thought could redeem the world. But is France free; and, above all, is France moral and religious? Who knows not, that though it

has freedom in some things, it has bondage in more, and that though it manifests somewhat more of religious earnestness and of moral purity than it did during the preceding century, it is still far, very far, from being a moral and religious land. What, also, is the condition of Germany? Though thought there is free and bold, men are slaves and cravens, and have all the vices that slaves and cravens never fail to be stained with. Though England is far behind both Germany and France in boldness and freedom of investigation and in latitude of research, yet within the last twenty, and especially within the last ten, years, a taste for a wider range of thought than previously existed, has arisen. This is owing to a variety of causes, but chiefly owing to the influx and influence of German Literature. But do we see, as we should be sure to see, if moral improvement always accompanied mental illumination, do we see a moral revolution following this fresh and fertile source of intellectual suggestion and excitement? Manifestly not. The cardinal curses that cling to England remain rife and rampant as before; some of them have only a more remorseless fatality and an intenser bitterness. The recent railway speculation proves that the thirst for gold is more insatiable than ever. Who does not perceive, also, that by the side of the enormous wealth of a few individuals, and in spite of the transient prosperity of certain districts, pauperism in its dreadest shapes is gaining a wider dominion? And do we need to go far from our own doors to see that so servile is the wealth-worship of our countrymen as to make them blind alike to the vices of the rich and the virtues of the poor? And beholding these, and numberless other woes and crimes, can we hesitate long in admitting that no mere intellectual enlightenment, no conquests, however brilliant in the region of abstract truth, can effect the moral reformation so much needed in England and Europe, and that when the destined Prophet arises, he must proclaim mainly great moral principles, and appeal mainly to the conscience of Humanity?

But, my friends, till that Prophet comes, let us be Prophets, teaching by word and deed great moral principles, and rousing the deadened conscience of our fellows by a life wholly devoted to God and Duty, and works of mercy and holiness.

LECTURE XVII.

THE NATURE OF A CHURCH.

THE sixteenth article of my Confession of Faith, the sixteenth principle in the System of Individualism, is the following :—I believe that a Church best fulfils the conditions of a Church, not by responding to some Ideal Standard, or by offering nothing offensive to the Understanding, but by progressively embodying in as large a measure as possible the different elements of Human nature.

By Church I mean a community of men holding the same religious faith and observing the same religious practices. There are two sentiments in the human bosom leading to the formation of a Church ; the devotional aspiring and the social tendency. At the beginning of a Church's career, the first of these sentiments is the most active ; the latter becomes more and more predominant as the career of the Church approaches nearer and nearer to its close. Religious life led to the social habit, the social habit keeps up the semblance of the religious life when the life itself is gone. A Church may be a means of moral improvement ; indeed if it fulfil its mission potently, wisely, and lovingly, it is the chief means of all moral improvement. But its moral agency is not among the considerations that originate or perpetuate its existence, though of course the larger and more impulsive its moral diffusiveness, the more enduring must be its stability as an institution. A Church ought also to be an instrument of intellectual progress, and its response to this re-

quirement must be equally conducive with its moral beatitude to its permanent power. But its intellectualization, like its moralization, though an indispensable condition of its abiding vitality, is not among the cardinal motives, the irresistible sympathies that have conducted to its creation. It exists because Man is religious; it prolongs its existence because Man is social; and it garners in its heart the fountain of perpetual self-regeneration, if while continuing amply to satisfy those primary needs, the instinct of which gave it being, it adapts itself, not tardily and grudgingly, but with utmost promptitude, to the moral and intellectual expansion of successive ages. It is to mistake the mission of a Church to suppose that it ought to march more rapidly than the other energies of Civilization. Enough if it lag not perversely behind them, which it almost always does. It belongs to Science to discover, to Religion it belongs to hallow the discoveries which Science has made. But instead of hallowing a Church generally curses them, and thereby works its own downfall. Reason never yet fought against Religion till Religion or rather Theology had begun the battle. The warfare, however, once commenced, it is difficult to say which is the fiercer and more unscrupulous combatant, for Reason meets bigotry with bigotry, and injustice with injustice, and seeks to annihilate Faith, because Faith had sought to annihilate it. There is nothing in the nature of either, however, to create the necessity why one should contend with the other, or why one should be sacrificed to the other. If we consider them both as agencies of human perfectionment and happiness, they are alike entitled to our honor and gratitude. Each has a large and independent territory, which it can govern and improve, undisturbing and undisturbed if so it determine; and when each comes into contact with the other there is nothing in the nature of either requiring that that contact should be the furious grapple of hostility. Whenever Reason ventures on what is peculiarly the dominion of Religion, there it should regard itself as the servant of Reli-

gion and do homage accordingly. Whenever Religion ventures on what is peculiarly the dominion of Reason, there Religion should bow as humbly and submissively to Reason as in the previous case Reason had done to it. Religion and Reason have no rival claims, though the fanatical adherents of both have done their best to establish such. To overthrow this rivalry, which the pride of sophists and the selfishness of priests are equally zealous in maintaining, while at the same time to acquire a sage and comprehensive idea of the true constitution of a Church, we should have ample and accurate notions of the empire which each occupies as well as of the boundaries that connect the two empires together. Those of neighboring countries who inhabit the frontiers have always an intenser and more inveterate hatred of each other than is felt or manifested by such of the two nations as are dwellers remote in the heart of the land. They are engaged in incessant broils, though there may be peace and the love of peace everywhere but on the narrow slip of soil that divides people from people. Thus, also, is it that on the border land which separates the region of Reason from that of Religion there is perpetual strife, while those who are more peculiarly the inhabitants of the one region have generally no antipathy to the inhabitants of the other; indeed, may view them with reverence and affection. The sublimest philosophers have often been profoundest penetrated with the sentiments of devotion; or, if they have not been so, at least they have seldom assailed the modest and self-denying natures to whom those sentiments were a guide and a gladness. And those in whom Religion, not as a dogma, but as feeling, conviction, meditation, celestial phantasy, has been the consecration and inspiration of the entire Individual, so far from lifting up hand and voice against philosophy, have so willingly amalgamated the suggestions of a high and spiritual philosophy with their pious yearnings as to make it difficult to say what in them was philosophy and what was Religion. Of this we have an illustrious and most

apposite instance in Swedenborg. Let us, then, my friends, never dwell in this borderland between Reason and Religion ; and whenever we approach it, let it be not for the purpose of mingling in the conflicts of its usual possessors, but for the nobler object of mapping out more correctly our position in relation to Mind and Humanity and the Universe ; and whenever we traverse it, let it not be to bring desolation on the opposite region, but to explore its riches and its beauties, and to exchange for that which we most need, that in which we most abound. All true appreciation, whether of a Church or of any other institution, or of anything whatever into the philosophy of which we would penetrate, is a species of generous traffic in which we are to feel the whole import of the saying,—It is more blessed to give than to receive. This noble maxim has a still more valid application to spiritual commerce than to social intercourse, and indeed of the first it may with all accuracy be stated what can scarcely be affirmed of the last,—It is only by giving that we are able to receive. At all events it will be vain for us to try to comprehend the value of a Church unless we estimate it thus magnanimously and hospitably. We must expend the whole lavishness of our being on it ere it will disclose to us the full extent of its meaning and worth. It is easy to carp, easy to criticize, easy to accumulate objections and pierce into defects. It is no less easy to build for ourselves an Ideal Church, borrowing the materials of the structure, partly from the splendors of our imagination and partly from the purities and devotional yearnings of our heart. But the criticism and the idealism will, in this case, be alike profitless ; for we ought not to forget that a Church, however divine its objects, is yet a human institution, and partaking, as all human things must do, of human error and human weakness. It is of the very nature of a Church that it should have a large amount of imperfection ; for the purpose for which it exists being the divinest of all, it would require a constitution as divine as the purpose in order to present any-

thing of a claim to perfection. The lower the purpose for which anything is intended, the more there will be of correspondence between the purpose and the thing; and the correspondence between an instrument and the purpose which it seeks to serve, will diminish in proportion as the purpose rises in grandeur and importance. This is a principle entirely overlooked by those who judge a Church by the mere understanding, or who contrast it with some ideal standard to which they are fanatically attached. It would require a perpetual miracle, a miracle the place of which has been taken by a pretended infallibility, to make a Church as divine in its constitution as it is divine in its purpose. What is possible, and what is wanted, is, that the constitution of a Church should be as intensely human as the purpose thereof is unspeakably divine. But instead of this the tendency in the creation of ecclesiastical institutions has generally been to humanize the purpose by divinizing the constitution, and every fresh revolt of the Spirit of Man against old religious faiths and forms has usually had for effect to give vigor to this tendency. Whereas the chief objection brought by others to the various Churches that have existed in the world is, that they have not been holy enough; my chief objection to them is, that they have not been human enough, or, which is the same thing, that they have not been holy because they have not been human.* There is no path to Deity but through Humanity; he who seeks any other may readily find a phantasm of Deity, but Deity most certainly not. We can have no other conception of Deity than as a sublimation of our own attributes, or of the aggregate attributes of Man. Of course the conception must be very different from the reality. Of God's essence, of his hidden, mysterious, infinite nature, we can know nothing. But inasfar as he has relation to ourselves and to the creation around us, we can catch glimpses, however faint, of his goodness; wisdom and truth, of his plans of mercy, and of his power to accomplish them. He who pretends to have any other know-

ledge of God than this must be presumptuous or deluded, perhaps both. But with a strange perversity which we should find it difficult to explain, if we did not see similar perversity in other matters, all Theologies and Churches, which are generally little else than the embodiments of Theologies, lay claim to a knowledge of God far different from this. I allude not here to what are called supernatural revelations, such as those of Moses and of Jesus, against which, when properly comprehended, God forbid that I should speak. I allude to the monstrous idea which is the corner-stone of all priestly power, that there can be no true knowledge of God except that which is obtained from contrasting Man and God as broadly as possible. Man, the image of God, is trampled in the dust that God himself may be fitly honored. But if the features of the similitude between the creature and the Creator are effaced, where is a new image to be obtained by which Man is to ascend to a worthy idea of the Infinite Supreme? To contrast Man and God so broadly as Theologies and Churches usually do, can yield nothing but an annihilating, bewildering negation; and yet out of this negation those Theologies and Churches with a strange inconsistency seek to deduce and educe the most positive results. This is not the process which is followed in any of the other matters that occupy mankind. In such we generally strive to obtain an idea of some object or circumstance by familiarizing ourselves as much as possible with something which has much of kindredness to that object or circumstance. The dead blank of night would give us no notion of the sun; but the numberless lights, natural or artificial, which strike our eyes, lead us step by step up to the great luminary that smiles in storm and eclipse, the king of our planetary system. A desert of immeasurable extent in the midst of Africa would give us no idea of the Ocean; but the fountain leads us to the brook, and the brook to the river, and the river to the Ocean. An unvaried surface of plain would give us no idea of a mountain. But the gentle mound conducts us to

the hill, and the hill conducts us to the mountain ; and if we have seen the mountains of our own country, we can more readily form a notion of grander mountains somewhere else. Thus also if we have seen some beautiful village church, we can readily make the transition to St. Paul's at London ; and if we have seen that, we can easily picture to our fancy the grandeur of St. Peter's at Rome. Everywhere, indeed, this law of transitional similitude holds, everywhere but in religion ; and disobedience to it there has produced consequences the most deplorable, consequences that it will take thousands of years to neutralize. Still, though all Churches and all Theologies have been guilty of the blunder that I have been condemning, they have not been all equally guilty. Fortunately for Man those Churches which have had the widest universality, which have been both in fact and in name catholic, have been freest from the error. The Popish Church with all its faults, and even with all its crimes, (and they have been neither few nor small,) has never been utterly faithless to the object for which a Church exists ; it never has perfectly lost sight of the human constitution and the divine purpose by which every Church ought to be characterized. To the great and abiding elements of Human Nature it has never ceased more or less to speak. And because it has been thus human, at least human to an extent that no other Church has been, has it taken so deep a grasp of the affections of mankind. And no other Church will ever take its place or possess such depth and universality of influence till Individualism, moulding and revolutionizing entire Society, likewise mould and revolutionize Religion, and Theologies, and Churches. You will clearly see the notion which I have wished to convey regarding the divine purpose and the human constitution of a Church if you consider for a moment the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Religion. I think a Religion appealing to the senses and the imagination indispensable to the yearnings of the human heart. I am not disposed then to condemn all the ceremonies of this ancient Church.

Neither am I disposed to condemn them because they are too gorgeous or too numerous. Nothing is too gorgeous that is not fitted to offend the natural taste of mankind; nothing can be too abundant that gives a holy pleasure. This is not their chief fault, where they fail the most. But while there are many of this Church's ceremonies which speak only to the humanhood of Man, there are others which, by attempting to embody the divine, violate the essential characteristic of a Church such as Humanity requires. All the ceremonies that carry Man up to God are just and proper; all the ceremonies that bring God down to Man are wrong and unnatural. Now the one class nearly balances the other in the Roman Catholic Church, so that our disgust and our admiration, our sympathy and our antipathy, are about equally excited when present at one of its services. For instance, its pictures, its music, and other similar things, these carry Man up to God; they preserve inviolate the grand feature of a Church; they realize a divine purpose in a human constitution. But when the attempt is made with a morsel of bread to make the invisible Deity visible to my eyes, there I feel that I am tricked. I scorn the quackery. I see before me a farce and a fraud. By an unfortunate mistake the Church of England, which is a mutilated form of the Church of Rome, has retained chiefly those ceremonies which bring down God to Man, and it has few, very few, of those which raise up Man to God. Hence its existence has always been an artificial existence; it has never spread its reign beyond the English shores, and even in England it has always maintained its supremacy with difficulty and danger, and from the clouds that hang over it at present no wise and prophetic soul can fail to see that its days are to be few and evil. If, on the contrary, it had at its creation retained mainly those ceremonies which raise Man to God, and rejected mainly those ceremonies which attempt to bring down God to Man, its past power would have been far greater, and its present position would be very different from what it is; swarms of dissenters

would not have abounded, and this Church in the beauty of holiness would have spread its dominion to remotest realms. If it were not folly to lament over the inevitable, seeing that everything in the Past has been just such as the wise providence of God intended it to be, we might be tempted to regret that the Reformation took place in the exact manner that it did, and that it did not gradually and peacefully take place in the Church of Rome itself, instead of being a violent dismemberment of that Church. Up to the period of the Reformation the Church of Rome had made some approach to doing that which I have said every Church to be a Church at all should do, namely, progressively to embody in as large an amount as possible the different elements of Human Nature. The Senses, the Imagination, the Feelings, the devotional aspirings and sympathies, the mystic consciousness of Man, these it had spoken to, to these it had given, in a larger or lesser degree, their adequate food. A time had come in the progress of civilization, when it was required also to speak to the Understanding, to give that its appropriate food. The spirit of inquiry and of enterprize was abroad; the minds of men were stirred; great discoveries were made, great ideas were cast forth, great hopes were cherished; all that the Church of Rome was required to do was to adapt itself in some measure to these new circumstances, to put into its ceremonies and doctrines a harmony with the Spirit of the Age. Utterly to denude itself of its splendors it was not required, but to shine in such a way as not to scorch the hand of young Science when grasping after fresh truth. This, however, in its blindness it refused to do; it refused to modify itself either in great matters or in small; it called itself the infallible, and, as the infallible, it refused in the slightest tittle to be changed. The consequence was inevitable. Humanity will not stand still to oblige a Church. God will not change his Providence to oblige a Pope. The Understanding, seeing that the Church refused to receive it under the shadow of its wing, was com-

pelled to set up a sanctuary for itself, though the janglings and jarrings of three hundred years among sectarians of every description sufficiently tell us that that sanctuary has not been one of peace. The truth is, that the Understanding alone cannot make a Church; the other faculties when left to themselves can make a Church, bad or good; the Understanding can make no Church at all. The grand effort of the Understanding in worship is to make spirituality an instrument. Now no worship can be acceptable to God which is not inspired by spirituality; but to make spirituality by itself an agent of worship, to put it outwardly in the place of ceremony, is committing as great a blunder as the Catholic commits when he attempts to make the invisible visible in a morsel of bread. Understanding, however, my friends, has made the discovery, or will soon make it, that alone it cannot constitute a religion; and in a few years, when the System of Individualism has entered on a wider sway, and when the world has begun to perceive what a mighty truth it is, then will a true and noble Church of Humanity arise, responding to every want and faculty of Human Nature; Catholic, if not in name, yet in fact and in spirit; not bringing God down to Man, but raising up Man to God, and co-operating with every fresh Agency of Civilization.

LECTURE XVIII.

THE NATURE OF A GOVERNMENT.

THE seventeenth article of my Confession of Faith, the seventeenth principle in the System of Individualism, is the following:—I believe that a government best realizes the object of a government, not by exactly incorporating certain political dogmas, which logically cannot be refuted, but by harmonizing in the largest degree, and evolving the vitality of all the various conflicting interests, tendencies, opinions and activities of the Community.

The origin of government is necessity. Men did not gather themselves together and consider what a beautiful and desirable thing a government would be, and then decree the creation of a government. For if men had been wise enough to see the many and excellent uses of a government ere a government existed, they would have been wise enough to dispense with it altogether, since it is the want of wisdom in the generality of mankind which makes the existence of a government indispensable. But from the moment that there was more than one man to possess the earth, or rather from the moment that there was one individual to dispute its possession with any other individual, government arose, the product of human instinct, not of human deliberation, the natural refuge of weakness against strength, of the wronged against oppression, of the love of life against the dread of extermination. The first government was the league of two feeble men, conscious of their feebleness, against one strong

man, conscious of his power. It was their agreement to make certain equal contributions to a common stock, to submit themselves and their families to certain common laws in order that they might the better break and brave the force of the common adversary. The strong man himself, when he found that this combination, that this submission to a systematic discipline and control, set all his fiercest efforts at defiance, would at last be compelled to join the very league which had been formed against himself, or else be condemned to a hopeless and helpless isolation. For he could not enter into an alliance with another strong man in order to crush the two feeble, since, both in the earliest times, and in all times, the feeble threefold outnumber the strong. If the strong were equal in numbers to the feeble, earth would present no spectacle but slaughter or slavery. The foot of the strong would for ever be on the neck of the despairing and unresisting feeble, while the strong would cease not one instant from bloodiest conflict with each other. One half of mankind in perpetual chains, the other half in perpetual strife, who would wish to live in a world so cursed? But God has otherwise ordained it, and a little reflection will teach us the wisdom of the ordinance. For it is by being so numerous that the feeble are encouraged to resist the strong, and are enabled to resist them effectually. And not only are the strong kept in check by the resistance, but a portion of them are thereby induced to join the cause of the feeble; not by their alliance making certain the victory of that cause, for it is already certain, but rendering it far easier than it otherwise would be. The battle of human freedom and truth seems always to have been gained by certain famous and valiant champions whose names are music in the memories of men; but it has been really gained by those whose whole and sole strength was in their multitude; and it is after the feeble themselves have borne the burden and heat of the day that the champion elect of God comes to consummate the triumph. The junction of the strong to the

weak, however, which in more civilized and complicated times has often much of the consciousness and dangers of martyrdom, is, in the primal dawn of things, simply the result of selfishness. The one strong man did not join himself to the league of the two feeble men to benefit them, but to benefit himself. And even in surrendering some portion of his liberty and in yielding obedience to the rude and simple rules which his new allies had adopted as the guide of their government, he did not abandon the hope of one day seizing again far more than he had renounced. No vain hope; for, however superior his associates might be to him in sagacity and knowledge, he was obviously their superior in physical vigor. When, therefore, it was seen, (and no long experience was needed to make it apparent,) that a head was needed for the little government, unless it were to fall into total anarchy, and defeat the very objects for which it was created, the choice naturally fell on the strong man. But though constituted a King by the voice of his fellows, he did not become an absolute or arbitrary King. If he executed, they counselled; and he was seldom able to accomplish anything which they had not previously determined or approved. Yet it could not but happen that they would occasionally consent to the exercise of his force in modes and for enterprises which their conscience abhorred in order the better to secure its employment for those objects which lay nearest their hearts. Thus would violence first assume a legal shape, as being not the caprice of an individual, but the decree of a community however small. And here, my friends, you see, at the very origin of Society, the operation of that principle which I wish to establish. The two feeble, who were righteous, had doubtless their dogma pointing to justice and peace, which they wished to see realized; for at the most barbarous season of his career Man loves to theorize, as well as at the proudest and profoundest periods of philosophical speculation. The ideal hovers no less round the cave of the Savage than round the academic bower

where the Student doubts and dreams, yet amid all his dreams and doubts prophesies the progress of Humanity. But what could the two righteous do with their dogma, when he whom they had made their King stood directly in the way of its embodiment? It was not at all necessary that they should throw it aside as a foolish and unprofitable chimera; for if they had done so, and if they had been imitated in this by succeeding ages, Man would never have advanced beyond his first ignorance and rudeness; and one generation would merely have been a monotonous repetition of the mistakes and miseries of the preceding. But they were compelled to throw the dogma aside whenever the alternative presented was the dissolution of the simple, but sufficient government, which they had with much time and trouble organized, and their consequent relapse into the worst evils of their primitive condition. Questionless, they did what every wise man in a similar position must do or ought to do; they incorporated their dogma into the workings of government as far as their influence of every kind extended, short of risking the overthrow of government and society; they impregnated and transfused the whole of their individual destiny, and the entire emanations therefrom, with the potency of the dogma, so as to make that socially regenerative which could not be politically energetic; and what of the dogma they could neither convert into a political energy nor a social regeneration, they bequeathed to their posterity to be expanded into a gladness and a salvation in holier times and happier circumstances.

It is not the object of my present address to give a history of government or of society. I have gone so far back mainly for the purpose of showing that the principle in relation to government which I state and defend, has been a fact in the hoarest, remotest antiquity of our race. And it may as easily be shown that revolutions have been rife, and that when they have taken place they have been profitless, just in the degree that governments have been a departure from this principle.

Eastern despotisms, both ancient and modern, have been of all governments the most liable to riot and wreck, because they have uniformly trampled this principle remorselessly in the dust. They have raised the dogma that the ruler is infallible, immaculate, and inviolable, to a height whence it can come into collision with the ruled only as a furious and deadly crash. So that the history of Eastern countries can scarcely be called history at all, so frequent, so profitless is change, so little of moral sequence is there in the developement of Society, and so much are events and the records of events effaced by tempestuous deluges of blood. Look at Russia, that foul and noisome cancer on the face of Europe. There half a hundred millions of human beings are the wretched thralls of a political dogma similar to that on which Eastern despotisms are built. No European country has abounded more in revolutions than this; in none have revolutions been so unavailing to raise and redeem the masses of the population. If one imperial ruffian is strangled, it is only in order that another imperial ruffian may occupy the vacant throne; the people remain as before—beasts, with nothing of man but his artificial appetites for the worse than bestial. What caused that civil war which brought Charles the First to the scaffold? Was it not the insane pertinacity of this man to make England unconditionally obedient to the dogma of divine right and passive obedience, without regard to the various sects and parties which the Reformation and other causes had produced, and to the thousand energies that kindled and cherished the love of freedom in England? Few monarchs might have been more powerful, more glorious, more happy than this, if his mind had been comprehensive enough to see and courageous enough to respond to the wants of the age. Cromwell lived too short a time to accomplish all the wise plans which he had adopted for the promotion of England's welfare and fame. But during the period that his great soul and brave heart and strong hand swayed the realm for which the bigoted Charles had shown himself so unworthy, he was faithful, with but few

exceptions, to that harmonizing principle for which I so strenuously contend as the indispensable basis and instrument of all sage, salutary, successful government. His was no government of shifts and shams and cowardly expedients, and prating pretences, the clumsy disguise of indolence, or ignorance, or imbecility. When a stern word required to be spoken he spoke it ; when a prompt and vigorous deed required to be done he did it ; he did not dandle and trifle with bold broad facts and necessities, as if they were a rougher sort of toys for a ruler's amusement. On the other hand, however, he did not create difficulties for the sake of a dogma, in order that he might again have the pleasure of manifesting his skill in their vanquishment. He has been blamed for not endeavoring more decidedly and systematically to realize in institutions certain extreme republican theories, to which an important and intelligent party were enthusiastically attached. But it is forgotten that the majority of Englishmen were not republican in sentiment, and that Cromwell was Protector of England and bound to legislate for an entire people, not for a section thereof ; that that people was composed of Catholics, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Independents, and other religious and political denominations, and that he would have been sacrificing England and betraying his trust if he had given a disproportionate predominance to any one of those denominations, however largely he might agree with it theoretically.

There are two opposite blunders in government. There is, first, the attempt to make every thing square to a certain theory without reference to the circumstances of a country or the various opinions, prejudices, habits, customs, prevalent in it. This attempt may proceed from the most ardent benevolence and yet accomplish the most fatal results. For as it is only practical benefits that a nation is capable of appreciating, it will feel and resent as insults and injuries the greatest and most beautiful improvements, unless they come home to it in some shape that it can closely and definitely grasp. A government may march too fast, then, as well as too slow ; it may

march so far ahead of the people, that they neither see the direction in which it moves nor understand its movements, and concluding it to be mad, set up some government of their own invention. Without marching too fast, which is not a common case, a government may march too slowly in some things, and too fast in others. It may attempt to realize some of its own crotchets before it has prepared the people for their reception; and those practical benefits which the people most urgently demand, it may either refuse altogether, or grant so tardily that they are conceded without grace, and received without gratitude. And this I believe will be found to be the general character of administrations in most European countries at present.

The second blunder in government is that of postponing changes as long as possible, not so much from any strong conservative fear, as from laziness and the tricky wish to play fast and loose with all parties and all principles. This is far worse than the dogmatic system of government, for it supposes an utter absence of conscience and conviction on the part of the rulers. Men will tolerate a great deal for the sake of earnestness in an individual, and so, likewise, will they in a government. They will submit to many changes, both in the mechanism and the modes of administration, if they are thoroughly persuaded that the authors of the changes are inspired by a large and generous philanthropy. Such a government they may not warmly love, but they are sure to respect it. A government, however, which does nothing till it is forced to do it, and when it carries some beneficial measure which has been universally demanded, so mutilates and strangles it, that the people are ashamed of the torpid and ugly monster; a government which feeds and flatters the vulgar prejudices to gain a selfish purpose, yet lacerates the holiest when the purpose is gained; a government without faith, without heart, without will, neither bold enough to be bad, nor bad enough to be bold; a government with all the weaknesses that are worse than vices, and which is too Epi-

curean to play even the hypocrite well ; a government of solemn mountebanks, whose tricks are stale from incessant repetition, yet too barren of brain to invent, and too sluggish of limb to perform any fresh ones ;—such a government is fitted to make government altogether seem a farce and a falsehood, and, though tolerated for a time as an entertaining variety, can never be loved, believed in, or revered.

The rule for government is in all things to be ahead of the people, but not too far ahead ; just so far, indeed, that the people are easily able to understand and to follow all its movements. This rule Cromwell applied, and the two blunders I have just mentioned, Cromwell avoided, and in most embarrassing circumstances, better, perhaps, than any other ruler that ever existed. The effects of attempting to make mere dogmas the foundation and the guide of government, were strikingly seen shortly after Cromwell's death. Those who were mainly instrumental in the recal of the perfidious and profligate Charles the Second, did not aid this proceeding so much from any enthusiastic loyalty as because they conceived that certain theocratical dogmas, in relation to government, which they had embraced, would be more likely to be realized under the Restoration than under the Commonwealth. And they were content, for the sake of those dogmas, to sacrifice the manifold advantages which twenty years of energetic struggle had brought. How enormously they were deceived I need not tell, as few are unacquainted with this part of the history of England.

That a nation may exchange the most brilliant prospects of substantial improvement, in order to give embodiment to mere airy theories in its institutions, is convincingly manifested by the French Revolution. That many of those theories were true, abstractly considered, few will be disposed to deny. But, however true *in* themselves, they were false as they were foolish in relation to the circumstances in which their authors attempted to realize them. At the overthrow of one of the most ancient and powerful monarchies in Europe,

I do not blame the French for setting up a republic in its place. The monarchy was obviously exhausted, and some more vigorous, rational and simple form of government was necessary. But it was a French republic that was needed, a republic adapted to the tastes, tendencies, habits, and associations of the French people, a republic as intimately interwoven with their whole social life as the old monarchy had been. Instead of a French republic, however, they had a Greek or a Roman one, a republic that copied the Past, and, of course, was utterly unfit to respond to the Present, or to develope itself in the Future. Hence its complete failure; hence the disappointment that it brought to many an enthusiastic dreamer in France and in Europe. The enemies of republican institutions are wont to bring forward the French republic as a proof that a republic can be fraught with nothing but madness and mischief. They forget that it was the dogma of a republic that failed, not the republic itself. If the republic had been created and administered by practical and comprehensive statesmen, instead of by dreamy students, far different would have been its fate, far deeper and more abiding its stability. Why was not the Roman republic a failure? Why were not the Greek republics failures? Why is not the American republic a failure? Why are not the Swiss republics failures? Because, in all these cases republican institutions have been adapted to the character, customs, and predilections of the people, and if the American republic threatens now and then to prove a failure, it is because, at its commencement, it admitted far too large a leaven of the dogmatic, and adopted in practice theories, into the significance of which the people had not been educated. A time will come, when republics in Europe will not prove failures, and, perhaps, that time is not so far distant as is generally imagined. But in order that they may not fail, they must be as the monarchies of Europe have been—part and parcel of the national soil, not mere machines erected

on the surface. They must take hold of the national heart, not appeal as logic to the national head.

When I say, my friends, that government should be the harmonizer of national existence, not the mere incorporation of theories and dogmas, God forbid that I should be understood as affirming that government should be the mere slave of expediency, with no recognition, or reverence of right, and no fixed principles of action. To governments, as to individuals, there are certain eternal laws, from which neither can deviate without sorrow and guilt. Let those laws be faithfully obeyed by both in all circumstances, in all times. But dogmas and theories are not divine laws; they are mainly the conclusions to which the limited intelligences of men arrive, when considering how those laws may be best obeyed by others and by themselves. It is common enough, indeed, for men to mistake their own dogmas and theories for the divine laws, not, however, so frequently in relation to government as to religion and morality. In government, dogmas are generally true enough, that is to say, true when simply stated as dogmas; and the evil is not in their statement, for unless they were stated they could never be realized. The evil is in converting them into institutions before they have rooted themselves in the people's hearts as convictions. For instance, there is a great outcry at present about Capital Punishments. In some this outcry is prompted by the purest benevolence, but in most it is only one of the clap-traps to obtain popularity. Now there can be no doubt that capital punishment has often been inflicted for very trifling crimes, and that instead of preventing, it has helped to increase the crimes which it has attempted to destroy. And that there is growing up a wiser and more merciful opinion on the subject we ought all gladly to see. But when the frothy orators who chatter on this subject abuse the government for not abolishing at once all capital punishment, they are committing the very fault that I rebuke so much. They are wishing to see their

dogma established as an institution before the people have been enlightened regarding it. Let them educate the people on the nature of crime and the objects of punishment; and when the people are universally instructed as to these, then may the Government, if it chooses, abolish capital punishments, except only in rare and extraordinary cases. What I have said of capital punishments may be said of those other democratic principles which are stirring the mind of England at present. They are merely now the dogmas of a larger or smaller section of the people. For the government, therefore, to adopt them at present would be committing an error as great as the French Republicans committed, when they established in France the dogma of a republic instead of a government, responding in everything to the heart and habits of the French people. When, however, those principles, from being the dogma of a few, have become the faith of the people, then will the government be justified in converting them into institutions. And it will be wise to let no long time elapse between the full developement of the faith and the perfect construction of the institution. Let us, then, my friends, while ever working to convert our political dogmas into the universal faith of the nation, learn the wisdom of waiting patiently till that blessed consummation arrives.

LECTURE XIX.

EDUCATION.

THE eighteenth article of my Confession of Faith, the eighteenth principle in the System of Individualism, is the following :—I believe that National Education can only be a national blessing, inasfar as it recognizes the claims and developes the powers of the Individual.

Education is one of the cants of the day. It has become fashionable to talk about this as about temperance, the cruelties of war, the horrors of slavery, and countless other things. Yet how few will you find who attach any definite meaning to the word Education, or, indeed, any meaning at all ! It is a pretty thing to discourse of ; and, further than that, what know or care people about it ? That many are deeply, anxiously desirous to see the cloud of ignorance, that darkens over our country, rent, and the full and sanctifying effulgence of knowledge flaming down into the chaos and torpidity of the people's being, it were unjust to deny. Ignorance is ever an awful and perilous perplexity for him to behold whose brain has been pierced by rays, however few and feeble, of a purer and more beautiful light than that of earth. There may be sights physically more revolting, there is none more overwhelmingly distressing, than that of an ignorant man. It fills us with a mysterious pain which we strive in vain to utter. It is such a spectacle of death in life, of life in death, a phenomenon so mad, and grim, and incongruous, that we half

believe it a ghastly vision of our distempered fancy, not a human reality fitted to unseal all the fountains of our most weeping piety. Here is a brother, bone of our bone, flesh of our flesh, formed in the same image of God as we, with the same mark of the divine on his brow, with the same manifold traces of celestial ancestry ; yet he crawls on, unconscious of his divinity, in the foulest mire of bestiality. The thrall of his appetites he unquestioning obeys them, and limiting to that obedience the whole purpose of his existence, falls when appetite no longer bellows into a slumber as gross as that of the brutes.

And well were it if he were only stupid. But, worse still, he is depraved. The light of heaven has never come to his soul ; but a lurid glare, engendered of this world's loathsome corruptions, has flashed on his senses, and when he takes one step bolder and prompter than the rest, it is only when that glare straggles on his dismal path. Nature is fierce within him, and yet he is not natural ; for though Civilization has gifted him with nothing else, it has yet taught him ingenuity in vice. And this is the most deplorable aspect of his position, that Reason, the venerable and the holy, which proves and constitutes his identity with the Omnipotent, should be employed only as the instrument of his sins, and that he should be able to sink so low in the gulph of iniquity, only by the aid of an energy generated on the Deity's own bosom.

Another influence comes to add a blacker hue to the blackness. That influence is Superstition. Stupid, depraved, the sole power that could breathe one hallowing emotion into our wretched brother's heart, is Religion ; for even in the most stupid, most depraved, the religious sentiment has an indestructible vitality. But the place of Religion is occupied by a monster in Religion's garb,—a monster engendered of the weak man's fear and of the cunning man's craft, and which is, and has been, and for centuries will be, the enemy of human progress. Stupid, depraved, superstitious ; when you have linked these three words to a fellow-creature's name, you

have indicated at once the uttermost of crime and of misery. When this triple curse cleaves to a child of our race, it so strangely changes him, so horribly mingles the beast, the fiend and the idiot in all his deeds, that he seems to lose not merely his affinity with God, but his kindredness with Man. It seems a mockery to think that God has created him, and a mockery equally great to suppose that he participates of the same dower of humanhood as ourselves. But when we further ponder that his is not a solitary case, that he is not an extraordinary exception, but that thousands, nor thousands alone, but millions,—aye, sometimes almost the entire population of a country,—are crushed by a similar doom, we cannot marvel that this mighty mountain of ignorance, so pregnant with volcanic elements, should cast a shadow of care and foreboding on minds otherwise little disposed to speculate on social difficulties, and to work for social improvement. The care and the foreboding, however, do not prompt as they ought to any comprehensive plan for the removal of the evil. This still meets us in all its giant enormity, thwarting and confounding the best of our philanthropic exertions. Commonplace regrets are poured forth in abundance over such a wide waste and eclipse of human capacities, and a commonplace rhetoric kindles a momentary enthusiasm at public meetings, and ostentatious subscription lists for schools stand side by side with railway advertisements in the newspapers, and rival associations pounce on the poor as a lawful prey for educational experiments, and government goes through the farce of voting trifling sums for what it is pleased to call the Instruction of the People, and journalists nibble at the subject when no other topic of sufficient interest presents itself, and pedants fire off pamphlets at it once a quarter to state a pet theory or to serve a pet sect, and thus in a Babel of dissonant voices the matter begins and ends. If we may trust the signs of the times then, we are yet far from a system of National Education; and when such a system has fought its way through the turmoil of parties to

a place among broad and vigorous realities, I question much whether it will manifest that potency of redemption by which every system truly National of Education should be distinguished. That it may modify some portion of the disaster and the malady born of ignorance, and lessen some portion, and utterly abolish a farther portion and commence a regeneration much needed and long prophesied, it is cheering to believe. But that it will itself be that regeneration I emphatically deny. And why is my denial so decided? Because I know that it will require centuries tedious and troublous for the Individual to work out his deliverance from the thralldom of Conventionalism, to revere and to develop himself as a representative of God and of God's Universe, to trample under foot the formulas and the crudities that strangle his panting throat, and to throw wide his breast as a Man who is one with the Father to all the fecundities of Creation. Jesus came to make the Divine Human; I come to make the Human Divine. He was God manifest in the flesh; I am Man manifest in the Spirit. He wrought miracles to prove his mission; I myself am to myself and to others at once miracle and doctrine, not as claiming any superiority either moral or mental over my fellows, for no one more conscious of human weakness than I, but in order that I may render all those whose ears and souls my teaching reaches, miracles and doctrines to themselves, and to the unhallowed community in the midst of which their lot is cast. Now, till this Doctrine of Individuality seizes upon men's entire yearnings, aspirings, and powers, National Education will be a political agency, not a human greatness and a human happiness. It will be employed, not to raise Man's nature and to cultivate Man's faculties, but to buttress tottering thrones and decayed dynasties. The despots of Europe are wise in their generation. They know that from the extension that liberal opinions have taken, and from the empire which the press has gained, it will be impossible for them to use the old weapons of tyranny as they have hitherto used them. They know that

a standing army and other similar tools are losing their value, that the sword is growing rusty, and the point of the bayonet blunt. There are influences abroad, which, as they cannot resist, they will endeavor to control; and Education is one of these. It is a woful mistake to suppose that an educated nation must necessarily be a free nation. You may have educated slaves as well as ignorant slaves, and quite as submissive too; indeed, in some instances, more submissive, for there are wild energies in the ignorant that are occasionally roused into fury against oppression, and work the work of holier agencies, whereas an educated slave has not the courage to rebel. I am not speaking now, my friends, of a possibility. Glance at most of the continental monarchies. What is one of their chief occupations at present? Is it not that of educating the people? Austria, France, especially Prussia, are active in establishing institutions and promoting plans for the instruction of their subjects, and many of the minor governments are equally active. But what are the nature and tendency of the Instruction bestowed? Not such as to unfold in each Man the True, the Beautiful, and the Good, in harmony and holiness, but such as will make all the quiet serfs of despotism. The Individual with all his salencies and characteristics is sacrificed, and one uniform mechanical levelling process is pursued fatal to all earnestness, all enthusiasm, all sincerity, all courage, and all strength.

You have an example, my friends, nearer home, how Education may produce no other effect than that of substituting a polished for a barbarous slavery. Oxford and Cambridge are the richest universities in the world, the most largely endowed with the apparatus of learning, furnished with the choicest spoils of literature and science, and offering to the student the accumulated thought of Earth's sages and poets from Homer down to our own day. What is the result? One would suppose that those two universities would produce nothing but prophets—men, the wise leaders of civilization—men, the brave tribunes of the people. But the only fruit of so much intel-

lectual wealth of such varied intellectual stimulus is slavery,—slavery of the most abject kind. Those who emerge from those famous halls, from those cloisters professedly sacred to religion and philosophy, may be scholars, may be gentlemen, but they are not what is higher, men. They are crammed with Greek and Mathematics, armed with the glittering etiquettes which Habit can teach the dumbest to use with as much dexterity as the shrewdest. But they dare not think, they dare not wander from the beaten path; they are as much chained to Custom, and to the paltriest absurdities that Custom has hallowed, as the felon is to his galley. Instead of aiding social and political progress they are its fiercest enemies. Instead of a comprehensive knowledge of the tendencies and wants, and an enlarged and generous sympathy with the fate of mankind, they display an ignorance of Humanity which is equalled only by their indifference to its destiny. They confine their interest entirely to England, and even in England their interest is further narrowed to those who hold the same political opinions or are connected with the same ecclesiastical institutions as themselves. I am convinced that the great mass of the clergymen of the Church of England know absolutely nothing of the state of feeling and opinion beyond the narrow circle in which they usually move. I say this, more in regret than in reproach, and as having a special bearing on my subject. Now my friends, the slaves that Oxford and Cambridge thus creates have heads and hearts like their neighbors. Apart from their bigotry and prejudice many of them display the greatest acuteness, the profoundest erudition, the keenest sense of honor, the warmest benevolence. It is an atrocious system which renders them what they are, and dwarfs so deplorably their moral and intellectual stature. Blame them, we cannot help occasionally, and in harsh terms, when they stand so obstinately in the way of all human improvement; but they are still more to be pitied than blamed, as having been from earliest childhood crushed by a burden of formulas,

which have gradually grown to be a portion of themselves, and under which they can only move with a tortoise gait and at a tortoise pace. Everything that they have received in the shape of Education has tended to kill their Individuality, and to bow their free spirit under the yoke of Authority. They have been taught that it was a sin to doubt, a sin to accept anything that had not the sanction and weight of centuries at its back. They have been taught that their mind was not a plant to be cultivated, but a receptacle to be filled, and so they have gone on filling the receptacle while the mind has remained stationary. Their most beautiful instincts, their holiest impulses, have perished under the cold touch of an inexorable discipline, which recognizes no difference of human mind or human character, and their chief pleasure at last comes to be, to enforce the cruel system on others which has crushed all that is divinest in themselves.

Now, my friends, what would a National Education, that did not recognize the claims and develop the powers of the Individual, be, but an extension of the process which has made Oxford and Cambridge a byword and a scorn? If the most learned and polished of the land have not been able to escape the effects of such a process, how could the people themselves escape it? If those who are the Teachers are so helpless, where are the Taught to acquire vigor?

And I am persuaded, my friends, that the evil I am denouncing not only may be, but will be. Society has three manifestations. There is first, ignorant slavery; there is secondly, educated slavery; there is thirdly, educated freedom. Europe is just leaving behind the first of these manifestations, and entering on the second. The third will arrive when, after the storms and agonies of ages, Man the Individual has worked out his redemption, and discovers that it is not what he learns, but how he grows, that constitutes his grandeur and felicity.

During the first of these manifestations, Government considers man as only a tool to be used in its murderous wars,

as a taxpaying drudge to be fed with a portion of that which is his own, as long as there is vigor enough in his limbs to toil, and then to be thrown aside like a worn-out machine, the wheels of which are broken. It does not consider whether he has a mind and heart or not ; at all events it regards it as no portion of its duties to give these culture and food. And if the poor slave occasionally proves restive, and gets his brother slaves to sympathize with him in his disquiet, and it is dangerous either to scourge him or to kill him, some brutal amusements are invented, which he is encouraged to behold, some brutal enjoyments are created of which he is invited to partake ; and there ends his education.

But from the nature of things, this cannot last for ever. Man cannot live by bread alone, even when it is sweetened with the more luxurious morsels which despotism cannot consume, and which it is content then to give to its slaves. A light dawns on Man's brain, sacred emotions that tell of Heaven, and God, and Immortality, kindle in his bosom. Man feels that he is Man once more. But Despotism and Priestcraft have not yet done with him. They see very clearly that he cannot be treated as he has been treated, nor trodden as he has been trodden, nor soothed into calm when he grows furious by a lavish ministration to his physical wants. They see that they can no longer rule over ignorant slaves, and that if they are to maintain their empire, they must meet promptly and prudently the change of circumstances. They therefore begin a work, which to them is of no congenial kind, the work of education. They do not educate the Individual, for if they did so their power would soon terminate. But they educate the Nation and efface the Individual. They go upon the theory that all men have the same mind and the same character. They therefore force all their subjects to remain exactly the same time at school, to submit to the same discipline, to learn the same lessons, to read the same books, to pursue the same studies. Many a young heart may revolt at this ; it matters not ; it is forced to submit. Many a

young imagination may yearn for a vaster and more various culture than is supplied to it; it yearns in vain. Many a sensitive nature may be altogether unfit for the harsh, and monotonous system of a public school; there is no remedy, it must shut up its grief in its own heart, it must pine in secret. The Government does not however refuse all nourishment to the sentiment of the beautiful, but it gives a nourishment of its own choice. It perceives that Man has lost all taste for brutal amusements and childish entertainments. It therefore forms schools and nurseries of Art, it seeks the aid of Sculpture, and Painting, and Architecture, and makes Music a pleasure for the many instead of a luxury for the few. But in the midst of all these utilities and delights lavished upon the multitude, Man is a slave though he knows it not. It is not from its love to him as man, or from any desire for his mental and moral elevation, that the Government gives him these, but simply and solely to prolong its supremacy. But however cunning the purpose of Government, Man is not shrewd enough to discover that purpose. Though the Individual is sacrificed, and though many an Individual may murmur, yet the Community as a whole is pleased. The system of things which has succeeded to the ancient slavery has the aspect of novelty, and novelty alone is a mighty enchantment for a people. But besides this, many faculties that had lain dormant are now occupied, and a universe of facts comes streaming in to keep them in a perpetual excitement. As long as a people have something of adequate enjoyment they are not disposed to be critical; and in the vanity of their new acquirements, they will be more inclined to bless the Government than to dissect its motives. Moreover, my friends, everything in this world tends to become a Habit, and on the omnipotence of Habit it would be a waste of breath to descant. Ignorant Slavery has been an iron habit, though the spell of that habit, praised be God, is now broken for ever. And Educated Slavery will become a habit too, only to be overcome, like every other habit, when

the cause which originated it, has lost its vitality and significance.

In prophesying, my friends, that, all over the world, educated slavery will take the place of ignorant slavery, I do not wish to assert that all Individuality will be annihilated, and that no bold and memorable Individuals will arise to break the universal fetters. Such have arisen in the past, when men were ignorant, and slaves; such will arise in the future, when men are educated and slaves. But the general lot will be such as I predict. This period, however, must also have an end. The full and glorious Revelation of the Individual will at last arrive. Nations will as infallibly discover that governments have educated them to keep them slaves, as they have now discovered that governments have kept them ignorant, in order to maintain them in slavery. Nations, when thus awakened, will not however conclude that Education is an evil because it has been made an instrument to fetter them. They will merely conclude that Education is the most beautiful of blessings, but that it is only valuable inasfar as it helps to evolve the Individuality of the Individual. They will therefore knock the old monotonous system on the head, and establish a wiser in its place—one in which every Individual will have suitable nourishment to his brain and heart, and in which each man will be able to yield to his intellectual and moral instincts without being gagged and rebuked for his free utterances. The principle of Education will then universally be, Developement, Harmonious Developement, not as under the System of Educated Slavery, the mere peopling of the Memory with notions and facts; it will be a vigorous, comprehensive, intellectual growth, not the mere mechanical acquisition of intellectual habits. And as Education will be changed from an instrument of slavery to an instrument of freedom, so, to correspond with Education of this nobler kind, governments will be similarly transmuted. By whatever name called, they will then truly represent the People, and their grand object will be to do that which Edu-

cation will be doing,—aid and evolve the Individuality of the Individual. Meantime, my friends, as centuries lie between us and this divine consummation, let us show that however much we may wish to extend our mental and moral education, and that of our children, we are determined that neither we nor they shall ever be educated slaves. And even in the midst of the weakness and corruption of Society, our example will not fail to be a potency of salvation.

LECTURE XX.

THE RELATION OF THE PAST, THE PRESENT, AND THE FUTURE.

THE nineteenth article of my Confession of Faith, the nineteenth principle in the System of Individualism, is the following:—I believe that the Past should be regarded as the Preparation of the Present and the Guide of the Future; but not, in any respect, as a perfect model either for the Present or the Future.

Most men, my friends, live entirely in the Present, or only so much in the future as the necessities of their position irresistibly demand. Some there are, however, to whom the Present, with all its whirl of giddy events and of frivolous novelties, is most distasteful, and who turn to the Past as to the only home where their weary spirit can rest. A smaller number, equally dissatisfied with the Present, but rather on account of its corruptions than its changes, direct their bold broad gaze for ever on the Future. Now, strange as it may seem, it is these two sections, so insignificantly few when compared with the masses of mankind, that influence, more than any other human agency, the destinies of the world. They are seldom the lawgivers, seldom the rulers of kingdoms, seldom occupy any situation of note or power, are seldom known, seldom heard or spoken of by the busy community around them. Nevertheless it is they who are the High Priests of Fate, and it is the whispers of their thoughts that begin the tempests which annihilate empires. Earth is governed by

crownless and sceptreless monarchs, whose only homage is the crash of the revolutions their theories and prophecies cause. Our fellows bow the knee to those who are called the Lord's anointed; but it is they who have an unction from the Holy One fresher and more fragrant than the caprices of courts to whom they really kneel. Men are the slaves of Opinion; it is then the Creators of Opinion that are the true Masters and Moulders of social and political developement. Doubtless the final occasion of all memorable overturnings in the organization of Society is some positive and palpable woe; but this is no more the main cause of those mighty transmutations than the unclean beast which, by rubbing its foulness against the trunk of the tree, makes showers of fruit, which it greedily devours, to fall from its branches, is the main cause of that fruit's juicy and luscious ripeness. The dew by night, and the sun by day, and the genial rain, and the summer's lavish smile,—these it is which dower the tree with its beautiful fecundity. Thus likewise it is they who are the generators of ideas, who are the sole regenerators of Humanity, whether the Golden Age they dream of be placed in the Future, or in the Past. For, my friends, the Ideal, in whatever fashion displayed before the eyes of the Community, is always a brightness and a beatitude, always a potency to hallow and to redeem. Whatever visits our brethren with aspirings for something higher and holier than the meagreness and the monotony of their ordinary existence, whatever tells them of more brilliant and comprehensive possibilities than those that hover round their mammonial concerns and their personal career, whatever kindles within them emotions that warm and stretch beyond the narrow affections of their hearths, and the coward anxieties for the food that perisheth—that is an impulse and a strength in human progression, whether it point to glories that are no more, or to gladnesses hereafter to be revealed. Conservatism, then, has its mission and philosophy, no less than those more capacious systems that raise their giant hand to overwhelm the obstacles that hinder the sublimest triumphs

of the Democracy. And those whose souls dwell for ever in the Past, do not worship merely a beggarly formula and a silly tradition. Some of them have combined wisdom and genius, and learning and virtue, in the largest degree, and therefore it is folly to think them no better than fools. Whoever gives a reason for his faith, how absurd soever that faith may be, acknowledges the supremacy of Reason, does homage to the divinity of that which the Deity has made his representative and the prime doer of his work here below. The faith, however pertinaciously defended, however zealously diffused, can never so energetically oppose, as the reasons for the faith assist the victory of Truth. Great is he, and good as great, the compass of whose spiritual life and mental grasp embraces alike the Past, the Present, and the Future ; who sees them, not as historical disjunctions built by pedantry and artificialism, but who instinctively blends himself with them as with an unsevered and sacred harmony of Providence. But, alas ! he is rare as he is great and good. One so transcendently gifted, so profoundly and naturally cultured, God sends in due season as the Teacher of a New Religion when the creeds and the forms of Churches are exhausted, and the tricks and hypocrisy of priests are thoroughly unmasked ; but he never sends one as a holiday wonder at which mortals may gaze, and before which they may bow. God does not create Mont Blancs and Ararats in every county ; no more does he endow one of his children, one of our fellows, with divine breadth of vision, divine purity of heart, divine heroism, divine love, unless the earth, scarred and scourged by suffering and sin, shriek to the gates of Heaven for a Saviour's words, a Saviour's deeds, and a Saviour's death. We must be content then, my friends, unless we feel ourselves doomed and deified, to play the first part in some tragedy of redemption, to be more or less enthralled by the Past, by the Present, or by the Future. Our aim should be, not to be so wholly enthralled by one, as that the others should wear to us no aspect of significance.

. If from the pressure of circumstances and the tendency of our characters we live chiefly in the Present, we should not live so wholly in the Present as that the Past should show behind us as a chaos and the Future before us as a blank. For our own sake, if not for the sake of the race to which we belong, we should so far know the Past, and so far identify ourselves with the Future, as to prevent our existence from degenerating into a sleek and sottish animality that limits its entire activity to the satisfaction of desires little and low, and that never revives the yesterday or thinks of the morrow, but to compare the probabilities of sufficient food for the yearnings of appetite. Even for the purpose of enjoying that Present to which our bosoms so burningly cleave, we should not live exclusively in the Present. Man needs variety in order to be happy. There is no Paradise so lovely or so sweet of which we should not tire if compelled for ever to remain in it. It is not he who has always been healthy who knows the whole luxury of health, but he who has often been racked by pain and prostrated by disease. It is not he who has always been fortunate who values highest all the gifts of Fortune, but he who has won her smile by steadfast and invincible struggle. In the same way we lose the Present by devoting ourselves wholly to the Present. The same round of delights and occupations continually repeated becomes arid and fatiguing; for though sensual and worldly pleasures at first sight seem to offer an enchanting diversity to which no other pleasures can pretend, they are at last found to possess a sameness and a barrenness from which other pleasures are eminently free. Though then there were not other considerations of a much nobler kind, urging us to avoid a mere reckless course of Epicurean indulgence, I should regard the point that I am now pressing as sufficient to deter us. And I am sure that however indifferent Men of the World might be to our other and holier appeals, they would scarcely be indifferent to the proof that even for the successful pursuit of that which is the main

object of their narrow and unblest existence they make a wrong calculation in seeking no inspiration from the Future, and no light from the Past. We must take men on their own ground till we are able to raise them to ours. It is by showing them that they do not enjoy Earth aright and in its fullness that we are likely to leaven them with a taste and longing for Heaven. If you prove to any Man that he has made some monstrous blunder in the manner which he has adopted in hunting for a folly, you are more certain to make him desert the folly altogether, than if you commenced by fiercely denouncing the folly itself. For instance, there is more probability of weaning a miser from his loathsome vice by persuading him he does not enjoy all the benefit of his money, than by harshly telling him that the love of gold is insanity and crime. If we could convince him, which I admit is almost an impossibility, that money had advantages of which he, though ceaselessly communing with Money, had never participated, we should put him in the way of seeing and relishing other delights besides those that Money can confer.

Thus, also, my friends, if we behold those who, instead of living in the Present or the Future, live entirely in the Past, and out of that build for their fancy a radiant Ideal, it would be a sad mistake to throw ridicule on their peculiar tendency or contempt on the Past itself. This would only serve to make them more blind and bigoted in their attachment to the Past than before. We should endeavor rather to persuade them that he alone can see all the significance of the Past who sees all the significance of the Present, and that the Ideal of the Past which they cherish would be still more beautiful and holy, if it borrowed an occasional beam from the Ideal that others cherish of the Future. We cannot expect to convince them that the latter Ideal is the diviner of the two, for, in general, it is still more from nature than from position or education that the Past speaks with such potency to their heart. It was certainly not the circumstances that surrounded him, but the instinctive promptings

of his own Individuality, which made Walter Scott so intensely conservative. And no argument, no appeal however eloquent, could have converted him from his conservative faith. But much might have been done to convince him that the Past would have been still more rich and luminous to his view, if he had sought to pierce into the import of the Present and to weigh the probabilities of the Future, and that he only saw a portion of the Past, and perhaps not the most important portion, who confined his attention exclusively to the Past. The Past of Walter Scott was chiefly the Past of his own country; how much would have been added to his happiness, to his mental grasp, and to his power and influence as a writer, if he had been enabled to form his Ideal of the Past from the Universal Past, the Past of all countries and of all times! And this would have been possible, not so much by enlarging his acquaintance with the Past, through books or other instruments, as by enabling him to see many things in the Present and many inevitable destinies in the Future, which his excessive devotion to the Past had overlooked. And this, my friends, should teach us how to deal with those religious or political Conservatives that we encounter in ordinary intercourse, men, it may be, benevolent, honest, intelligent, and not so furiously fanatical as to scorn to give reasons for their faith. To pronounce before them a wholesale anathema on the Past, would be sheer madness, and it would not be much wiser to force on them a comparison of the Past with the Present, with the view of showing the vast superiority of the latter to the former. Neither must we exhibit the cloven foot of proselytism, unless we wish to defeat ourselves at the outset. All we should aim at is to show them that the Past has manifold treasures, and beauties, and delights, of which they are ignorant; and that if they would possess the Golden Key which would unlock these, they must seek it in the Actual and the Possible, not in the midst of the bygone things, where alone they have hitherto trod.

Suppose, my friends, that we, instead of living entirely in the Present, as the mass of mankind, or entirely in the Past, like a certain section of our brethren, live entirely in the Future, the principle which I have been teaching you to apply to others we shall, if wise men, apply to ourselves. To enable those who live entirely in the Present to work out all the resources of the Present, we must teach them, I have said, to connect their existence with the Future and the Past ; to enable those who live entirely in the Past to comprehend all the import of the Past, we must teach them, I have said, to connect their existence with the Present and the Future ; and so also we, if we are to make our Ideal of the Future an agency to elevate ourselves and to save and sanctify mankind, must enter into the spirit and significance of the Past and the Present. We sin, not by cherishing an Ideal too lofty of our Individual Being and Destiny ; we cannot cherish too lofty an Ideal thereof ; we sin not by cherishing too grand an Ideal of Humanity and of Humanity's progression ; we cannot cherish too grand an Ideal thereof. Wherein we err is, in looking, both as respects ourselves and Humanity, exclusively to the Future, by which we immensely hamper our own endeavors for the perfectibility of both. As regards ourselves, it cannot indeed be said that we wholly neglect either the Present or the Past. In the Past is our childhood ; in the Past is our youth ; and what words of infinite meaning are childhood and youth ! How many memories of sunny days and summer rambles, and joyous faces, and warm friendships, and romantic dreams, do they recal ! But we recal them only as beautiful visions ; we recal them as we do a picture or a poem, because they have an immortal witchery, rather than because they have any relation to ourselves as Individuals. How our nature has grown from year to year since the earliest dawn of our recollections ; what are the circumstances that have operated in its developement ; what are the mystic but mighty agencies by which one event in our fate is woven into another event ; how Providence has

made temptation and trial and suffering to minister to our holiness ; on all this in our calmest, deepest hours of Meditation, we never dwell. No more from the Present than from the Past are we who live in the Ideal of the Future utterly divorced. We are obliged to gain our daily bread, and to work our daily work therein ; we are obliged to listen to all its rumours, to witness all its changes, to be actors as well as spectators in the gloomy and glorious drama of Human struggle. There are also things around us, the fascination of which we cannot resist, pleasures that speak to our senses, our passions, our imagination. But the evil is that we mingle in the Present as if it were a Pageant, not a stern and rugged Reality ; we sip of its sweets, we taste of its pangs, with no will of our own, yielding unresisting to the onrush of circumstances ; but the weight and worth of the activities that are operating on Society, how they mix with and influence each other, what is their relation to us and our relation to them,—
 *these and kindred things do not even ruffle the surface of our Contemplation. Is it wonderful, then, that our lofty Ideal of ourselves and our destiny should remain simply a lofty Ideal, and that though we keep ourselves free from prevalent delusions and prevalent sins, we should be rather remarkable for our purity than for our strength, rather for the blamelessness of the Saint than for the heroism of the Martyr ? Whereas if ceasing not to do all due homage to our lofty Ideal of our Individuality, if worshipping it in the secrecy of our heart as the holiest image next to that of Him who is Holiness itself, we analysed profoundly the Past and the Present of our existence, comprehensively grasped their philosophy, with what prophetic force, with what invincible earnestness, should we stand forth in the midst of the Community doing the work allotted us by God, blessing our fellow man with a potent hand, and deriving blessing from our ability to bless !

And if we pass from the Ideal of ourselves to the Ideal of Society we shall find this principle no less effectual. I may say of the history of Society what I have already said of our

own personal history. Absorbed as we are by the Ideal which its Future offers, we are not wholly unacquainted with its Present and its Past. We know the chief events of the Past, the great empires that have successively risen to universal dominion, the nations that have chiefly influenced civilization, the famous patriotic sacrifices of which famous poets have sung. It requires no very careful education, no very extensive knowledge, to make us acquainted with these things. They are taught us at school like Grammar and Arithmetic, and there are allusions enough to them in the most commonplace literary productions to keep us from forgetting them. But in the form in which they fix themselves in our mind they are not so much knowledge as poetry. The story of William Tell, or of the Maid of Orleans, is equally interesting to us whether we view it as a fiction or a fact. And most of the historical incidents with which we are familiar would lose nothing of their attraction to us if they were proved to be not facts but fictions. Because it is not the Mission that they fulfilled in the scheme of Providence that we view, but only their picturesque interest. They are interesting to us in the same way, and no more, as the costumes of a foreign country in which we are travelling. With the Present we have a similar acquaintance as with the Past. It excites us as a dramatic exhibition. We read the newspapers, and devour dreadful accidents, and miraculous escapes, and new discoveries, and changes of ministry at home, and revolutions abroad, and court scandal, and the prospects of the corn crop ; we are amused, and that is all we know, or care to know, about the matter. How rarely do we pause to think how the great events or the small events of which we are the contemporaries are to help the realization of that Ideal of Society of which we so enthusiastically dream. Now, it may be said, that it is only Historians, or Philosophers, or Statesmen, that require such a knowledge of the Past and the Present of Society as that which I recommend. They ought certainly to possess it in an eminent degree. Unless they do, no genius, however brilliant, can preserve

them from the most ridiculous blunders and the most lamentable errors. But we all live in Society, and we all, from that very circumstance, ought to aid the progress of Society. And the feeblest of us can aid it if we have the requisite will. Especially, however, are those bound to aid that progress who express so deep an interest in human destiny. The class of such as thirst for freedom for themselves and others is one rapidly increasing. And what stands most in the way of that freedom being attained? What but ignorance? The mass of men yearn for liberty as the traveller pants for water in the desert. But from their ignorance of the Past and the Present of Society, from not knowing how the Past and the Present are connected with the Future, they take the very worst modes of realizing their aspirations. If they knew the Past would they trust demagogues as they do? If they knew the Past would they prefer a dogma to a practical benefit? If they knew the Past would they expect to reach that in a year which ~~it~~ may take centuries to attain? If they knew the Past would ~~they~~ they rush so headlong into schemes which have nothing but popularity to recommend them? Every man, my friends, who aspires to be a Patriot should cease to make newspapers his oracles. He should devote years of unremitting study to History. The biography also of the great men who have conspicuously influenced the world should occupy much of his attention. It is not needed that he should be learned, and that he should mystify himself in speculations. He is to study History and Biography, not as a student, but as a Man; and in order that he may manifest a manful spirit while others shrink from the burden and heat of the day. A Patriot is a hundredfold a Patriot who knows what has aided the struggles of Patriotism in the Past, what has defeated them. What gives the Conservative party such great strength in comparison to their numbers is, that they are far better acquainted than their opponents with the Past. Hence they are continually using weapons which take their opponents by surprise, but which are all borrowed from the armoury of the Past, and are as old

as Greece and Rome. The error which that party makes I would most strenuously urge you to avoid. I do not wish you to regard, as they regard, the Past as a perfect model either for the Present or the Future. I wish you to regard the Past as the preparation of the Present and the guide of the Future. We cannot fight our Patriotic battles as the Greek and Roman Patriots and the Puritans and the French Republicans fought theirs; and even if we could revive the most perfect commonwealth that ever existed, it would have little suitableness to the present times. But from their battles we may receive most valuable hints, and, from studying those governments which have been most promotive of Human improvement and happiness, we may see what is best calculated to make a future possible government a large and abiding blessing; and thus shall we fulfil our mission as patriots with our might, and the children of this world no longer be wiser than the children of light.

LECTURE XXI.

THE DEVELOPEMENT OF PRINCIPLES IN HUMAN NATURE.

THE twentieth article of my Confession of Faith, the twentieth principle in the system of Individualism, is the following :—I believe that Society develops one principle of Human Nature after another, and that when they have all been successively developed, then will they all combine into a beautiful and harmonious whole.

Would, my friends, that it were as easy to aid the march of Humanity as it is to speculate on the Nature of Humanity and the tendencies of Civilization,—as easy to improve Society as to theorize on its capabilities,—as easy to embody our philanthropic dreams as to breathe our prophetic utterances. Words have often been as brave as the bravest deeds ; some words have brought revolutions more memorable, more permanent, more blissful, than the most glorious battles that Freedom has ever gained with the sword. But in general, prophets have more abounded than heroes, though in all ages of the world true heroes have been more numerous than true prophets. To proclaim the idea mighty to save for which Earth yearns at some great crisis of its history requires something far diviner than heroism ; but to pour forth with fluent lips and rhetorical embellishment the subordinate remedies for its woes which Earth itself has already discovered and spoken, demands neither wisdom, nor courage, nor love, but only a shallow cunning, and a commonplace charlatanism,

that hunt for and find pelf and popularity and power, while seeming to labour with utmost energy and earnestness in the cause of human improvement. Nor should I regard myself as performing a much nobler work than this paltry class if I came before you at present merely for the purpose of exhibiting a new and ingenious theory of social progress, to gather from your marvelling eyes a tribute to my vanity, a reward for the subtlety of my brain. Though I should scorn to degenerate into the glib advocate of fashionable reforms, standing forth as their champion, not for the sake of the happiness they were fitted to bring, but solely in that they chanced to be fashionable ; I should equally scorn to degenerate into the theorist, who pours out gorgeous phantasies on the destinies of our race for the intellectual excitement of his fellows. But, my friends, I have a sublime and holy doctrine to teach to you and to Universal Man, and I cannot teach it in its completeness without contemplating those laws that regulate Man's fate, so often stormy, but on which never ceases to gleam the rainbow of Hope. As a prophet, not as a philosopher,—as one speaking to your spiritual intuitions, not to your mental speculations,—do I introduce, and have I introduced, the subject of Human Progression to your attention. As a topic for the Historian, for the Student, by whatever name called, it has doubtless sufficient interest,—an interest which, when I am occasionally tempted to subside into the habits and associations of the Student, and to veil my manhood under the luminous shadow of a pregnant book that garners the suggestive and stimulative thoughts of departed genius, I feel as other students have felt. But my literary interest in it is fitful and brief, my human interest in it is rooted in the very substance of my being, and though my language regarding it may be often tinged by the student, yet it is always prompted and fired by the warmest impulses and profoundest emotions of the Man. And it is by viewing it as a Man rather than as a Student that I am enabled to grasp it far more correctly and comprehensively than others infinitely

more learned and acute. Their backs are crushed by the burden, their eyes are dulled by the glare of their own enormous scholarship, and instead of gazing on Humanity with an eye human and natural, they rend it in pieces, and throw away the palpitating flesh, in order to fit the arid bones into the symmetry of the system which for long and toilsome years they have been creating in the solitude of their meditations. Now, happily for me, and let me believe happily for my brethren, I am signally defective in logical acumen, and though I have never encouraged distaste for, I have usually experienced indifference to, scholastic acquirements. Hence, Nature has come to me as a Mother comes, frank, genial, smiling, ardent, lavishly generous, miraculous in revelations because boundless in affection. The first fact she taught me was myself, and through myself she taught me Humanity. She taught me that as I grew, Humanity had grown and would continue to grow; not as a frozen formula, on the glassy surface of which sages may scrawl their maxims, and sophists their hypotheses, but as a full and fervid and fragrant vitality, branching forth majestic to the Eternal Heavens. If we had the wisdom to know it, the History of the World is brighter, better, faithfuller written on the tablets of our own heart than in all the tedious tomes that the patience of chroniclers has ever accumulated. By whom has Earth been peopled from earliest times? By beings like ourselves; by beings therefore animated by the same motives, scourged by the same remorse, urged on by the same aspirings, kindled by the same hopes, liable to the same weaknesses, temptations, and sins, ever dreaming of virtue in the midst of vice, and of vice in the midst of virtue, never so near the worst degradations of sense as when sweating dread drops of blood in martyr agony; never so near the Martyr's boldest and most beautiful sacrifices as when wallowing in foulest bestiality; never so much a divine harmony as when most a human contradiction. Yes, Earth has been possessed from the remotest dawn of things by beings, some of whom were worse, some of whom were better,

than ourselves ; but the evil of all the bad, and the goodness of all the good, constitute a whole, to which our Individual Nature, as a whole, exactly corresponds. Therefore, my friends, if we would thoroughly know what Humanity has been, we must know what we ourselves are at this moment, what is the aggregate result of our entire experience from feeblest infancy. Know we this, we know more of our race than Historians or Philosophers can tell us. Who ever read a history, even the most sober and candid, without encountering crowds of monsters, monsters of excellence, and monsters of depravity, and straggling between their giant legs things in the shape of men ? Now, my friends, do we ever meet such angels and such fiends in our ordinary intercourse with the community, or even in the extraordinary circumstances of our career ? And if not, have we, or need we, any more resistless proof that History is false ; false, not so much in its incidents as in its delineations ? Every doctrine of Human Progression however that has hitherto been taught, proceeds on the absolute truth of History as hitherto written. Need you any argument, any evidence, to assure you that the doctrine must be as false as the History itself ? Indeed, however honest an Historian may be, there never can be an honest history ; for an honest history would need to give all the incidents of the period which it professes to treat of, and this is obviously impossible. But it is not impossible from self-analysis, deep and earnest, to form a perfect conception of our Nature as individuals ; and as this conception necessarily embraces all the good and all the evil of Humanity, the blame is our own if we do not seize a more truthful view of the evolvment of Humanity, and in the sanctuary of our own bosom, than Historians and Philosophers can afford us. Historians and Philosophers bring before us striking events, memorable epochs, revolutions that have shaken empires, the leading nations of conquerors, with their characteristic features and most famous achievements. But the prominence given to all these things, along with the capricious divi-

sion of History into periods, dwarfs and distorts and obscures instead of revealing Humanity. I am far, my friends, from undervaluing History, which is too little studied even by literary men. What I complain of is, that History seems rather written and studied for its own sake, than for the sake of that Humanity which it should assist us thoroughly to comprehend. The impression I always receive from reading the works of Historians, even the best, is, that Man has existed for six thousand years, not that he might realize an idea of Providence and add to the sum of happiness in Creation, but simply in order that certain persons, endowed with narrative skill, might pen records of his deeds. If History were written aright, it would not give us unmingled pain, which it almost uniformly does. We might weep over its mishaps and misdoings, but we should never fail to see it growing stronger and more triumphant. There may have been upon earth as much woe, as much crime, as that which History exhibits, doubtless there has been a great deal more. But still, in the worst times, there must have been an amount of happiness far more than sufficient to counterbalance the crime and the woe. Otherwise Society would not have been possible. The excess of woe and crime over happiness and virtue, either in an Individual or a Race, is so manifestly self-destructive, that by the everlasting laws of God, Society could not have continued to exist where that excess prevailed.

Besides this overwhelming impression of pain which we receive from reading History, there are two other impressions painful and erroneous which it tends to inspire. The first is, that the early period of a nation is always a period of rude, stern virtue, but that its maturer periods are periods when this virtue never fails to depart. It is so far from being the case, that nations are often most corrupt in their earliest periods, and arrive at virtue only when advanced in intellectual culture. If the matter were as Historians represent it, then it would be a reason for allowing nations to remain for

ever in a semi-barbarous condition. That nations are corrupter at one period than at another, is evident. But it is not so much the increase of wealth and luxury and power which is the cause of this, as the silly attachment to antiquated forms, and the bigoted opposition to all change in political and ecclesiastical institutions. Add as much as you please to the wealth and luxury and power of a nation, you will never debase it, as long as you maintain harmony between its institutions and the progress of opinion. Nations, so far from having in general an allotted period of vigor, and then an allotted period of decline, have rather a series of regenerations; and there is no reason why a nation may not last for ever, if the needed regeneration always comes ere it is too late. England, during the last three hundred years, has had many regenerations, and it will have many more ere three hundred years again pass away. When each of those regenerations came, England no doubt had declined in virtue; but when the regeneration had done its work, a higher virtue reigned than before. During the last fifty years France has had two great political regenerations, and these have evidently been followed by great moral results. France is a much more moral country than it was a century and a half since, and there are symptoms not a few, that at no distant date it will reach a height of virtue that it has never hitherto attained. France and England have braved the storms of a thousand years, growing ever stronger in the turmoil and the crash, and they yet display all the energy of youth. Look at Spain, at one time the most powerful monarchy in Europe. During more than two hundred years it has been declining; but who believes that its decay is to end in total destruction? Who does not see that, ere long, it will revive, and that, when its power revives, its ~~virtue~~ virtue will revive also?

The second painful and erroneous impression which we receive from reading History as hitherto written is, that there are certain ages which serve no other purpose than connecting links between the eclipse of one glory and the birth of

another. I deny altogether that such ages have ever existed. Every age, however barren and unblest, has its own enjoyments and its own excellences. That there is no record of these, proves nothing. Of the first three thousand years of Man's existence on earth, we have no trustworthy information whatever beyond the scanty notices of the Bible and the inscriptions on Egyptian and other monuments. Are we, therefore, to conclude that those years were all a blank because little trace of them remains? Does the happiness of Man exist there alone, where there is a historian to transmit it to posterity? During all those three thousand years, did not the sun rise and set, and the stars gleam down on the dwellings of men, and seed-time, and harvest, and cold and heat, and summer and winter, and day and night, alternate, as they do now? Then, as now, was there not beauty on Childhood's brow and rapture in Childhood's heart? Then, as now, did not the young man rejoice in his youth and in the plenitude of his resources and faculties? Then, as now, were there not peaceful homes where a mother's and a father's eye beamed with gladness on their playful offspring? Then, as now, were there not love, and poetry, and faith, and all the thousand glad and holy things that speak to earth of Heaven? And what Age, the darkest, has not had these? And where these are present, are they not far more valuable than any change and chance of civilization can either give or take away? Indeed, my friends, men in general take their notions of the Past of Humanity from authors, and these very naturally form their opinion of any particular age, from the greater or less amount of honor and of influence given to their own craft. When Literature and Science had a wide and undisputed sway, there they have been disposed to see the Golden Age revived. When these had little authority, and were altogether forgotten, there they have beheld nothing but darkness and dismay. They forget that the Education of Nature is an Education that proceeds alike in the most polished and most barbarous periods of civilization, and that it is far more

important than any artificial culture. Men's books may be shut, but God's books are ever open ; open in the infinite sky, open in the immensity of ocean, open in the boundless realm of things. They forget also, that while Nature's Education is ceaselessly proceeding, Nature's bosom and the treasures there are ceaselessly unveiled to the heart and the mind of Man. Let us not look, then, my friends, on Humanity, or on Humanity's progress, with the spectacles of authors. Let us look at both with our own human natural eyes, convinced that authors can only bewilder us in a maze of pedantries. And looking at both with human and natural eyes, we behold that it is not the grand circumstances that culminate in the pages of the Historian, which have made Humanity what it is, but the growth of Humanity that necessitated those circumstances, that Humanity is no more the creature of circumstances than an Individual is the creature of circumstances. Many say, if the Mission of Moses had not enabled a peculiar people to keep alive in the world the belief in the Unity of God, and if the Greeks had not given their literature and arts to the Romans, and through them to the world, and if the Roman empire had not arisen, and if the Crusades had not taken place, and if printing had not been discovered, and if Columbus had not given America to Europe, and if the Reformation had not swept with its purifying breath over Christendom, and if revolutions had not overturned the thrones of England and France, where would Humanity have been ? These questions seem to me as childish as the prattle of children. Believe me, my friends, it was not on such accidents that the existence and progress of Humanity depended. No :—but Humanity in its spontaneous developement and in its endeavor to realize its Ideal, produced those accidents ; and it is fatalism, which means Atheism, to believe the contrary. When it had explored the utmost depths of one of its principles, it naturally passed to the next, and the grand events on which Historians dwell, as the causes of civilization, were the indispensable consequences of that transition. Indeed, to write the Record of

Humanity aright, and to study Humanity's progress aright, the wisest plan would be, uniformly to consider that as a consequence which Historians consider as a cause. We should think it marvellously absurd to state, that a Man's writing poetry was the cause of his imagination, or his walking the cause of his legs, or his seeing the cause of his eyes, or his feeling the cause of his hands. Yet this is not more absurd than the mode in which Civilization is usually estimated by Historians. This proves, my friends, that the system of Individualism, when fully carried out, will work not only a change in the Individual, but a profound change in literature also. The faculty of free-will, which is the great instrument of all morality for the Individual, will be viewed likewise as the great instrument with which Humanity has accomplished and is destined to accomplish its triumphs. When it is seen that Humanity from the beginning has been conscious of its greatness, and yearning however dimly for the noblest victories it has ever won, Literature itself will be endowed with a consciousness of greatness it has never hitherto possessed, and march on to more brilliant victories than it has ever gained. Viewing Humanity in the hand of Fatalism, as clay in the hand of the Potter, Literature has been contented to be, with few exceptions, the most submissive tool of Fatalism. It has thus often helped to fix more closely on Man the fetters which it had the capacity to break.

I had no intention, my friends, this evening, to show in detail how Society developes one principle of Human Nature after another, and how, when they have all been successively developed, they will all combine into a beautiful and harmonious whole. It is not necessary that I should, for by showing that Humanity unfolds itself with the same spontaneusness as an Individual, with the same free-will and consciousness, I have put it perfectly in your power, even without any extensive or profound knowledge of History, to follow out for yourselves the principle which I have been teaching. In the Individual, physical energy displays itself before intel-

lectual power; intellectual power before moral ability; and moral ability before religious perfection; and when religious perfection arrives, then is the way prepared for the perfection of the Whole Man. Not indeed that at the earliest season of our being we have not intellectual perceptions, and moral aspirings, and religious yearnings; but still if we are to arrive at the stature of perfect men, the order of our developement must be as I have stated it. Thus also in Humanity. Its physical energy comes before its intellectual power, its intellectual power before its moral ability, its moral ability before its religious perfectionment, and when its religious perfectionment arrives, then will it assume that harmonious completeness for which God destined it. At its rudest seasons it has had intellectual perceptions, moral aspirings and religious yearnings; but these have been only occasional and superficial; and as long as the reign of physical energy lasted, the supremacy thereof was unquestioned. The kingdom of physical energy passed away when Christianity came. It had been carried to its grandest height by the Romans. But though Christ wished to teach Morality and Religion, the immediate effect of his existence, and the effect for eighteen hundred years of his Doctrines, has been merely to substitute the reign of intellectual power, for that of physical energy. The reign of intellectual power is about to terminate, and that of moral ability about to begin; and perhaps at the end of two thousand years more, the reign of religious perfection will commence, to be followed after a longer or shorter period, and when it has developed all its capabilities, by that divine condition of Humanity, in which every Man will become a Son of God, by uniting in their just proportions his physical energy, his intellectual power, his moral ability, and his religious affections. The chief instrument for working out the principle of moral ability in what I have exhibited as the next grand epoch of our race, will be, the doctrine of Individuality. Into your hands, then, almost the only disciples whom I have yet made, I again commit that doctrine, urging you to realize

it for the sake of your own moral progress, for the sake of that reign of moral ability on which Society is about to enter, and in order that you may help in hastening the time, when Man all over the world will be a beautiful and harmonious whole.

LECTURE XXII.

THE DEVELOPEMENT OF FACULTIES IN THE INDIVIDUAL.

THE twenty-first article of my Confession of Faith, the twenty-first principle in the System of Individualism, is the following:—I believe that in the Individual, likewise, the faculties are successively developed, till, when they have all been unfolded, they all contribute their united stores of wisdom, experience and beauty, to form a good and holy man; at least this would be so, if the Individual were what Nature and God intended him to be.

The evil, however, my friends, is that The Individual seldom is what Nature and God intended him to be, or else I should have been saved the trouble of expounding and enforcing at such length The Doctrine of Individuality. God intended The Individual to be natural, Nature intended that he should be divine; he has rebelled against Nature, and thus has been discrowned of his divinity. To make him again the Child of God, by making him again the Child of Nature, is the great object, the holy design, the pertinacious purpose, of my existence. Till, however, that object is accomplished, till that design is fulfilled, till that purpose is realized, the growth of the Individual will be as unnatural as his being. Indeed, his growth and his being are the conditions, the causes, the consequences of each other. To make his being divine, you must make his growth natural; to make his growth natural, you must make his being divine. The grand

difference between Humanity and the Individual is, that while humanity pursues the march, attains the idea allotted it by God, in spite of all reverses and obstacles, and often even at the expense of the Individual, and stands now where God wished and fated it to stand, when he created it at first, it is the hard doom of the Individual, to begin his deification, to begin to use, to enjoy, to radiate his whole large dower of Individualism, only when the bitterest trials and the fiercest woes of Humanity are over; when through blood, and hunger, and wrath, and hate, it has scourged out the last drop of the bestial that its bosom cherished, and has learned to offer not the reckless forces of the physical, not the subtle ingenuities, not the sophistical formulas, not the dazzling phantasies of the Intellectual; but its moral and religious consciousness, emotion, aspiring as a fitting tribute, a worthy incense to the Mystic Infinite and the Miraculous Energies thereof. What to Humanity has been and is, to the Individual is to be. And it is a sort of compensation for the wrong and the wretchedness which the Individual has suffered for the sake of Humanity, that the Past of Humanity will be the best of all guides for the Future of the Individual. If the Individual had not borne the burden and the cross which century after century has laid upon him, Humanity could not have triumphed as it has triumphed; but neither also could the centuries to come treasure up the gladness and glory for the Individual which it is their Destiny to unveil. It may seem a reproach against Providence and a reproach suited to perplex the most spiritual and inexpugnable Theist, that in all ages the Individual has been so uniformly, so unscrupulously, so universally sacrificed to Humanity. But the reproach need not perplex any wise, deep-seeing, many-thoughted, pregnant-fancied ponderer on Creation. Forasmuch as each Individual, though he had not all the happiness of which he was capable, yet had more happiness than misery; furthermore, because from the tragical termination of an Individual's life, we are not to conclude that the life itself was tragical. When we read a compen-

dium of the world's history, each successive page seldom exhibits aught but slaughter and sin. We find that tens of thousands perished here, and hundreds of thousands there, and that a single war, perhaps, cost the lives of millions. All this is horrible, very horrible, and God forbid that I should seek to palliate or disguise its horrors. But those who thus perished, numerous as they may seem in the record of the Historian, how few were they when compared with the great masses of Earth's entire population ! Perhaps not one in a hundred or one in a thousand. And in those few, how rare must the Individual have been whose course previous to his military career had contained nothing but suffering ! Besides, the Soldier's trade, loathsome and cruel as it is, has its own wild excitements and tumultuous enjoyments, not comparable, indeed, to the delights of a calmer and benigner occupation, but still such as to shed a redeeming ray on his deeds of blood, and to make him feel that he is not wholly an outcast in the midst of his fellows. It is his violent death which so appals us ; and yet, must not such a death heralded or accompanied only by a momentary pang, must it not be in almost every instance more desirable than the lingering and painful deaths that men usually die in their own quiet homes ? What confuses our ideas on this point, and makes us unjust to Providence, is, that we read in a few instants what it took years to accomplish, and we thus, in spite of our better knowledge and clearer insight, conclude that woe and guilt passed as quick and crowded over the communities of Man, as they rush as pictures through our startled mind. But, my friends, though we find it no hard task to vindicate Providence in this respect, we ought to rejoice that a time is approaching, when the vindication will no longer be needed, and when the Gradation of The Individual will assist and be assisted by the Progress of Humanity. That time will not bring to all a harmonious culture of the faculties which hitherto none have enjoyed. It will make that universal which hitherto has been only the glory of a few. Unless there had arisen from time

to time, in the midst of prevailing darkness and desolation, men, who had attained through natural growth to divine being, how could we prophesy that a period would arrive when all men would attain to this by similar means? The saints that have bequeathed to their brethren an example blissful and beautiful; the sages who have been the redeemers of their race more by ideas than by deeds, these passed step by step through the process through which all men must pass when the System of Individualism has supplanted the manifold sophistries and superstitions that meet us wherever we turn our gaze. They passed through this process, though they might be, and in most cases must have been, entirely unconscious of it. The teachers of Philosophy and Religion, my friends, may be divided into three classes; first, those who promulgate a new and original faith; secondly, those who help as apostles to diffuse a new and original faith; and, thirdly, those who stand up to reform this faith when it has become corrupted, and to infuse vitality into it when it has fallen into apathy. An example of the first we have in Jesus, of the second in Paul, and of the third in Luther. Now, it is not necessary that the second and third of these classes should have attained through natural growth to divine being; but it is indispensably necessary that the first class should have this gift and this destiny; for it is precisely this gift and this destiny which have enabled them to promulgate a new and original faith. When therefore my friends I state that a time will come when all men will enjoy that Gradation of Individuality which hitherto only saints and sages have enjoyed, I am prophesying a nobler fate for my race than my words at first sight might seem to indicate. I am placing the future generations of men above the Pauls and the Luthers, and beside the Christs. I am doing more than this, though it may seem impossible to do more. There is a point of view in which the highest order of saints may not be entitled to be placed beside the highest order of sages, and a point of view in which the highest order of sages may not be

entitled to be placed by the side of the highest order of saints. For instance, without the slightest disrespect to Jesus we may say, that occupied as he was with the great work of redeeming man, by actions still more than by words, there must have been things which, though he felt them more spiritually, he less clearly and comprehensively saw than Plato; and on the other hand, that occupied as Plato was with the great work of redeeming man, chiefly through the influence of ideas, there must have been many things in outward existence, in which he was infinitely inferior to Christ. Now to unite the sage of the highest order with the saint of the highest order may seem impossible; to be more than Plato and more than Christ, may appear nought but a presumptuous dream. And yet I boldly proclaim, that a time will come when the least in the Kingdom of God will soar to this transcendent eminence, not through any miraculous agency, but simply because the circumstances of Society will be so radically changed, that none will need to be exclusively saint or exclusively sage; when all are their own Redeemers there will not be required, as hitherto, any one-sided manifestation of the faculties. For strange as it may seem, the saints and the sages of the highest order, though they have through natural growth attained to divine being, have been compelled to be to a certain extent unnatural, to counteract the unnaturalness into which the mass of mankind had fallen. Besides, the very singularity of their position has sometimes prevented their distinguishing what was natural and what was not. But when all men become individual, neither singularity of position nor surrounding unnaturalness will be present, to drive them into onesidedness. Each man, instead of having the patchwork development, which even the best of us have now, will unfold all the harmony of the Physical before climbing to the Intellectual; all the harmony of the Intellectual before climbing to the Moral; all the harmony of the Moral before climbing to the Religious; and when he has unfolded all the harmony of the

Religious he will be more than Man, he will be, in the sublimest sense, a Son of God. The gradation of the Individual may be characterized without exaggeration, by four words of mighty meaning. Each future Individual will be first a Hero; secondly, a Sage; thirdly, a Saint; and lastly, a Divinity. The fault of Christianity, not as taught by its author, but as taught by his followers, has been the effort to make the Individual a saint before making him, or indeed without making him, either a Hero or a Sage. The consequence has been, that the Christian saint is almost always either a hypocrite or a monstrosity, often a compound of both; often as much a self deceiver as a deceiver of his fellows; for I believe, my friends, that the perfect hypocrite is the rarest of all things, if indeed he exist at all; for a man able to deceive all mankind in all his contact with them, whilst never deceiving himself, would require a coolness of self-possession, a depth and grasp of subtlety, utterly incompatible with Human Nature. At first sight it may seem as if the great blunder of Christianity were, to set up before the eyes of mankind too lofty an Ideal, an Ideal too celestial for Humanity ever to realize. But it is impossible to place too lofty an Ideal before the aspirings of the Human heart. The doctrine which I teach aims at as lofty an Ideal as that which Christianity discloses; nay, I trust, a still loftier Ideal. But the difference between the Ideal of the Gospel and the Ideal of Individualism is, that the Ideal of the Gospel is set up in contrast to the iniquity of Earth, but does not definitely indicate the successive steps by which the Ideal is to be gained, while the Ideal of Individualism while broadly contrasting with conventional and other enormities, offers a distinct succession of points, one after another of which must be reached if the culminating glory of all is to be reached. What, however, Christianity itself, as a religion and a morality, does not supply, Christian priests have supplied in the shape of a Theology. But in remedying one defect they have created a greater. Christianity itself supply-

ing no successive steps to lead to the realization of its Ideal, its priests have, on the other hand, so multiplied them that the timid soul despairs of ever being able to climb to the summit. Those of you who are intimate with the jargon of Orthodoxy, with such words as Election, Adoption, Justification, Sanctification, and a host of others, will know what I mean. Christianity, as at present taught, reminds me of that entertaining exhibition called a Panorama. At the top is a wide and glorious view. But there are two ways leading to that view; the one is a comfortable and easy way for the rich; the other is a toilsome and difficult way for the poor. In the one case you, the rich man, place yourself in a snug and luxurious machine, and without a jolt or an obstacle you come to the top; you, the poor man, are compelled to climb a long, and gloomy, and narrow, staircase, which seems as if it would never end. Christianity is thus made too easy for one class, and too arduous for another. Now, in the System of Individualism, all will be compelled to climb by the same common path. It will provide no luxurious machine as a temptation to the idle, neither will it frighten any away by the toilsomeness of the ascent. The sole difference between one Individual and another will be, that one may be able from the strength of his natural attributes to climb more rapidly than another. The Doctrine of Individuality tends in every direction to the broadest democracy; but in nothing is it so broadly democratic as in building no Paradise for the Elect. And, my friends, it is on a spiritual aristocracy that all other aristocracies base their claims. It is because men recognise an aristocracy of spiritual privilege that they so readily recognize an aristocracy of temporal advantage and power. Assail the first and banish it for ever from the brain of Man, and you have thereby banished the second for ever from the communities of Earth. The Doctrine of Individuality will, in this and in all things, be the most destructive of doctrines simply because it is the most constructive, and it will lead the most infallibly to the

overthrow of all absurd and unjust institutions, simply because it will not make the overthrow of such institutions one of its primary objects, but seek rather to plant such ideas as will render the existence of cruel and cumbrous institutions impossible. You may say in reference to all I have been urging, that it is pleasant enough to hear prophecies about the future destinies of Man, and about the time when every man, through natural growth, will arrive at divine being; but that you would love to catch a ray of redemption for yourselves, and that though your hearts thrill at hearing of the salvation that God the Wise and the Benevolent intends for posterity, still you would gladly yourselves participate of that salvation. Now, my friends, it would be false and foolish if I were to flatter you by stating that you can now, through natural growth, reach divine being as effectually as if from your earliest infancy you had been cultured entirely by the energies of Individualism. This is impossible. There are a thousand prejudices and habits which you can never lay aside, even though you allotted yourself no other occupation day and night, than to combat with such insidious foes. Still there are modes by which you may enjoy a portion of the blessing which is finally intended for all mankind. These I mean, at some future opportunity, to make the subject of consideration, under the title of the Rehabilitation of the Individual. But one of the most effectual means of accomplishing this object is by applying the System of Individualism to the education of your children. If you resolve to make every child under your control first a Hero, then a Sage, then a Saint, and lastly a Divinity, from that Child's bosom will pass into your bosom holy and elevating influences. You will grow more and more natural, and your artificialism, though it will not fall altogether away, will so far loosen its hold as not materially to hamper your movements. And thus, my friends, while you are performing the most sacred of all labors, that of making your child one of the future redeemers of Humanity, you are doing more, you

are making the child a present redeemer by rendering it fit to shed back upon your breast the beatitudes which you have been stablishing in its deep, rich, susceptible bosom.

Such, my friends, very rudely given, is what I may call the human shape of the Gradation of Individuality, or the shape thereof which every Individualist, however unlettered, may readily grasp and practically apply. But this Gradation admits of a more elaborate exhibition, which, as distinguished from the human shape, may be called the metaphysical shape, of that article of my creed which this evening I have brought before you. The barest outline of the more scientific mode of considering and stating the Individual's progression is what follows.

All men in the developement of their Individuality do not advance equally far, though a period is approaching when that which has hitherto been the endowment of the rare and the lofty, will become the heritage of all. Yet all men, if they advance at all, must follow certain successive steps, none of which can be omitted in their moral and mental progress. These steps I propose to classify, and on a suitable occasion to illustrate : thus—

The first step is that of Instinctive Faith. This is the natural impressions we receive in our childhood, and the natural belief resulting from those impressions. This stage, all who are born into the world go through, even if they may never go through any other. The worst and the best alike receive in childhood impressions from the external universe, and those impressions, of necessity, produce a certain faith.

The second step is that of Traditional Belief. This is the name I give to those theological and other dogmas, which parents and other instructors instil into the minds of their children. Most men arrive at this stage, and very few arrive any further. Those who do not arrive at this stage are the mere outcasts of Society, whose instinctive

faith may be said to be followed by a sort of instinctive negation.

The third step is that of Critical Negation. This is a very painful state of the mind, but still an indispensable one if there is to be progress at all. It is when the Understanding and the Wit commence to operate on the objects of traditional belief. It is either excited by the naturally unbelieving tone and tendency of mind in certain Individuals, or by the ludicrousness of certain forms which traditional belief holds up to reverence, or by the reading of deistical books. Certain classes of mind of a prosaic and mechanial kind remain in this state all their life.

The fourth step is when the Understanding, seeking some positive ground as a refuge from the negations in the midst of which it has for a time been dwelling, reasons itself into the belief of certain doctrines of a rational kind. This stage I call Logical Acquiescence. It is the state of all those Individuals who have passed from Orthodoxy, and who are satisfied with mere Rationalism. It is not a much more exalted state than Critical Negation, only it brings somewhat more happiness to the Individual.

The fifth step is that which I call Metaphysical Scepticism. This is the complete and comprehensive doubt which the whole nature undergoes when we discover that the understanding is not the whole of Man, that, indeed, it is only a small portion of man, and that, though it may be satisfied, the whole yearnings of our nature are not thereby gratified. In this stage we principally brood on the connection between the Finite and the Infinite in ourselves and in the Universe. One main effect of this stage is to enable us clearly to see a distinction, which we had scarcely before seen, between Religion and Theology, and the relations of these to Morality and Philosophy.

The sixth stage is that which I call Spiritual Conviction. It is the faith of the whole faculties which follows the previous

scepticism of our whole faculties. In Logical Acquiescence we were simply theological; now we are religious. The grand characteristic of this stage is a longing for universality in thought and feeling, and a sympathy for the Ideal, the Invisible, and the Infinite. A minor effect and accompaniment is the dislike which it brings to theological janglings, sectarian distinctions, and party animosities. It is accompanied by a happiness truly indescribable.

The seventh stage I call *Æsthetical Completeness*. In searching for the Good and the True in the two previous stages, we have in some measure lost sight of the Beautiful. This stage enables us to see its relations to these. The two previous stages also had been altogether spiritual and internal. This enables us to see the relation of the external to the internal, the connection between spirit and form, and the nature of forms when expressions of Spirit. It finishes therefore our Education in Taste, taking that word in its sublimest and most comprehensive sense.

The eighth and last stage I call *Divine Harmony*, which co-ordinates and crowns the results of all our past experience, and prepares us for the Beatitudes of Heaven.

If God in his mercy spare me, it is my purpose to devote the best of my brain and breast in a series of Lectures, to an elucidation of Man's Progressive Individuality viewed in this scientific or metaphysical mode. I have within me the manifold germs of great thoughts and the plan and resolve of mighty actions, and few of those thoughts will remain unbreathed with adequate utterance; few of those actions will continue only phantasies and determinations if he, to serve whom all prophets prophesy, and to worship whom all martyrs die, give this frail flesh strength to sustain a few more years unconquered the ardor and the agony of the battle. Even as it is, obscure as is my present lot, and hampered and harrassed as I am by a whole jungle of difficulties, I have left that on Earth which cannot perish; not a glittering name, not the fulmination of astounding exploits, but a Primordial

Idea, whose blissfulness and energy no selfishness or sophistry of the upholders of exhausted institutions and antiquated dogmas can hinder from passing from shore to shore,—an Idea which will revolutionize the World and redeem Humanity, though the memory of him who first promulgated it be utterly forgotten.

LECTURE XXIII.

CIVILIZATION AND NATIONALITY.

THE twenty-second article of my Confession of Faith, the twenty-second principle in the System of Individualism, is the following :—I believe that nations, like Individuals, have their Missions.

No word of the present day has been more lavishly employed, or has degenerated more into a cant, than the word,—Mission. To things the most ridiculous and small, has this holy and significant word been applied. What of ten thousand quackeries has not been dignified with the attribute of a Mission? So far has this gone, that earnest writers of no common kind have in their hatred of humbug of every sort hesitated to use a word which more accurately and comprehensively than any other, would have expressed the idea which they wished to convey. Thus it is, that hatred of falsehood often makes us false, and that we scruple to designate a reality with precision so as to make it more truly and vividly a reality to our fellows, because the word the most suited to our purpose has been tossed to and fro among the pratings and the pretences of the vulgar, the shallow, the hypocritical, and the vain. But what word of potent and pregnant meaning has not encountered a similar fate? And should we not be excluded from speech altogether, if we breathed no words but those which have been unhallowed by sophistry or by silliness? What were the Crusades? Were they not wars, professedly to aid the triumph, to spread the power and the

glory of Religion? But who that knows aught of their history, or of the history of the period when they happened, does not clearly see how earthly were the passions that sent army after army to bleed for the Holy Sepulchre, or to perish of famine by the way? What also was the thirty years' War? What were the plausibilities with which it disguised the havoc, the dismay, the manifold woe which it poured on Germany? What was the battle-shout on both sides, what the fierce and stirring sound that, traversing a whole generation, left blood and bereavement to tell where it had passed? —Religion. And yet is Religion less the sublimest of God's gifts to men, because in these and countless other instances it has been torn from its dwelling on high, to gild, to mask and to sanctify ineffable wretchedness and wrong? Under what banner did the English Aristocracy sham to carry on the conflict with Republican France? Under the banner of Liberty. Yet who, the least informed, is unaware that their fear was not for the freedom of England or of the world, but for their own selfish privileges, endangered by the advance of liberal opinions and rational institutions? But does Liberty cease to be a great fact in the heart of Humanity, and the most glowing and strengthening of the hopes that cheer it on its troublous path, because the base, the cunning, the tyrannical, have given a mock incense to Liberty, when about to murder Liberty's champions, and to turn into curses the blessings which Liberty bestows? For many years the French have been engaged in furious strife with the tribes that inhabit the North Coast of Africa. Now who doubts that the chief if not the only motive by which France is herein urged is ambition? But this it carefully conceals, and ostentatiously proclaims that the gore with which it soaks African sands is the baptism of Civilization, and that when it suffocates a thousand men, women and children in the Dahra cave, and commits kindred atrocities, it is all done for the sake of human progress, and to communicate to the most benighted quarter of the globe, the knowledge and the improvement

which are the heritage of Europe. Because, however, thus made the apology for national aggrandizement and insatiable cupidity, is not Civilization still the grand inspiration of Saint and of Sage, the dream and the faith of the generous and the brave, the common treasury into which are poured the best achievements of the Past, the best ideas of the Present, the divinest prophecies of the future? If then, my friends, Religion, Liberty, Civilization, have met with doom so hard, why should we wonder that Mission should be equally unfortunate? Or why should we be guilty of the monstrous imbecility of refusing to adopt the word Mission, because the imbecile degrade it to the commonest of purposes? What does the word Mission mean? Simply,—The Sending, or the Being Sent. It is equivalent to the word Apostleship, which is found in the Book of Acts, and the Epistles of the Apostle Paul. The Apostles were sent by the authority of Christ, to preach the doctrine of Christ to mankind. Now we have all a nobler apostleship than this. We spring from the fertile lap of Nature, not to disseminate the notions, however beautiful and wise, of a fallible brother, but to be ourselves Revelalings of the Infinite. We are missionaries or the Sent, as Paul was the Apostle or the Sent; not however to combat like him for traditions, but to unfold intuitions. To say that we, and other things inferior or superior to us, have a Mission, is simply to say, that God created us, and sent us into the field of his Providence to accomplish, or to help in accomplishing, some of his marvellous plans, for the happiness of the Universe. In relation to God and to the designs of God, there is nothing, not even the minutest atom that floats in the sunbeam, that is not dowered with a Mission. But in relation to the accidents of their human position, there are many things of whose Mission it would be preposterous to speak. We can discourse of the Mission of things only as they obey, consciously or unconsciously, the great laws, and fulfil the blissful destinies of Nature. Inasfar as they are the instruments of Conventionalism, or of the arti-

ficial arrangements of Society, it is not merely mad but blasphemous to talk of their Mission, since it is changing the Deity into an Omnipotent Maniac to suppose that he has moulded anything for no other object than that of deranging the balance and symmetry of his system, and thwarting and antagonizing his resolves. What men unite in calling the worst agency, accomplishes as much the Will of God, as that which they unanimously pronounce the best; but it does so only in the degree, that it developes natural forces. When, therefore, I assert that nations like Individuals have their Missions, it is not in respect to their hostile attitude, and horrent aspect as separate portions of the Human Race that I make the assertion; it is because, through the whole of their career, or during the most vigorous and glorious season thereof, they manifested some one of the natural attributes of Human Nature in a fashion and to an extent unreached by any other nation. All nations, however unimportant, have a Mission in the sense, that they all cooperate in realizing the Aggregate Mission of Humanity;—but few of them have that Primordial Mission, which my present address aims at exhibiting. For instance, the Scotch and the Irish have the co-operative Mission;—the English alone have a primordial Mission. And a nation may have this primordial Mission from its defects, as much as from its excellences, as is the case with the English. Everything in history leads us to conclude, that the Poles are a gallant and generous people, and far more largely endowed with the qualities which we love, esteem, and admire, than their despots the Russians. Yet the first have had only a cooperative, while the second have a primordial Mission. The shrewdest and maturest historical investigation also shows that many of the nations that flourished in Italy, long before the Roman empire attained its height of power and splendor, were distinguished by a harmony of culture, an exuberance of being, a diversity of manifestation, an originality of genius, which Rome in its best days never reached. Yet they had but a cooperative,

while Rome has had one of the most fulminating and comprehensive of primordial Missions. The quality indeed which elevates any nation to a primordial Mission, may not in itself be such as we respect ; it may be such as we hate, and which in itself is thoroughly hateful ; and yet we may clearly see it working out the wisdom and benevolence of the Supreme, far more completely and effectually, than the most amiable and beautiful of energies. It is not my wish or intention to become the eulogist or apologist of those nations that have had primordial Missions, merely because God has thought fit to endow them with this high privilege. There may be other nations which have not attained to this glory, and whose career has been neither astounding nor illustrious, that may take a deeper grasp of my sympathies, and which I would much more willingly praise.

According to the best division that I can make of primordial Missions, there are fourteen nations in ancient and modern times to which I would allot them.

The first of these is Ancient Egypt. The Mission of this celebrated country was Religion. Not that Religion did not take grand and striking developements elsewhere. But in Egypt it put forth a fullness and fertility of life and manifestation, such as we look for in vain anywhere else. What to the rest of the world has been an occasional employment or a splendid pageant, to the Egyptians was the entire occupation of Existence. There was not a habit among them that had not a religious tinge, nor a science that had not a religious foundation and object, not a private action, however insignificant, nor a plan of government, however trifling, that was not interwoven with Religion. The birth of the Egyptian was linked to a thousand fanciful interpretations of the starry firmament, to all the mystic influences of air, and earth, and ocean ; his life was one long religious act ; and when he died it was Religion that pronounced the doom of his soul, and instead of delivering his body to the corruption of the grave,

stept in to claim it, and, by embalmment, to keep possession of it for thousands of years after death.

The second of the nations that have had a primordial Mission is Greece. The Mission of Greece was Beauty. The life of the Greek was a worship of the Beautiful. In his Games, in his Literature, in the Arts of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture, in his Religion, in his most frivolous amusements, no less than his more serious occupations, the feeling of the Beautiful filled and gladdened him as with the fullness and gladness of rosy and eternal youth. The Greeks were an interesting people, in whatever light we consider them;—interesting, as being the only people of ancient and modern times that made an approach to living naturally; interesting from their patriotic struggles with Persian and other foes; interesting, as being the civilizers of the world, for without them Christianity would have perished in the bud, and Rome would have been nothing but a remorseless slayer of men, bringing no compensation for the slavery that it carried with blood and flame from land to land. But the main interest clinging to the Greeks is, that they made Beauty to dwell as a Divinity in the midst of men.

The third of the nations that have a primordial Mission is the Jews. Their Mission is Faith. They had that Mission three thousand years ago, and they have no less that Mission now that they are scattered far and wide, as outcasts on the face of the earth. A manifold attraction belongs to the Jews. In the first place, they are remarkable as being the only nation in ancient times that had a clear and rational notion of one Spiritual Deity. In the second place, they are remarkable for their hard fate, and for the valor with which they maintained possession of a country, that, from its smallness, offered little but the valor of the people to defend it. In the third place, they are remarkable for their close connection with Christianity, which has changed all the aspects of Modern Civilization. But that for which they are especially remarkable is their

Faith. While a handful of the oppressed in the land of Egypt, and when everything seemed opposed to their deliverance, they yet had faith that they would be delivered. They obeyed the voice of a Great Man, and that faith became reality. When they had escaped from the thralldom of Egypt, and had yet to win by the edge of the sword and by the overcoming of countless difficulties, a permanent dwelling for themselves and their children, they had faith that God would fulfil the promise he had made to their fathers, and give them the land of Canaan. Their faith became a reality. After many and sore vicissitudes, and when they had been repeatedly enslaved, a dream entered into their heart, that a Messiah or Saviour would arise to redeem them. Many false Christs arose among them, and they were doomed to sore and grievous disappointments:—still they believed; no lot, however adverse, could tear their faith in a Messiah from their souls. At last, driven from their homes, and made a mockery and a scorn wherever they went, they have maintained that faith unbroken, undiminished. Nothing has been able to tempt them to abandon it. And doubtless God would not have kept that feeling alive in their hearts, unless he had meant to give it some species of realization. I do not believe that a Messiah will ever appear among them in the sense in which they expect; neither do I believe that they will ever be converted to Christianity, as some zealots conclude; but I believe that some great man, some second Moses, will emerge from obscurity, to accomplish a still grander redemption than the first Moses, to lead them back to Palestine, and, through the foundation of a Kingdom there, to change the destinies of the East.

The fourth of the nations that have had a primordial Mission is Rome. The Mission of Rome was Force. It was meant to show to the world, what energetic will, what unity, earnestness, pertinacity of purpose, could do, in spite of the greatest obstacles. Rome did not conquer the world because it was superior to all other nations in the military art; it

conquered the world because it never despaired. It was often on the brink of ruin ; and it would have fallen as other nations have fallen, if its resolve and its internal resources had not increased in proportion as its external resources diminished. Rome offers an imposing spectacle of physical force ; but it is its moral force, its mental force, creating the physical force, which alone has an interest for the Student of Civilization.

The fifth of the nations that have had a primordial Mission is Arabia. The Mission of Arabia is Miracle,—the doing of that which from its suddenness and singularity transcends the usual experience of men, and seems to pass into the region of the Supernatural. Before the appearance of Mahomet and of the Mahometan Religion, the Arabians had been little heard of. But, twelve hundred years ago, they burst forth from their sands and their rocks, with the Koran in one hand and the sword in the other, conquered a large part of Asia, and threatened to conquer Europe likewise. And their conquests were not like those of the Romans, or like those of any nation that has attained celebrity in the Art of War. They were the lightning flashes of enthusiasm. The Arabians appeared ; and the nation they attacked either did not dare to resist, or it was shivered to pieces in a single battle. And they conquered not merely the body, but also the mind ; they were not content to have nations subject to them unless those nations became like themselves, zealots for the Prophet of Mecca.

The sixth of the nations that have a primordial Mission is Modern Italy. The Mission of this country is Art. Now, the love of Art is a very different thing among the Italians from what it was among the Greeks. The Greeks loved Art because it enabled them to embody the feeling of the Beautiful, to give an abiding shape to the images and sympathies which their intercourse with Nature inspired. But the Italians, far inferior to the Greeks, love Art for its own sake, and, instead of making it what it should always be made, the minister

of Nature and of Beauty, they employ Beauty and Nature as its ministers.

The seventh of the nations that have a primordial Mission is France. This country has distinguished itself in science, literature, philosophy; and as a military nation, perhaps, in modern times, it is the first. But it is not these things which give it a primordial Mission. That Mission is Manners. It is the grand ruler in the empire of Fashion. The French seize with wonderful quickness outward peculiarities. They imitate with a marvellous facility, and whoever imitates with facility is sure to be imitated. They cannot originate in the sublime region of thought, but they are the most inventive of men in those small matters, which, though not constituting the value or happiness of Society, are yet essential to keeping Society together. The conventional observances of all civilized Europe had their birthplace in France; and no one is ignorant that every change even in the unimportant matter of dress has Paris for its source.

The eighth of the nations that have had a primordial Mission is Spain. This is, perhaps, at present the most miserable country in Europe; and yet no country in Europe has contributed so much to the happiness of Man; not by adding, as it once so abundantly did, to the material wealth of this part of the globe, by the treasures which it brought from Mexico and Peru; but by giving far more delightful treasures to the Human Imagination. For the Mission of Spain is Romance. From that land, so often the theatre of appalling and repulsive facts, first came those delicious fictions which, by taking us away from the cold, dull, arid realities of life, help us to create a world for ourselves in revelling in the enchantments of which we can forget the troubles that arise to us, from our own folly, or from the cruelty and ingratitude of mankind.

The ninth of the nations that have a primordial Mission is Germany. The Mission of this country is Thought,—Thought in its most comprehensive sense. It above all other nations

has been pre-eminent for penetrating into the mysteries of the Metaphysical, the Spiritual, the Infinite. Any one of studious habits, who has read the best of English works on the subject of philosophy, can have no idea of the height and depth that the Germans have traversed in search of everlasting truth. And in the great moral and social reformation that awaits Europe, next to the influence of individuals, the Thought of Germany will play the most important part.

The tenth of the nations that have a primordial Mission is England. The Mission of England is Science ; understanding by that word not speculative science, but the application of knowledge and discovery to the purposes of industry in the most gigantic and symmetrical forms.

The eleventh of the nations that have a primordial Mission is Russia. The Mission of Russia is Destiny. It is meant by Providence to show that a nation or an Individual can accomplish what seem impossible things, not from that which usually gives strength to Man,—Free Will,—but from blind obedience to an inexorable fate, and that fate and free will are equally instruments in his hand for working out his sublime and holy purposes.

The twelfth of the nations that have a primordial Mission is China. The Mission of this country is Custom. You are all aware with what pertinacity China has clung to the same social and other institutions and observances for thousands of years ; and you are equally aware that this circumstance has served as a subject of sport to superficial observers. But we cannot suppose that God would allow so many millions of the human race to be shut out century after century from the progress that distinguishes Europe unless he had meant to accomplish some wise purpose by it. That purpose I believe to be, that the futurity of the World will be characterized still more than the Past has been by sudden revolutions, and that as one of the means of preventing mere change for change's sake, China will stand before the eyes of Humanity to show that there is a philosophy in Custom no less than in Progress.

The thirteenth of the nations or countries that have a primordial Mission is India. The Mission of this gorgeous land is Imagination. From its cosmogonies and theogonies, as well as from its physical features, and from the revolutions it has undergone, and is destined to undergo, it will keep fresh the imagination of Europe and of the world, which the rapid march of mere material improvement will tend to render barren.

The fourteenth of the countries that have a primordial Mission is America. Its Mission is Progress. It is meant to offer to Earth a spectacle of what can be accomplished by a people, when putting forth its exuberant being untrammelled by vicious institutions and silly traditions.

One of the future labors of my life will be to illustrate, in a series of lectures, this vast subject of National Missions, of which I have been able to offer you scarcely anything more than a syllabus. In the meantime I trust that what I have just been uttering will not be wholly unsuggestive for your own Individual Missions.

LECTURE XXIV.

ART AND EDUCATION.

THE twenty-third article of my Confession of Faith, the twenty-third principle in the System of Individualism, is the following :—I believe that Art, in its noblest form, is as necessary to the Education of the Individual, and the Education of Humanity, as those things which usually are alone regarded as necessary for the Education of the one and of the other.

Art, in its noblest form, and the Arts, in their ripest, richest manifestation, are not exactly the same thing. The first includes the last, but the last by no means necessitates the first. Indeed, Art, in its noblest form, has yet to be. It supposes such perfect unity with the other agencies of Civilization in their divinest developement, as only the struggles and triumphs of the remote Future can realize. Whereas, at various periods of the world's history, among various nations, and especially among the Greeks, the Arts have gone as near the most beautiful embodiment of the loftiest Ideal as they can ever go again. The Arts belong to Artists; Art belongs to Humanity, but Humanity has not yet entered on its glorious inheritance. Nor will it enter, till the Doctrine of Individuality has produced its most blissful and comprehensive results. And here it is as well to say what I have said before, and may say again, that the Doctrine of Individuality contemplates no immediate revolution in Society. The Prophets of speedy changes always prove to be no prophets

at all. The greater the prophet the more distant must he view and picture the accomplishment of his prophecy. And, perhaps, it may be regarded as a proof that Jesus Christ had not entirely risen above the prejudices of his period and country, that he contemplated and spoke of his religion as destined to produce its sublimest salvations promptly, as inevitably, though every large and enlightened mind is aware that it is only now that his religion is beginning, and that most feebly, to put forth its inmost vitality and transcendent worth. Do I seek to disparage Jesus Christ by this observation? God forbid! The best and the wisest of us are encrusted with prejudices, and he is neither a good nor a wise man who ventures to profess that from prejudice he is utterly free. Jesus had a catholic nature, and he enounced and enforced a catholic doctrine; but as no universal idea in a popular shape had been given to mankind before his appearance, it was impossible to know how long such an idea would be in establishing itself in the world. It is not, therefore, because I pretend to be sager or less the slave of prejudices than he, that I declare that the Doctrine of Individuality will be slow in its progress, but because there gleams before me the experience of eighteen hundred years to prove that the Doctrine of the Cross has tardily marched, and that, consequently, the Doctrine of Individuality must march tardily too. There are some portions, however, of this doctrine certain of a speedier victory than others. What it seeks more directly to effect is the moral transmutation of Society, since the grand curse of the day is the enthrallment of manhood, the sophistication of Conscience through Conventionalism; and since the overthrow of this giant evil will evolve all the blessings which Individualism is fitted to diffuse. My doctrine will work for Religion, for Philosophy, for Æsthetic culture, for the most comprehensive developement of the Human Faculties, when it has taught to each man the lesson of fidelity to his heavenliest instincts and profoundest intuitions. When Man, and the whole relations of Man, have grown so

unnatural as they are at present, the only path back to Nature is through Duty, and it is only the Art, which is the younger sister of Duty, that I should regard or represent as indispensable to the Education of the Individual and the Education of Humanity. Art has hitherto been a gift thrown into the lap of luxury; the Doctrine of Individuality would make it a garland twined round the brow of Heroism, when glad and radiant, bounding from the vanquishment of countless perils and pains. There is talk enough at present about the Arts, a large proportion of it any thing but instructive, however entertaining it may occasionally be. And something is doing, and a good deal promises to be done, to spread a taste for the Arts among the people of England. Far be it from me also, to assail those who are engaged in this work, if inspired by philanthropic motives, and not impelled simply, as is generally the case, by the love of gain. But what to the people of England, unless their moral nature, as a people, is previously regenerated, will the Arts be, but roses strewn on the million victims which Omnipotent Mammon tramples under his remorseless foot? The creation of Society, and the regeneration of Society, require precisely the same agencies, but in the latter case the order of their appearance is reversed. Most of you are acquainted with my little book called, *The Agents of Civilization*, in which, though there is much raw, rude, and sketchy, a tinge of the grandiloquent, and one or two deeper tinges of the intolerant, there is nothing that I would wish essentially to change. Now, in this little book, is traced the sequence of agencies that make and mould the world when Society is in the process of Creation, the last agency being martyrdom. When, however, Society is artificialized, and demands regeneration, with martyrdom must the regeneration begin, ending where the creation of Society began, Art being in both cases an intermediate step.

If you doubt whether martyrdom must herald Art in the regeneration of Society, you have only to look at Italy, whose Mission among primordial national Missions is,—Art. Has

Arts saved this lovely land from the deepest degeneracy? In Italy does not Art usurp the place of the moral and the useful, of manly dignity and self-respect of valorous self-reliance, of everything, from domestic comfort and material improvement up to the most illustrious and magnanimous virtues? Italy doubtless contains the elements of a great nation, of a nation destined to play an important part in the drama about to open on Europe. But it is doomed to a very subordinate position as long as the Fine Arts continue so exclusively the inspiration of its people. As long as they are so much a luxury, they cannot be an education, either for the Individual or the Community. It were better that the Italians should lose altogether their taste for the Fine Arts, than that they should continue in their present effeminate and paralytic condition; and even if no baptism but that of blood can cleanse them, and no voice but that of War can rouse them, welcome these, however horrible, if they can prepare a way rugged and awful as it may be for martyrdom, to accomplish the national redemption.

If in Italy, my friends, the Fine Arts are made, by the Italians themselves, the substitutes for stalwart and heroic virtue, in Germany they are made, by the various governments, the substitute for Liberty. The petty despots of Germany try every trick to hinder the longing for freedom among their subjects, or at all events to keep the longing from organizing itself into a stubborn reality. And their tricks are tolerably successful. For the Germans though great in thought, are not great in action, at least in that spontaneous action which alone deserves to be accounted national glory, and which characterises the history of England and of France. The Germans have from time to time done great things, but never except when urged on by some resistless necessity,—and then they have been truly sublime. But even when they do great things, there seldom follows therefrom any abiding and beneficial result for them as a nation. More than thirty years ago, they rose with overwhelming vigor, and with a

wild blaze of enthusiasm, to crush Napoleon. And after he had spent his strength in Spain and in Russia this was no difficult matter. From the defeat of this extraordinary Man, the Germans promised themselves, and their peddling pedantic tyrants promised them, countless blessings ; a sweeping away of feudal abominations, a Free Press, improved municipal institutions, representative government, and an adaptation, as far as practicable, of their whole social and political life, to the ideas of the nineteenth century, rather than to the traditions of the Middle Ages. How signally they have been disappointed, how deplorably they have been duped, needs not be told. They now discover that their courage and energy and generous renouncement were lavished, not for their own emancipation, but for the aggrandizement of their rulers. And even the benefits that their rulers confer upon them, meagre as they are, and hampered by manifold restrictions, are not dictated by an enlightened policy or a desire for the happiness and progress of their subjects, but by a wish to perpetuate their own selfish privileges and iniquitous dominion. However subtle their game may be, whether it is a game that can long be successfully played in face of the mighty aspirations that are traversing the world, and fermenting in its remotest depths, is doubtful. The probability is that it will only delay the ruin of Kings, to make that ruin the more effectual at last. Him who thwarts our dearest purposes, and who pertinaciously hurls at us the fiercest malignity of his revenge, we may pardon ; but we cannot pardon him who confers upon us a boon, however desirable, only in order that he may the more completely make us the instruments of his selfishness and ambition. And nations may submit for awhile, with marvellous patience, to him who is frankly, and without disguise, their oppressor, and who employs no fine words and ingenious sophistries to mask and palliate his cruel acts ; but him they will never forgive who

cal progress, only to make their thralldom less palpably repulsive, that it may seize and hold them with a more stifling and tenacious grasp. For the despots of Germany there is, therefore, a fearful retribution, not for their past wickedness, some part of which may be excused on the score of ignorance, but for their Jesuitical attempt to hoodwink their people by trickeries borrowed from courtiers and priests, and which apply the holiest names to the vilest things. The people's cry is evermore for Liberty; the reply of the Government is,—We shall not give you liberty, not because we grudge you liberty, but because we are afraid you would injure yourselves by the possession of that to which you have never been accustomed; but we shall give you the results of Liberty, at least what we consider the only valuable results of Liberty; we shall give you material comfort, education, museums of art, plenty of books, that is to say, when we have inspected them, and seen that there is nothing there dangerous to our craft; we shall give you facilities of commercial intercourse and means of commercial enterprize: what more could you desire; what more could Liberty give you; come, then, be brethren, and live as brethren in contentment and unity; and we shall be your fathers, anxious only for your welfare; for what object can we have in wishing to be your rulers, but that your manifold enjoyment may be increased? The people of Germany have not yet said, for they are not all yet wise enough to say,—Do not pat our cheek and smirk in our faces, merely that you may the better rob and stab us; either rule us as we wish to be ruled, or do not rule us at all. There are among them those who are wise enough to say this, and bold enough to say it; and in due time they will make their countrymen as wise and as bold as themselves. They will teach their countrymen to say to their despots—Hark, we yearn for all the blessings which you are now conferring upon us, but we yearn for liberty more: we want Education, we want Art in its noblest form, we want whatever may make us great and

noble as a nation, but we want it not as a substitute for, but as a consequence of, Liberty; we do not want one good to be the compensation for another good; but every good to be the cause and the consequence of every other; we do not want Knowledge to do the work that Ignorance has formerly done; we do not want to seize the scientific secrets of earth, and sky, and ocean, simply that we may be hypocrites as well as slaves. To utter this language will require Martyrs and Martyrdom. And when the Martyrs and the Martyrdom come, then will the regeneration of Germany begin. And, in the contest which the appearance of Martyrs and Martyrdom will not fail to bring, all which the Governments of Germany have done for Education and the Arts may be swept away, and it may seem as if Barbarism anew were about to deluge that land to which Europe owes so much of its civilization. But if you consider well the principle which I am this evening enforcing, you will see that there is no fear of such a result. You will see that Martyrdom will lead to a true and manly Education, and to Art in its noblest form. You will see that where Liberty is not, Nature cannot be, and that where Nature is not, neither Education nor Art can exist; at least such Education and such Art as will thoroughly raise man to a consciousness of his divinity.

In France, the Fine Arts are neither the substitute for Virtue, as in Italy, nor the substitute for freedom, as in Germany, but still they are far from fulfilling that Mission which I allot to Art in its noblest form. They are there social graces and the ministers of Manners, not those Harmonisers of the Spiritual and the Material, of the Divine and the Human, which it is the object of Art in its noblest form to be. They help life among that interesting but rather frivolous people to roll smoothly and prettily, instead of marching sublimely, as Art should as the companion of Duty. The French will never permit themselves to be befooled as the Germans are at present by their government. They will

else which they consider equally or more valuable. But still in the progress of Education and the Fine Arts among them, unaccompanied by a thorough regeneration, they may see the progress of a true civilization, when it is the progress of a false. They will, therefore, need, like the Germans and the Italians, Martyrs to rise up among them and to lead them through the rough and thorny path of Duty to Art in its noblest form.

I am not without hope, that England, through the gate of Duty and Martyrdom, may reach Art in its noblest form, and that true Education of the Individual and of Humanity, of which Art in its noblest form is so important an element; I am not without hope, that England will reach these sooner than Germany, Italy, and France; because here the Fine Arts have never had a dominion in the popular mind, and in the popular taste and habits. That which to the English has proved a reproach, will, I believe, in the end prove their salvation. It has been objected to them, that they are so wholly absorbed by trading and commercial pursuits, as to pay no attention to the higher embellishments of existence, for, with the exception of ballad music, the Fine Arts have been chiefly left in England to Artists and the Wealthy. Now, in one respect, this is a great misfortune, and accounts for much that is repulsive in the English character, but in another respect I see in it the dawn of a mighty salvation. If the English had for centuries enjoyed those softening and social influences, which proceed from the Fine Arts, the terrible contrast between the Spiritual and the Material, and which is the consequence of such gigantic mechanical apparatus, and such combined and colossal industry, this contrast would not have been felt. But in the best minds that England has at present it is this contrast which has urged them on to the vocation of prophets. Now these Moral and Spiritual Reformers are all striving to make this contrast more profoundly felt by the mass of the community. And they are not laboring in vain. In spite of the pursuit of

wealth which continues as furious as ever ; in spite of the mad railway gambling and similar exhibitions, it is certain, that the very excess of Material energy and enterprise, in which the English are revelling, is producing a disgust at the Material itself, and exciting a yearning for the noblest revealings of the Spiritual. What will the effect of that yearning be? First of all, a wide and desolating scepticism, but afterward the birth and growth of that martyr aspiring and martyr resolve which will begin the Regeneration of England, and through this regeneration conduct to that true Education, and that Art in its noblest form, which have never yet been offered as a spectacle to Earth. And it is a glad thought, a thought that rises far above a vulgar and narrow patriotism, that England will begin that new civilization which is founded on and emanates from the system of Individualism. In the mean time, it is certain that the Government of England will imitate the Governments of Germany, in making Art and Education mere government tools. The call for National Education is too loud to be much longer resisted, and Government, in yielding to the cry, will yield not in order to Educate but in order to enslave. But I do not think that we have much to dread on this point. For in England there is great watchfulness over the actions of Government, and with all the faults of England, it can proudly boast that it allows a freedom in the expression of opinion which few other countries possess. Though, therefore, I doubt not that the Government will be partially successful, in making National Education an instrument for perpetuating its own selfish dominion, yet I do not believe that it will be so successful as to retard for any considerable time the commencement of the moral revolution which is to conduct through the grandeurs of Martyrdom to Art in its noblest form. And when that Art arrives to bless England, and Europe, and the world, it will not be as many might expect, an exclusive dominion given to Art. Even if nothing were added to the existing triumphs of Art, the proposition which I this evening enounce and

advocate would be equally true ; in the same way as it would be true, that poetry is yet to play a more important part in the agencies of Civilization than it has hitherto played, even if not another line of poetry were written. What the Future is to do is to take Art out of the hands of Artists, and Poetry out of the exclusive possession of Poets, and to give them as the common gift, and blessing, and culture of the Community. In the meantime, my friends, it is evident that you can best pioneer that Education of the Individual and that Education of Humanity, of which Art in its noblest form is so important an element, not by dabbling in the Fine Arts, but by putting on that Martyr spirit which is to begin in England the moral regeneration of the world.

LECTURE XXV.

THE POSITIVE TEACHING OF THE TRUTH.

THE twenty-fourth article of my Confession of Faith, the twenty-fourth principle in the System of Individualism, is the following :—I believe that in seeking to disseminate Truth, we should confine ourselves chiefly to positive teaching ; not moving to the onslaught of errors, unless these hamper our free path as disseminators of the Truth.

By truth here, my friends, I do not mean the traditions which we have received from others, however much these may correspond to certain realities in ourselves, but the results at which we have arrived at any particular period of our history through the free and natural developement of our faculties. Unless we interfere with its growth, or allow some of our brethren to interfere with it, our Individuality as Individuals is always growing. Now truth simply expresses our consciousness of the successive steps through which we pass in the harmonious unfolding of our aggregate powers.* It follows that what may be truth to us to-day may not be truth to us to-morrow, not because we are the dupes of ceaseless falsehoods, but because our attitude toward ourselves and God and the Universe is continually changing. Any other notion of Truth than this leads at once to the most unsparing intolerance, an intolerance which will find the means of persecuting in some shape, though it may not have the strength to erect inquisitions, and to torture or slay the heretical. The pursuit of Truth as an abstraction may, to the metaphysical mind, be a pleasing, but to the man earnestly seeking to

realize his manhood it can never be a very profitable, employment, for it severs him at once from the great vitalities and movements of existence, and sends him to commune with the ghosts of dead philosophers rather than with the roscate hues and healthy exuberance and manifold mysteries of Creation. Thus torn from himself, and from whatever may minister appropriate sustenance to the whole of his capacities, where or how is he to obtain a knowledge of the Truth? In the retreats of the learned, Truth may be systematized, or rather the various notions which men have formed regarding Truth may be classified, but there assuredly Truth was never found. Through action, still more than through thought, is Truth obtained. And, therefore, those who commerce with nothing but the figments of their own brain are least of all the fittest to gain the Truth. Their speculations may be prodigiously subtle, their theories marvellously ingenious, their logic overwhelming, their acuteness piercing as the thunderbolt; but if Truth mean the consciousness of our natural relations toward the Infinitude of Things, all such elaborate and erudite ponderings are but splendid fallacies, honest sophistries, in which the Sophist is himself the most deceived. One of the most illustrious sons of France, and whose writings and hypotheses have exerted a great influence on the tendency and results of modern enquiry, Descartes, states in one of his works, that in order to denude himself of his ancient errors and to acquire the Truth, he resolved to isolate himself from all external influences, and to seek in the solitude of his own spirit the purest conception, the completest comprehension, the most radiant solution of that miraculous problem, The World, which it was possible for his meditations to seize. This resolution seems to me preposterous in the extreme. Since Truth could be to Descartes only that which it is to all of us, his natural position as a Man, and his clear knowledge of that position, how monstrous to suppose that he could acquire Truth by making his position falser and more unnatural than it was before! And this he was obviously doing, when, disgarnishing himself

of his humanhood, and of all that warm and vivid immensity of which his humanhood was the centre, he buried himself in the dungeon of frigid formulas. The error of Descartes is the error of almost all thinkers, they foolishly believing that Truth is the prerogative of the scholar alone, whereas it is the heritage of every Individual who is content to let his bosom and the whole vast circle of the Outward be spontaneous and melodious reciprocities. Though, however, my friends, it is not through metaphysics, or through any of the pedantries of the schools, that Truth can be acquired, but simply through the closer and closer approximation to harmony with Nature, still his Education as an Individual wants an important element who has not at some period of his career occupied himself with metaphysical researches, not so much on account of the discipline of the intellect which these are supposed to give, as of the profounder impression of the grandeur of God's boundless kingdom which they never fail to confer. None feels God less than the mere metaphysician ; but none can feel him aright in all his wondrous majesty who has not devoted some portion of his time to metaphysical contemplations. And I believe that this metaphysical phase would visit each of our brethren, even the humblest in mental energy, and grasp as naturally and as certainly as those romantic visions, which, in early youth, are a universal glory and delight, if Society did not step in with its hardening, narrowing, fettering habits and prejudices at the very moment the mind is about to expand and to ramify. Society renders us superficial by rendering us artificial, and it is difficult to say whether the superficialism or the artificialism which it bestows upon us is the more pernicious gift. Whatever of natural is in us, how deep it is, so deep that no thought of ours or of others can fathom it ! Say not, then, my friends, that in order to accomplish that metaphysical culture which continued for a longer or shorter time, I regard as indispensable to an ideal perfectibility such as I have often pictured, you must make some violent and gigantic effort. You have but to draw aside the slime which the filth

of worldly contact has accumulated upon the fountain of your being, and gazing into the pellucid depths of this, you will behold your own image, which is the image of your God, and, hovering round that image, revealings and suggestions numberless. If the pursuit and the attainment of Truth and metaphysical introspection, which, when a culture, and not an employment, is a potent agency in that attainment, if these, rightly viewed, are not a royal domain for philosophers, but the common realm of all who seek to unfold their manhood naturally, equally far is the Teaching of Truth from being the mission of a favored few, raised above the rest by their talents and acquirements. Every man is a prophet to others who is a priest to himself. Truth being the consciousness of our natural position as children of Nature, every one who utters to his fellows this consciousness, and in any mode makes manifest to them this position, is a Teacher of the Truth. The Greatest Teacher of Truth, the Greatest Prophet, has always been, and will always be, he who has a more natural position and a clearer consciousness thereof than any of his contemporaries. Whatever his excellences or his defects otherwise, it is that which puts him at the head of Earth's moral and spiritual revolutions. And he will conquer this supremacy for himself, in spite of all obstacle and disaster, with an ease and rapidity which seem astonishing to the vulgar herd of heroes who riot in The grand secret of his strength and success is found the principle which I am here this evening to illustrate. However earnest his zeal, however electric and contagious, how much soever his deeds and words may rouse ideas, resolves, aspirings which, chilled into torpor by the touch of Custom, have been slumbering in the heart of the entire community, still it is because he assumes no antagonistic attitude, and seeks for nothing but scope for the growth of his Individuality, that he wins his way to, and rules with a benignant lustre over, the promptest sympathies and most sacred emotions of his race. He gains a far wider and more enduring domi-

nion than warriors, simply because he seeks no dominion and employs no hostile weapon to seize it. His kingdom comes of itself, and as a natural consequence of his natural developement as an Individual. It is not for the Teacher of Truth's sake, but for the Truth's sake itself, that I insist so strenuously on the positive enunciation of the Truth. It is not that I would save his vocation as a prophet from annoyances and discomforts which otherwise would befall it, it is not that I would snatch his head from the martyr's crown of thorns, but that Truth may acquire a more embracing, pervading, and blissful sway. He is little capable of diffusing martyr beatitudes who is not fitted and willing to bear the martyr's pangs. And if the martyr's doom burst not on him in one aspect of dread, it will assail him in another. But it is that the Truth may spread, and, spreading, redeem, that I recommend the positive Teaching of the Truth. The mere negation of Falsehood, the mere assault upon Error, have never yet produced one single hallowing change pregnant with abiding happiness. They generate changes which promise much, but how badly is the promise kept! In the first burst of enthusiasm it may seem as if woe and guilt were never to have a dwelling on Earth again. But when the rapture of the Triumph is over, the benefit which the Triumph was expected to bestow is generally over too. And what other result could follow? How can that which begins in passion evolve the Divine? The wrath of Man worketh not the righteousness of God; but what are the negation of Falsehood and the hostility to Error, when they assume a missionary form, but the wrath of Man? But when we teach Truth positively, we begin in love, a love for the Truth itself, which we seek to diffuse, and in love for our fellow creatures whom the Truth is to bless; and the end will correspond to the beginning; what was commenced in affection, cannot fail to create both holiness and joy. For, my friends, it ought never to be forgotten, that Truth is not valuable on its own account, but solely by reason of the felicity which it is fitted to bring.

If it could be proved that Falsehood and Error created a greater amount of Happiness than Truth, then it would be the duty of every philanthropist to leave their empire undisturbed. And I should feel it my duty this moment to desist from the energetic enunciation of those principles which for many years have occupied my every idea and activity, if I could be convinced that their diffusion in the world would lead to the augmentation rather than the diminution of human misery. It would avail nothing to me that I had the firmest persuasion of their truth abstractedly considered, unless I conceived them to be dowered with regenerating and gladdening influences. The rule of action which I take for myself is, that the teaching of a new doctrine is not necessarily a warfare with existing faiths, but rather an addition to them, and that I, in seeking to make this addition, do not wish to gratify my childish whims as a theorist, but to add to the sum of enjoyment in the universe. And well were it if this rule were always followed. If it were, the world would never again present the hideous spectacle of convulsion and turmoil, arising from political and religious excitement. It may be boldly asserted, and I could summon all History as a witness to prove the assertion, that never a single war or a single violence has arisen from the simple enunciation of the Truth, as the Truth. In the war of opinion, which so often ends in the warfare of blood, it is the innovator invariably that strikes the first blow. No martyr, no prophet, no Teacher of the Truth, ever yet suffered death, or punishments worse than death, for the crime of which his persecutors pretended to accuse him. It was some earlier delinquency which constituted his real guilt in their eyes. In effect every Teacher of Truth puts himself forth antagonistically before putting himself forth positively. The best way of being good is taught us by instinct, but the best way of doing good can only be learned from Experience. In youth it is natural, most natural, that our indignation at every shape and aspect of Falsehood should be intense, and it is natural that what we strongly feel, we should strongly utter. Seeing the manifold

mischievous that results from Error, Superstition, and Ignorance, it is not strange that we should almost wish to bring down fire from Heaven to smite the iniquity we abhor. All openness and sincerity ourselves, we are prompt to consider every manifestation of insincerity, however small, as the darkest wickedness, and to brand it with our fierce words accordingly. We hurl, therefore, our anathemas to the right hand and to the left, thinking that we are helping most effectually, to redeem the world by lashing with unsparing scourge its current hypocrisies. But a time comes when we pause in our career and discover that all this furious assault on Error and Falsehood has produced little benefit to that Humanity which we love so warmly and so deeply, while it has been pregnant in boundless evil to ourselves. It has transmuted us from the most affectionate of beings into mere gladiators, fighting rather because we delighted in the clash of the combat, than because we ardently wished the good cause to prevail. But yet it is a necessary part in the Education of our Nature. We could never know the amount of good we can do positively unless the disappointments of years were there to show us how little good we can do when revelling in a reckless antagonism. There are certain ordinary, commonplace men, who never escape from this arid and ungenial region of antagonism.

- With them the love of Man has never been the leading inspiration of their existence. They hate Error and Falsehood, not so much on account of the wretchedness which they may suppose these to produce, as because their neighbors have the audacity to cherish different notions for themselves. Their first motive of action has been bigotry, and that continues to be their motive to the last. Now, pure bigotry does not suppose either the love of Truth or the love of those whom Truth is to bless, but simply an enormous self-esteem. A bigot may really have very little faith and very little religion, but he considers it unpardonable impudence that any one should presume to know anything better than himself. You will invariably find that a bigot is not a bigot solely in that in which his bigotry is the most conspicuous, but that in a

thousand little trifling affairs in which you come into contact with him, his bigotry is equally intense. There are many men also, my friends, who are not what may be called bigots, who continue till the end of their days to cultivate the barren heath of antagonism, even though they may have abundant proof that it yields no nourishing food for the soul of their brother. These are they who have great controversial powers but who, whenever they desert the arena of controversy, become like Samson shorn of his locks. Now such men are not like the bigots, for they love Man, and they love Truth, and they rejoice in human progress. But then they have accustomed themselves to controversial triumphs, which they have not enough of nobleness of nature to forego.

A very striking illustration of this is a celebrated preacher with whom I once was intimate, and whose heartiness and hospitality I shall always gratefully honor. This man has much, both natural and acquired, fitting him for being an effective speaker; and, in some respects, he is the best preacher I ever heard. He has also a fervent faith in that about which he so earnestly declaims. He professes the broadest democratic principles, and I am quite sure that he does not profess them for the sake of popularity. But joined to this man's good qualities, both as a man and a preacher, there is the strong love of human applause; and it so happens that this applause has been most lavishly given for his controversial preaching. This is the poison cup that taints all that is best and noblest in the Man. He is not an original thinker; he is not acute or profound; he is not eminent as a scholar. Still he would far surpass the majority of his fellows as a positive Teacher of the Truth if he had self-denial to become so. But this self-denial I know he will never exert. He will die as he has lived, a brilliant giver of knock-down blows to Popular Delusions, when he might have been one of the Prophets of Humanity working for a redemption far higher and far holier than aught that sectarian squabbings can evolve.

To prove, my friends, how little mere antagonism can accomplish, you have only to look at Voltaire, who surpassed all men in ancient and modern times as a fighter against Error and Falsehood. This man lived eighty-four years, and during half a century before his death had more influence over the mind of France and of Europe than any other Individual. His genius was of the most versatile kind, and there are few departments of literature into which he did not venture, and venture with success. His works alone would suffice to make a library. His chief attribute was his wit, and wit is a very dangerous companion for any man. Voltaire's slashed to the heart of a subject like a Damascus blade. And though he occasionally used this formidable weapon to gratify his spite, yet it cannot be denied that he generally employed it in the cause of Humanity. No absurdity, no wrong in the religious, and political, and social institutions then existing, which he did not assail, and assail with resistless effect. And those things to whose immediate overthrow he did not contribute, he was one main cause of ultimately destroying. His writings were a main agency in bringing about the French revolution. Now, Voltaire did not live in vain. He did good unquestionably; he greatly contributed, among other things, to the spread of tolerance in the world. But from all the mighty annihilations that he directly or indirectly wrought, how small has the benefit been? The French revolution chiefly failed because it was so exclusively destructive; because it sought to overthrow evil rather than to realize the spirit of good. And in doing so it mainly followed the philosophy of Voltaire.

Quite different, my friends, has been the fate of Voltaire's famous rival, Rousseau. This Man was ill understood and ill treated during his life, and Posterity has scarcely shown a greater disposition to do him justice. Whatever may be thought of his character as a Man, however, or of the theories that he taught, he differed from Voltaire in being not a mere destructive, not a mere gladiator, but mainly a posi-

tive teacher. He spoke against evil, where evil existed, in such a prominent and offensive shape, that it seemed to demand every earnest man's anathema ; but the grand object of his life was to bring certain definite and positive principles before the attention of mankind. The consequence is, that while Voltaire's writings, as a whole, are falling more and more into neglect, Rousseau's have the same freshness they ever had ; and benignant influences continue to go forth from them to mingle with the other influences which are helping on Man's salvation.

Contemporary with Voltaire and Rousseau were two men, on both of whom Voltaire would probably have looked with great contempt,—John Wesley and Emanuel Swedenborg. Now, John Wesley is no great favorite of mine, but in this he is a favorite, that his teaching was, in the main positive ; that though he attacked errors and falsehoods, yet he principally sought to establish certain definite and fertile facts in the hearts of his followers. What is the result ? For half a century after its origin, Methodism was unquestionably a great blessing to England ; and though now it is putting forth aspects of a repulsive kind, yet he must be singularly prejudiced who will not admit that Methodism has been an important element in the religious life of our country. Swedenborg was a much nobler man than Wesley, and aimed at far higher objects. He enounced doctrines which have been thought ridiculous, because they have been badly understood. Like Wesley, however, he was a positive, not an antagonistic, teacher ; and though I think that there is a far grander philosophy than his ; yet, as his followers continue to increase, I am inclined to think that his system is destined to work an immense transformation in the religious mind of the European community. Let these examples, my friends, which could be easily multiplied, suffice to teach you that all great, and abiding, and blissful results for the progress of Civilization have been wrought by Positive Teaching of the Truth, and by that alone.

LECTURE XXVI.

THE TRUE ESTIMATE OF RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

THE Twenty-fifth article of my Confession of Faith, the twenty-fifth principle in the System of Individualism, is the following:—I believe that in estimating the value of any institution, political or religious, we should judge it, not by our mere understanding; but by our entire Individuality; and in the whole of its various relations, not by principles and practices which our understanding or our wit can easily dissect.

Each man's life, and yours, my friends, is a curious compound of the excessively natural and the excessively unnatural. And the one is the consequence and the cause of the other. Enthralled by the artificial, the conventional, in almost all things, we rush, from time to time, passionately and recklessly into the natural, not to honor Nature, but to glut our burning desires, long cowed into decency by the spying glance of the World; and, soon tired of the ignoble revel, we as gladly hasten back to our habitual slavery as we recently burst from

Thus, that in which we obey no law but our impulses is as audacious, perhaps a more insulting, rebellion against Nature than that in which we make ourselves the merest serfs of a foreign will and a foreign opinion. So preposterously natural and so unseasonably natural in our existence, what else can we be in our judgments? That our being and our manifestations should per-

fectly respond to the divine harmonies of the Universe; and yet that our appreciation of other beings and of other manifestations should jar therewith, is a glaring impossibility. He who lives naturally will be the promptest and shrewdest to discern what is natural and what unnatural in Society. That he may not have the power vividly to picture what he clearly sees and strongly feels, proves nothing. Many have doubtless had Shakespeare's miraculous perspicacity into the complicated motives and commingling elements of Human Nature who had not Shakespeare's dramatic genius to color and to group the boundless diversities of human movement and action. Insight and utterance are generally possessed by the same individual in inverse proportions. A man often speaks fluently because he thinks superficially, and another man's deficiencies of speech may potently contribute to his depth of thought by increasing his natural tendency to self-analysis. Besides, it is not needed that the man who, living naturally, forms natural, that is, acute judgments of the infinite environment of things, should give to his judgments an artistic expression. It is enough, that as his judgments are as natural as his life, the language in which his judgments are conveyed should be as natural as they, however uncouth and abrupt it may be. Truth hath ever a beauty of its own, a beauty which, if not visible to all, is ever visible to the truthful; and it is such beauty that the spontaneous language of a man's judgments, who lives naturally, will never fail to possess. However, such language startles the ear of the fastidious, not so much from its rudeness as from its rarity. If the men who live naturally are few, the men who are capable of natural judgments are equally few, and in a still greater measure as regards institutions than persons. Skilful as may be the plausibilities, cunning as may be the hypocrisies of our fellows, yet so constant is our contact with them that they cannot in general deceive us for more than a very brief period. For a season a charlatan may pass for patriot and a villain, for a saint, yet bye and

bye, some incident occurs to show mankind how much they have been deceived, and the deceiver is indignantly dashed to the ground. For a season, also, a man endowed with every noble and amiable quality may be calumniated and persecuted, and his best deeds made to appear the blackest crimes against society, and even his life may be sacrificed to satiate the vengeance of his foes. But the hour of retribution comes, when the living man or his injured memory receives every compensation which the regret or gratitude of mankind can offer. With few exceptions we are known for what we are. We may impose upon a small circle as long as we choose to carry on the imposture; but to impose on the community is a far more difficult task, and one whose iniquity punishes itself by the very extent and elaboration of effort that it requires. I am no believer, therefore, in the characters which are such favorites with the poets and novelists, in men of consummate deceit, and whose success is equal to their ability. I deny, first of all, that such characters exist. At all events, if they exist, I have never been able to discover them. Hypocrites I have certainly met, and not a few; but, instead of possessing that cool temperament and those easily bridled passions which are usually associated with hypocrisy, they were remarkable rather for the warmth of their temperament and the fierceness of their passions. And it is a wise ordinance of God that it is so. The hot blood in their veins is meant to throw them off their guard, and to unmask to the world the store of trickeries which they nurture in their hearts. Unless the hypocrite had ardent and impetuous elements boiling in his being he could neither have motive to action nor energy to realize his purposes. But, in the second place, I deny that even if such characters existed, they could be so successful as writers of fiction represent. The tendency of excessive hypocrisy is to outmanœuvre itself; it sets so many traps that it forgets the half of them, and falls into one that it had formerly placed, at the very moment that it is setting another. Besides, if the mass of the community

did not see through the designs of a hypocrite, there are on all sides rivals as cunning as himself, ever on the watch to detect him, and employing unseen agencies to spy him on scenes where they cannot themselves directly come. That a man may have worldly prosperity in spite of his hypocrisy is altogether another matter. Of this there are examples in abundance. But that very prosperity, so far from aiding him the more signally to play the hypocrite, may only make it the more difficult for him to do so. The Roman Emperor, Tiberius, a base and cruel wretch, was one of the most finished hypocrites that ever lived. Stained with foulest crime, and wallowing in grossest sensuality, he yet wished, and attempted to make, his worst vices pass for virtues; and whenever he planted a deadly stab in the bosom of Roman liberty he got a corrupt and cowardly senate to praise the deed as if it were an act of divinest patriotism. But are we to regard the crawling eulogies of the senate, or the hireling shouts of the most degraded portion of the Roman people, as proofs that Tiberius was not thoroughly known, and his savage deeds not detested by the Romans, and that he passed for what he pretended, and not for what he was? They prove directly the contrary. For why should he lean on the shoulders of obsequious courtiers, or feed himself with the breath of a rabble, if he could obtain the frank suffrages and the fervent love of an entire nation? I recollect reading, many years ago, the work of a French author who has recently obtained great celebrity, Eugene Sue. The hero of this work is a man who, from youth to age, revels in every pleasure, tastes of every rapture that earth can afford. He is a most accomplished hypocrite, yet no one ever suspects his hypocrisy, and, after a course of inordinate prosperity, and having encountered scarcely a single obstacle or disappointment, he dies with the reputation of a good man. Now, I maintain that this representation is an atrocious calumny on Providence, and a flagrant violation of Truth. That such a man as this romance pictures could have obtained as great an amount of voluptuous enjoyment

and worldly success I admit. But that the mass of mankind could have regarded him as virtuous, and honored him as such, that not one of the thousand wrongs he had committed, should ever have been known, that the web of hypocrisy, which he so ingeniously wove, should have never been torn, is preposterous. To pass to a far mightier and more famous than Eugene Sue; it has always seemed to me a defect in Shakespeare's Othello, one, however, of the sublimest of his creations, that Iago is represented as one of the most accomplished of hypocrites, yet no one seems to have suspected his hypocrisy till a terrible catastrophe unveils it in all its magnitude. It is evident to all who know anything of Human Nature, that Iago could not suddenly become such a proficient in hypocrisy, and if he had always been a proficient, he must have been known for such, so as to prevent any but the merest fool from reposing confidence in him. But, though hypocrisy can only for a limited period, and within a limited range, play its hateful part, though most men are estimated for what they are by the community, however much they may shine as the idols of sects and parties, and though all of us, however undiscerning, are yet able to seize, by a sort of instinct, the peculiarities of our neighbors; far otherwise is it when we come to grapple with institutions. There our judgments are often at fault, and will nearly always be at fault, unless we adopt the plan, the only plan by which a just and comprehensive judgment can be obtained, that of living naturally. Otherwise we are sure to estimate all other institutions but those with which we ourselves are connected, or which realize certain theories to which we are ardently attached, by the mere understanding, while our favorite institutions secure our warmest adhesion through every element of our nature, except our understanding. We thus judge without any modifying tolerance and any large appreciation, and our love for our favorite institutions is weak and childish, since it is utterly without discernment. There is, therefore a double reason why we should endeavor to judge institutions by our entire Individuality, not

by our mere understanding; the first is, that we may do ample justice to other institutions besides our own; the second is, that we may love our own institutions, not with a mawkish fondness, but with a manly robustness. No institution, my friends, religious or political, should be judged by the mere understanding. The entire elements of Man have had a share in its creation, and, therefore, the entire elements of Man should join in estimating its worth. It may at first have arisen to satisfy the lowest portion of Man's being, and marched and marched till it gathered round it the power to satisfy his highest aspirings and yearnings. His feelings, his imagination, his fears, his hopes, his instincts, his intuitions, his mystic sympathies, all that by which he feels himself the child of Death, all that by which he feels himself the child of Immortality, these, and a thousand thoughts and emotions too fugitive to seize, too profound to analyse, or too sacred to disclose, may have had, must have had, far more to do with the formation of the institution than the mere understanding; and therefore if the mere understanding attempt to judge it, it will notably fail; it will commit either a signal blunder, or a signal injustice, perhaps both.

Take, for instance, the Roman Catholic Church. There is scarcely a thing connected with this Church which may not be made to appear pitiably absurd, if judged by the mere understanding. How absurd, it may be said, that so many millions of Christian men, some of them exceedingly enlightened, should submit themselves in spiritual things to the dictate of a poor old doting man at Rome! How absurd the interminable ceremonies of the Church! How absurd celibacy! How absurd transubstantiation! How absurd the sanctity which devotees attach to the bones or other relics of people whom they call saints! How absurd that thousands and thousands of men and women should shut themselves up from all commerce with their fellow beings but what is unavoidable, under the notion that they are best serving God

by abstaining from all intercourse with the creatures that he has made ! We forget that this Catholic Church has taken eighteen hundred years to grow ; that it was the heir, not only of Mosaic institutions, but of Heathenism ; that many of the ages which it traversed were ages of Barbarism, when the will of the strongest was law ; that while it has served as a spiritual guide to each successive generation, each successive generation has left its impress upon it ; that while all around it was imperfection, and all the social and political institutions of the countries where it swayed rude in the extreme, it could not be expected to reach a perfection in contrast with the whole constitution of the community ; and that it has served to civilize, as undoubtedly it has served potently to civilize, Europe, and, through Europe, the world. Those who judge the Catholic Church by the mere understanding, forget, not only what it has done for religious culture, when no other source for such culture existed, but what it has done for every other species of culture. It has saved for us, and not for us, but for posterity, the immense and inestimable treasures of Greek and Roman literature. It kept alive, even in the rudest times, a taste for Art, when everything seemed warring with the feeling of the beautiful. To it we owe the sublimest music in the world. To it we owe those noble structures, those venerable cathedrals, which reveal to us, through our religious emotions, the entire poetry of the Past. We forget also, my friends, in judging the Catholic Church by the mere understanding, what are the influences under which those have grown who are its children. Whatever the Church may be to us, to them it is made beautiful by a multitude of sacred and beautiful associations. To them it is not only their Church, but the Church of their fathers. It is the Church which their mothers taught them in their infancy to love, and which threw the whole magic of its myriad hues and aspects on their Childhood's brow and their Childhood's heart. And in many a dark hour its priests, its holy things, and its holy men, have given them consolation when nothing else was

capable of consoling. Remember, my friends, that I am offering here no apology for the Roman Catholic Church. I have no sympathy for its superstitions; I have a horror of its persecutions. I merely mean to show you how much injustice you will do to such a mighty institution, if you judge it by the mere understanding. And such tolerance as this has a blessing, that, at first sight, we may not see. By judging the Catholic Church, not by your mere understanding but by your entire Individuality, it becomes an instructor to your entire Individuality. Its solemn teachings, its glorious recollections, its eventful history, its majestic appeals to the senses, its entire influences, pour themselves into your being, denuded of all dogmatic and theologic apparatus, and pregnant with divinest suggestion. To the Church's adherents from custom and from fear, many of the Church's ordinances may be unimpulsive and pernicious. But to you they are fresh and vital as the radiant countenance of Nature on the dewy morn. So that the broadest tolerance is the highest wisdom.

• What I have said of the Roman Catholic Church I may in some measure say of the institution of Monarchy in most European countries, and especially in this. I have always been, ever since I could think about such matters at all, a thorough republican. And I believe that after a few more revolutions a republican government will exist in every civilized country. It is the purest, the most rational form of government, though not the most showy and imposing. But however attached I may be to republicanism in theory, God forbid that it should make me consider monarchy either in the Past or in the Present as an unmodified iniquity. There have been good Kings in England and elsewhere, whose sole object it was to increase the glory of their country and the happiness of their people. I trust our present monarch will prove such, though, like most monarchs, she is so wrapt up in a court mist, that it is difficult to know what her real character is. But leaving persons, and looking at the institution, it may seem a monstrous thing that nearly thirty millions of

people should submit to hereditary government which assuredly cannot give them the wisest heads or the best hearts to rule over them and to guide their destiny; and where, as history shows, not one in twenty of the rulers is either wise or good, or brave. But this institution, no more than the Catholic Church, was the product of the mere understanding, and, therefore, should not be judged by the mere understanding. It sprang up at a time when Man's notions were few and rude, his power of generalization feeble, and his tendency to theorize small; and Custom has given it perpetuation. But Custom is a word of mighty meaning. It matters not that the institution of monarchy may be proved to be ridiculous in the extreme. It has existed ever since England had a history, and, therefore, countless thrilling associations gather around it. Under kings great poets have sung, and great philosophers have uttered their revelations. Under kings the greatest men of our country have lived and died. Under kings great soldiers have fought its battles either of conquest or defence; and in former times kings were its successful and glorious generals. Now, you cannot drive these and numberless other suggestions and remembrances from the hearts of the English by the mere weapons of logic, and instead of declaiming on the absurdity of monarchy, as an institution, it will be wiser to appreciate, through our entire individuality, the various direct and indirect relations and influences of monarchy both in the Past and the Present. For, my friends, the proposition which I am illustrating this evening, states not only that we are to judge an institution by our entire individuality, but also in the whole of its various relations. Thus, for instance, in considering the government of the United States we must look, not only at its constitution, but at its origin; at the origin and character of the Americans as a people, and at the various physical aspects and productions of America as a country. That government may be suitable for one country which is not suitable for another. Thus, the circumstances which at present make a republic

most suited to America, may make an Autocracy most suited to Russia. In the East, the tendency is strong to absolute government. Now, we associate in imagination a great many evils with absolute government, and very likely those imaginary evils would become realities if governments similar to the oriental despotisms were to arise in Europe. But the climate of the countries in the East and the character of the people who inhabit them in a great measure prevent those evils from being felt. Moreover a country may change its government frequently, and each government be that which is most fitted to the circumstances of the country. Rome was first a monarchy, then a republic, then an imperial government, then a Popedom, which for many centuries it has continued. On this subject, my friends, examples crowd upon me, and those which I have given admit of a much fuller illustration. But I shall be satisfied if my hints show you and impress upon you the wisdom of such tolerance as arises from the developement of your entire and natural Individuality.

LECTURE XXVII.

THE ADAPTATION OF THEOLOGICAL FAITH TO INDIVIDUAL REQUIREMENT.

THE twenty-sixth article of my Confession of Faith, the twenty-sixth principle in the system of Individualism, is the following :—I believe that the value of a theological faith, like the value of every other faith, consists solely in its suitability to the Individuality of the Individual; so that two Individuals educated in opposite faiths may, by exchanging faiths, each find that which most harmonizes with his nature.

None of the propositions in the Creed of a Man, my friends, is more liable to be misunderstood and misrepresented than this. Some may regard it as encouraging indifference; others may consider it as tantamount to the assertion that there is no such thing as Truth in the world. That I shall find it no difficult matter to repel both these reproaches I doubt not. Before, however, attempting to grapple with them I may observe, that it is easy for a spiteful or a bigoted mind to throw the charge of latitudinarianism on this or any other doctrine whose misfortune it is to be too comprehensive for its tiny grasp. A little calm thought, joined to a little common justice, would teach such minds that the Latitudinarian does not become such, does not manifest himself as such, from the enlargement of his views, but from the laxity of his conscience. The most comprehensive thinkers are the most strenuous workers, are the most earnest believers. The

more their sphere of vision widens, the grander must be their conception of duty, and the more manifold their objects of faith. There can be no such thing as intellectual latitudinarianism; all latitudinarianism must be moral alike in its nature, its origin and its results. Those who deny this, would need to prove that it is possible for a human being to form ideas too lofty of the universe and of his position and destiny there. Who will be found bold enough, base enough, mad enough, to venture on such a proof? They would need no less to prove that in reference to faith and duty intensity decreases as multiplicity augments. And they would find this proof as formidable as the other. Look at this principle in other things—for instance, in literature—and see how preposterous it is. Suppose that up to a certain period I have known no authors but those of my own country, my admiration for their productions, my reverence for themselves, is more likely to be increased than diminished by my acquaintance with other languages and other literatures. Shakespeare always grows sublimer and sublimer before me the more I extend the range of my dramatic reading. Be assured, my friends, that even if a man of the most brilliant abilities were to proclaim to his fellows with intensest energy and eloquence that Truth and Faith have no stable foundation, and are the mere dreams of their own brain,—and even if he got large multitudes to adopt his opinion, no harm could follow, if at the same time it was his main and master employment to deepen in the bosoms of his adherents veneration for Duty,—to strengthen their most sacred convictions,—their most heroic resolves,—to kindle their martyr aspirations and to urge them to live not for their own puny personalities, but to offer these and all nearest and dearest as a sacrifice on the altar of Humanity. His theories, however subtle and shrewd, would melt away like the morning mist, while the zeal and enthusiasm and magnanimous spirit which he had planted in his brethren's hearts would become noble realities,—diffusive and resistless redemptions on the earth. What matters it that his brethren

speculatively renounce Truth and Faith, if practically their devotion to Duty grows identical with the highest of Truths and the deepest and most ardent of Faiths. A Fact is always and of necessity the creator of a faith, and of a truth, but a traditional faith or a borrowed truth is not always, indeed seldom is, the creator of a fact. By all means, then, let us have facts, in whatever shape, or through whatever agency they come.

Let me now meet the assertion that the Article of my Doctrine, which I this evening have introduced to your notice, would lead, if carried out to all its consequences, to the Abnegation of Truth and to apathy and Pyrrhonism in all things. In the first place I beg leave, with all modesty, to say that the Summary of my System must contain from the nature of the case but a very inadequate statement of my system; that, moreover, the said summary consists not of one article solely, but of thirty-three; that, therefore, each proposition should be considered not in its isolated import, but in connection with the entire significance of all the rest, or rather in relation to all that I have ever said or done to press home to the souls of mankind, The Individuality of The Individual; that thus it would be monstrously unfair to judge the intention and tendency of this night's proposition by itself, in its bare statement and ~~in~~unnatural disjunction from its companions. In the second place, I have uniformly represented theological faith as utterly distinct from, and infinitely inferior to, religious feeling, as the lowest of all faiths, though usually exalted above all others, is in effect scarcely a faith at all, as being rather a classification of men's dogmatic notions than of their instinctive and intuitive convictions regarding the Deity. And, finally, I always admit, and, when requisite, prove a salient and most notable distinction between Truth the absolute and Truth the relative, between God the absolute and God the relative, or between Truth and God as they are in themselves, and the notions that human beings may form regarding them.

Recognising this distinction, who will venture to aver that the assertion that the notions of human beings regarding Truth the absolute and God the absolute, must infinitely differ, and must be tinged by the personality of each, is equivalent to saying that it is impossible for a human being to form any notion respecting Truth and God at all, and that it is a matter of utmost indifference whether he can or not? At all events I trust that you will bear in mind the points which I have now been urging and suggesting, when considering an Article of my Faith, which has drawn upon me already not a little misrepresentation, most of it, I am afraid, both wilful and malignant.

What I wish to impress upon you, my friends, in illustrating this article is, that a theological faith is not an anomaly in our existence, though it has been made such by the craft and the selfishness of priests. I maintain that the value of the Individual consists in the degree that he develops his individuality; and I maintain, likewise, that the value of everything else in relation to the Individual must consist solely in its aptitude to the Individual. Thus, for instance, many northern nations live upon food which to people dwelling in a more genial clime would be hurtful and disgusting. But we are not thereby justified in saying that because such food is unfit for the country where we dwell, that it is unfit for all human beings whatever. And even in the same country there are endless diversities of tastes in food; that forming the luxury of one man which is intolerably offensive to another. Yet, how absurd would that man be who ventured to say that every particular article of food which he disliked should be proscribed by public opinion or by a law of the government! As with food so with climate. The keen air of the North braces the inhabitant of the North, while it kills the softer inhabitant of the South. The Tropics are a delight and a strength to him who has been welcomed into life by the rays of a tropical sun; they at once slay with their fierce fever breath the children of colder zones. He whose first music

has been the billows of the wild Ocean, pines and dries when compelled to live for long years far from the Ocean's shores. The inhabitant of the mountain finds himself suffocated in the plain, and yearns to drink in once more the fresh breeze that ceases not to blow round his native peaks. The inhabitant of the plain cowers and shivers in every limb before the mountain blast, and hastens to his home in the valley,—a home sheltered from every gale, from whatever direction it may howl. Who will say that all this is prejudice; who will not rather say that it is Great Nature speaking in her clearest and most positive tones, and proclaiming that if you tear away the Individual from the food and the clime most adapted to his tastes and aptitudes, you lessen his worth by lessening his enjoyment as an Individual. And this is an argument against Emigration, and against any great and violent change of residence, unless there are many and important countervailing advantages. I say nothing of the old and sweet associations that are obliterated by such a disruption. But by plucking a man up by the root from his native scenes, you diminish his physical capabilities for receiving the moral and intellectual impressions most suited to the culture and nurture of his Individuality.

If the Individual has his physical aptitudes, he has also his social aptitudes, which cannot be disregarded without much peril and pain to his developement as an Individual. Thus, for example, Home is a word of mighty import to an Englishman's ear; to an Italian or a Frenchman it has not the same significance. The Italian lives in the open air, the Frenchman lives in ceaseless and joyous converse with his fellows. Rob the Englishman of his home, you not merely lessen his pleasure, you lessen his value; rob the Italian of his open air existence, you destroy all his comfort, but you likewise cripple his worth; take from the Frenchman his incessant sociality, you make him miserable while you at the same time make him useless. Even the nationality of a literature has much more to do than its abstract worth with the happiness and

consequent virtue of a nation. If we consider the comparative merits of English, French, and German literature, it may without hesitation be admitted that English literature has substantial excellences which neither the literature of Germany nor of France can claim. But those excellences can only be felt in their entirety by the Englishman as an Individual. The German will continue to like the dreaminess and the mysticism of his country's literature; the Frenchman will persist in adoring the literature of France, even though we were to show by overwhelming arguments that English literature has a solidity, a strength, a depth of pathos, a breadth of humor, a picturesqueness of style, to which neither Germany nor France can pretend. And why? Because his country's literature is to the Frenchman or the German part and parcel of his nature and education as an Individual. It is certain that the French will never be able to relish Shakespeare, though we consider him the greatest of poets; and that the English will never be able to relish the most famous dramatic authors in France. See then, my friends, how many things are indispensable to the complete and harmonious development of the Individual's Individuality; physical, social, literary, and numberless other environments, all of the most perfect kind, any one of which being interfered with in the slightest degree, you lessen alike the happiness and virtue of the Individual. Now how can it be shown that the Individual requires everything to have an aptitude to his wants in order to be the Individual at all, but that Theology forms the grand and single exception? Even if you admit an external theological infallibility, such as Romanists knowingly, and Protestants unknowingly, do, this does not alter the case. Even if a million, or ten million, or a hundred million men were all to agree in the recognition of the same theological infallibility, that recognition would still be tinged by the Individual's Individuality. The logical man would endeavor to prove it to himself by reasoning; the imaginative man would throw round it the radiance of his phantasies; the timid man would

crouch to it ; the bold man would view it as an energetic unity like unto himself. An external theological infallibility is utterly powerless, then, to prevent that which it professes to prevent—diversity of religious sentiment and of religious opinion. The Individual is the Child of Nature, and however dwarfed and trodden, Nature's child he cannot help remaining, in spite of the trammels of Theology. It will be a great triumph for our race, however, when they cease to give even an external recognition to an external theological infallibility, and kneel to no infallibility but the infallibility within. Then they will avow as a principle, what at present, in spite of their prejudices, they practically feel, that this is not the best theological faith, or that the best theological faith, but that each is best for him that it suits the best. I recollect rather more than a dozen years ago most fervently believing in my youthful enthusiasm that a time would come when all the world would embrace the somewhat extreme opinions which I then held in opposition to orthodoxy. I now look upon this as the most monstrous of delusions. I am now firmly convinced that it is neither possible nor desirable that all the world should become so antagonistically heterodox ; not possible, from the infinite diversities of human character, all requiring a different theological food ; not desirable, inasmuch as the diluted Rationalism I then thought so excellent I now regard as a cold and barren system, utterly inadequate to satisfy the yearnings of the human bosom, and whose prevalence in the world would war with all fancy and all feeling, and reduce everything to a dead level—a wretched uniformity. Rationalism, or any system equivalent to Rationalism, will never hold a much more extensive empire than it holds at present ; for the men of mere understanding, for whom alone it is adapted, will always be few as compared with the great mass of mankind. The prevalent theological system throughout all times will be a system similar in its main lineaments and elements to Roman Catholicism. Not that I believe that the absurdities and puerilities and superstitions of Romanism are

destined to live for ever. But if we look to the Past, the prevalent religion in the world has always been a religion of ceremony and show, a religion appealing to sense and imagination, and sentiment, to the mystic and the Ideal in Man; and as it has been, so it will be. Protestantism, Quakerism, Methodism, and all such phenomena, are merely transitory accidents; they may be embraced for a time, they may be embraced by large multitudes with utmost fervor, but the heart of Humanity always yearns for something grander than they all. Notwithstanding the many recent conversions to Popery in England, I am certain that Popery itself is not gaining strength in England. I am convinced, on the contrary, that as a mere system of theological infallibility Popery is rapidly losing ground both here and on the continent. I regard all such conversions not as triumphs of a particular religious system, but as proofs among other things that Humanity is tired of the political and theological dismemberment in which, for three hundred years, it has been living, and that it yearns once more to unfold itself naturally; which simply means, that social unity and individual diversity will become ceaseless and active reciprocities,—that sects and parties will lose their significance and their dominance,—and that the Individual and Humanity will become the two grand realities toward whose mighty march all will strive to contribute. Hitherto the world has been divided into sects, classes, factions, and nations; a new era is beginning, when Man and Manhood will be the proudest privilege and the most glorious name. Now it is not a Roman Catholic Church but a Human Catholic Church which alone will respond to the wants of this new era; a Church which will strive to imitate in religion the infinite diversity of Nature, where the lowliest things and the sublimest are found side by side; a Church which will seek to gather children into its bosom, not by the tricks of the priest or the cruel gripe of the Inquisition, but by intensest love, utmost freedom, utmost ministration to human aspirings and needs. The great defect of those called Reformers at the

present day is, in thinking that the way to redeem mankind is to use the pruning knife unsparingly. In religion Man cannot live by mere negation, and in politics man cannot live by mere destruction. As a tree grows, so grows Humanity. The branch that is rotten should be lopped off, and if there are a hundred branches rotten they should be lopped off. But the lopping should never be for the lopping's sake, but simply in order that the tree may grow more vigorously, and throw forth to the blue sky all its strength and its beauty. I do not complain of the Reformers of our day for lopping too much, but for not sufficiently seeing the purpose for which the excisions are made. And this is still more the case in religion than in politics. Inasmuch as the Churches that have been clad in the most gorgeous adornment have generally been the most corrupt, it is concluded that religious splendor is itself an evil, whether putting itself forth in music, in painting, in sculpture, in architecture, or in any other glory of Art. He then is doing a great work for his race who endeavors to plant in the heart of the earnest Reformers of the day the conviction that a Cathedral is still a grand and a holy thing, and that the music that swells through the aisles of the Cathedral is as the voice of an archangel, even though those who minister in the Cathedral be the basest of hirelings, and that religious gorgeousness, in whatever form, speaking to the heart of Man is the response to a natural yearning, even though many of the priests in the Anglican or any other richly endowed Church may think of filthy lucre, and of that alone.

Though, my friends, I am convinced that the prevalent Church throughout the world will always continue to be a Church notable for ceremony and show, I no less think that, as at present, some nations will continue more devoted to ceremony and show in religion than others. The nations of the South will always be fonder of a ceremonious and imposing religion than the nations of the North, because they have a keener sense of the beautiful and a greater love of Art.

The nations of the North are also in general more active and industrious than the nations of the South. They have less time, therefore, to devote to religious observances. Diversities will also be found then as they are found now, even in the same country. Those who dwell by the waves of the mighty sea, or those who dwell on the mountain's top, have less need than those of the same country who dwell in plains, to frequent temples, gorgeous temples made with human hands, fashioned by human device. The tempest and the thunder, the thousand terrors of Nature which visit them so oft, are sufficient to carry their souls to the sanctuary of their God. Those, however, who dwell in plains, not being surrounded by the same variety and grandeur of natural circumstances, need to create for themselves an artificial variety both in religion and in everything else. This, then, is a ~~human~~ human fact, not an artificialism, and, as a human fact, Human Catholicism will honor and develope it. It may moreover happen; nay, it will inevitably happen, that while a man does homage to such a Church as that of which I am picturing the possibility, he may at successive periods of his life feel certain portions of its appeals to his heart more vividly than the rest. In the morning of life it may speak to his feelings; in the full day of life it may speak to his imagination; at a maturer period of life it may speak to his conscience; and in the decline of life it may speak to his hope and animate his faith. It is even consistent with Human Nature, and with such a Human Catholic Church as that of which I dream, that a man in removing from one country to another should feel more those parts of a religion to which the inhabitants of his new abode are particularly devoted than he formerly felt them; for instance, that a Northern dwelling in Italy should feel more there the appeals of Religion to his senses, while in his native land he had felt more its appeals to his faith and reason. But in whatever shape the Church which I prophesy put itself forth,

its permanent existence will only be possible through recognition in a greater degree than any other Church has hitherto from its constitution allowed, of the claim of the Individual's Individuality when holding converse with the Supreme.

LECTURE XXVIII.

THE INFINITE IN MAN.

THE twenty-seventh article of my Confession of Faith, the twenty-seventh principle in the System of Individualism, is the following :—I believe that every man is better and worse than he seems ; for as every man is the Child of Infinitude, his nature incloses infinite capabilities of spiritual aspiring and material degradation, which are realized only to the most infinitesimal extent in his personal history.

It is my honest belief that the purest saint has lived in imagination more villany than the greatest villain ever accomplished, and that the greatest villain has lived in imagination more excellence than the noblest heroes of virtue ever realized. Those who praise us do not know the abominations which our tempted and troubled passions have coveted, but shuddered to seize ; those who blame us do not know the agony and the ardor with which we have yearned for an ideal perfection, which has ever and ever mocked our feeble efforts and our finite energies. Each man is an abyss of glory and of gloom ; each man within, whatever conventional proprieties may compel him to be without, is by turns a seraph and a demon ; each man, though marking his external life neither by one martyr deed nor by one fiendish malignity, is, in himself, in the undisclosed fermentations of his being, a possible heaven brighter, a possible hell blacker, than the boldest fancy has yet ventured to dream. And even when desire slumbers, and when we merely yield ourselves up to our idle

thoughts, we often crowd into the reverie of an hour whole ages of sublimity and of sin. Would that we had the courage to confess these conflicts and contrasts of our spirit! They would do more for the promotion of tolerance than the best homilies on Charity. But, alas! we dare not avow how bad we occasionally are in the hidden broodings of our brain, because we know full well that our fellows would not believe us if we frankly declared how good we occasionally are in the silent aspirations of our bosom. Most of us would be content to unveil our whole internal being to the gaze of the world, if the world were as ready to recognize our sincerity when delineating the luminous heights of celestial achievement which, in meditation, we have trod, as when detailing those loathsome and hideous phantasies in which from time to time we revel. Thus the world forces us to be hypocrites when we have the strongest disposition to be open and candid, and induces us to assume a platitude, a mediocrity, and a meagreness which ill correspond to the height and the depth and the whole lavish variety of our inner man. Our first hypocrisy then, whatever the cunning and the calculation that our maturer hypocrisy may assume, our first hypocrisy is the resentment of a wrong, a wrong which we feel much more keenly than any palpable privation, or peril, or pain, that adversity may send us. Impelled by divinest intuition, we have soared to the starry gates of God's dwelling in the skies, and drank into our panting soul, with unutterable ravishment, gleams of his mysterious splendor, and when, in our generous warmth, we hasten to impart to our brethren the glad and sanctifying ray which we have brought from on high, they spurn our gift, deny its value, deny even its existence, question our ability to ascend to an altitude so blissful, and chill us into despair by boisterously doubting whether our offer be prompted by Quixotism or quackery. The revulsion of such disappointment as this is terrible; but when its bitterness is past, we resolve to avoid risking the recurrence of a similar one by never again telling even to our friends, with

mind the most comprehensive, with breast the most loving, the mighty and marvellous visions that elevate and enrapture us in our sacred moods. We cannot, however, form this resolution without likewise determining to balance this reserve which does such signal injustice to the most beautiful elements of our character, by burying, as in the grave, all those foul and bestial conceptions which so strangely alternate with our most magnanimous purposes and our most hallowing emotions. From that moment we are hypocrites, hypocrites half in revenge, and half in self defence ; and much as I am the foe of falsehood and of fraud, much as I am the advocate of truthfulness in all things, I hesitate to say whether we ought to disarm, whether we can entirely disarm, ourselves of this hypocrisy till, through some great moral revolution, Society has renounced other hypocrisies of a more directly pernicious kind. For if we were bravely to uncurtain our whole infinite capabilities of spiritual aspiring and of material degradation, of which our deeds tell little and our lips tell less, the world would at once deny our infinite capability of spiritual aspiring, while it would quickly admit and greedily snatch at and pourtray our infinite capability of material degradation, as an apology for its own actual atrocities. Is not this a proof among a thousand with what circumspection those doctrines must be enounced and those reforms promulgated and promoted, which have for their object a social regeneration as extensive, as benignant, as in religion Christianity has been ? Let not, however, our circumspection degenerate into cowardice, nor have relation to our selfish interests, but solely to the success of the cause to the triumph of which we consecrate our powers. And there is peculiar need for the close and perpetual union of courage and circumspection in the champion of a social regeneration ; first, because the example of the social reformer has a more intimate relation to the reform sought than the example of any other reformer has to any other reform ; and, secondly, because a social reformer traverses the community with more penetrating and compli-

cated agencies than any other reformer ; and, thirdly, because the community has a morbid susceptibility on the subject of social change, which it does not extend in the same degree to other revolutions. The greatest argument for a social reformation must always be the Reformer himself ; whereas in Religion, in Science, in Philosophy, or in Politics, the Reformer and the Reform are in no ordinary degree independent facts, the one of course being needed to evolve the other, but the moral character being no indispensable condition to the truth of the principle taught or to the victory of the reform attempted.

Though, my friends, the principle which I this evening enounce will continue throughout all times to be true, though men will always be better and worse than they seem, yet, when Individualism universally prevails, there will not be in this respect the same discrepancy between their outer and inner life. When once the period comes that men can frankly confess, not only all in their actions which the world has never seen, but likewise all in their ponderings that the world cannot see, the distance between the finite of their external existence and the infinite of their internal will be immensely diminished. If we could boldly avow our infinite aspirings toward the divine, we could do much more than at present we are able toward the embodiment of those aspirings into realities. The very avowal would half convert them into realities. Whereas by cherishing an unspoken Ideal in the Holy of Holies of our hearts, it seems to us almost too sacred to be incorporated into facts. And by dwelling thus, as a mystic idol, in the vast and veiled temple of our contemplation, it tends to become rather a selfish possession than an impulse to our philanthropy. I am persuaded that Shelley, the most generous of modern men, might gradually have hardened into a worldling, if he had not poured forth in lavish and most exquisite song his magnificent idealisms. Few people are aware who have not subtly pierced into the complicated motives of the human breast, that the

hatred of selfishness may itself become a selfishness as base if not so monstrous as the selfishness on which it pours its burning curses. For what is selfishness but the grudgingly keeping to ourselves that which we ought graciously and gracefully to communicate to others with an openhanded hospitality? Now, what does it matter whether this unmanly avarice clutch and cling to and monopolize the money in our pockets or the ideas in our brain? Indeed, I know not whether the avarice of the Idealist is not the most dastardly and detestable of the two. Your commonplace miser merely keeps from his fellows the golden image of an earthly monarch; the Idealist withholds from them the most beautiful image of the Deity. But when all men disclose the whole of their good and the whole of their evil, as far as an earthly tongue can permit them to do so, this intellectual avarice will disappear for ever. For that which has become a reality in confession will never fail to become a further and more abiding reality in act. And what prospects this unfolds for mankind! It is a faith with me, it has always been a faith, that the fittest man for the work to be done has always done it. But this does not prove that he was the greatest man of his generation. The greatest man of his generation was perhaps one of whom nobody had ever heard, or who, if he was remarkable for anything, was remarkable only for his incapacity. And why so, my friends? There was no caprice of Providence, no blindness of Humanity in this. The blunder, if blunder it may be called, was the fault neither of God nor of Humanity, nor of the Individual so capable of divinest deeds, but who did nothing. The blunder was simply the result of the foolish belief that has prevailed to this very hour, that the best man is good in everything, and the worst man bad in everything, which belief has generated the habit, for the best man, of suppressing all mention of his material tendencies; and for the worst man of suppressing all mention of his spiritual aspirings; and for the Idealist the habit of keeping the treasure of his Idealism to

himself, and thus blasting him with the doom of utter obscurity by affording to his idealism no succession of transitional points through which, without abruptness, to convert his transcendent visions into realities. Be assured, my friends, that contemporary with the Real Christ was an Ideal Christ, and contemporary with the Real Luther an Ideal Luther, and contemporary with the Real Cromwell an Ideal Cromwell, and contemporary with the Real Napoleon an Ideal Napoleon, and that in each of these cases the Ideal Man had more comprehensive if less practical aptitudes for the salvation to be wrought than the Real Man, and would have accomplished it, though perhaps with less rapidity and directness, if he had been furnished with but one incipient step to convey him from the region of visions to the region of facts. And if the Ideal Christ, by which I mean, what I do not mean in the case of the others, the Ideal nature of the Messiah himself, if, I say, this Ideal Christ instead of the real Christ had arisen in all his towering strength, Paganism and Christianity would have fought no deadly battle together, nor would the grasp of a priest ever have been placed on the Gospel's suggestions and beatitudes. And if the Ideal Luther instead of the Real Luther had been the prime mover in the Reformation, the Reformation would have assumed more of a religious and less of a theological shape; it would not have thundered at the Church with the battering-ram of dogma, but would have interfused it with the most genial sympathies of Humanity; it would have simply aimed at the restoration of the harmony between the religious spirit and religious forms. If the Ideal instead of the Real Cromwell had been conqueror of Charles and Protector of the Commonwealth, we might not have had the work to be done more sagaciously and courageously done, or done with less of selfish ambition; but once done, it would not have been necessary to do it again, the re-action would not have been so violent and fatal, and that fierce sectarian acrimony which has always been so characteristic of the English would have died

two or three centuries sooner than it is now likely to do. If the Ideal instead of the Real Napoleon had adopted and elaborated all the great results of the French Revolution, his history might have been less interesting, his career less picturesque, his genius less notable, his battles fewer; but he would have crushed the autocracies and aristocracies of Europe more effectually; for his contest would have been not for his own aggrandizement but for the emancipation of mankind. Now, in the future great advances of Earth these retrogressions and chaotic defeats of the grandest aspirations will no longer be possible, because the Ideal Man will do what the Real Man has hitherto done, and he will be enabled to do it through the triumph of that principle which I have this night imperfectly brought before you.

In another mode, my friends, will the distance between the Outward Finite and the Inward Infinite be lessened through that sublime confessional which I inculcate. How often does the Ideal Man, the man who cherishes lofty visions of himself and his destiny, move through the world with an Idealist by his side, without each receiving or communicating anything of impulse to the other. They perhaps have been frank enough with each other in their mutual avowals. But their avowals have related not to the inward but to the outward life; and the outward life of every man is in its main facts and lineaments very much like the outward life of every other man. It is when we pierce deeper that the diversity is discovered; in the same way that the Ocean on its surface even in fiercest hurricanes exhibits only the irregularities of fifty or a hundred feet, while below, far down in the untraversed depths, the irregularities are measured by miles. If, therefore, Idealist uttered to Idealist the whole internity of his being, he would not only prepare thereby a wide field of philanthropic action for himself, but he would stir his brother Idealist to make similar avowals, and through the medium of such avowals to obtain what he has obtained, an entrance for his idealisms into the field of great realities.

Nor would the result end here. There is a class of men who are more peculiarly entitled to be called Idealists. But every man, however prosaic, has, ere Mammon and Conventionalism have claimed him for their own, his Ideal likewise. Now, this Ideal is smothered, not alone through the coarse and carnal temptations that the world presents, but through the want of that which the Idealist, properly so-called, wants, transitional points for the transmutation of his Idealism into reality. Now nothing so certain to furnish him with those transitional points and with the courage necessary to pass from one to another, till at last a noble consummation was reached, as the example of the true and the peculiar Idealist. While, therefore, that small minority who merit the name of Idealists would be redeemingly real, the large majority of Realists would be rendered, through the same agencies, redeemingly Ideal. There would thus arise a spiritual brotherhood, such as enthusiasts the most fanciful have seldom dreamed of yet. Earth and Heaven would not be separated by the gulph that divides them now, and the career of the humblest would have something of epic significance.

Another result, my friends, we may anticipate from the carrying out of the principle which I am advocating now. It would lead, if unfolded in all its breadth and power, to a realization of Man's Ideal in spiritual aspiring to a much greater degree than is now possible. And, from this circumstance alone, it would potently antagonize the evil tendencies of mankind. But it would also directly tend to the diminution of material degradation in act. Many men sin, not so much in obedience to the clamor of passion, as that from the habit of concealing from others alike the good and the evil capabilities of their internal being, they rush into sensual excess to escape from the morbid gloom of unconfessed longing. Whereas, if they avowed to others their infinite capabilities of spiritual aspiring and of material degradation with the same frankness, the avowal of the latter class of infinite capabilities would tend as much to prevent

these from embodying themselves into facts as the avowal of the former class of capabilities would tend to make those become practical redemptions.

There are two ways in which this consequence would follow. The confession of all that is foul in conception to another of kindred nature to ourselves would bring upon our cheeks, would kindle in our hearts, that healthy shame which is so salutary in the hour of temptation. Now, whether in solitude or in the broad gaze of mankind, shame rather tends to heat our passions and senses than to check them. In the solitude of our souls shame gives to appetite a piquancy which it would not have of itself. And the shame which public opinion causes, rather stimulates our vanity to brave public opinion than to abandon our guilt. When the confession, however, of our wild and impetuous yearnings is made in the ear of those who are disposed to make similar confessions, shame becomes only another name for virtue.

The second way in which the confession of our capability for material degradation to a candid and appreciating nature would save us from that material degradation in act, is this. Such a nature would be sure to manifest much sympathy for our battle with temptation, would assist us with counsel and with weapons, and we could not help feeling that sympathy to be a better food for our perturbed soul than the sweetest of sensual excesses.

If, my friends, the principle which I am now exhibiting has the significance which I attribute to it, it must utterly demolish, not on theological grounds, but on the grounds of Human Nature, the monstrous supposition that there is any class on earth entitled to be called the Saints or the Elect. Even if we did not see that those who, from some supposed favor of God, arrogate this high title, are as fond of the good things of this life as their less pretentious neighbors, and sometimes a great deal fonder, that they drive as hard bargains, are as disposed to accumulate money, are as addicted to saying harsh and spiteful things, as those whom they pass

by with a pharisaical disdain ; we have only to unmask their bosoms, and see there a diabolical array of the darkest passions. We might say to one ; True, the world calls you a respectable man, your sect calls you a good man, and your name is unstained by any grossly criminal act, but in your heart you are a parricide, for you have longed for your parent's death, in order that you might enter into his possessions. We might say to another ; You also stand fair in the world's estimation, and are a prodigious favorite with your sect, but in your heart you are a robber, for, though your hands are not stained with rapine, yet, in the hour of baleful temptation, which comes to us all, you would not have been sorry to smite your neighbor to the earth, so that you could have seized on his wealth. We might say to another ; In the Synagogue and out of the Synagogue, you wish to pass for a chosen vessel, but, though your reputation is tolerably free from reproach, there have been seasons in your soul's travail when you have longed for the drunkard's cup and the debauchee's abominations. While speaking this language to the pretended saints, we should also, through the light of the principle I am teaching, see much more good in the World's despised and trampled outcasts than we are accustomed to see. It is in the dens of blackest iniquity we often find virtues that flourish nowhere else on earth ; and also ideal visions often gleam there strangely in contrast with the scenes around. Let us learn, then, my friends, from the consideration of this subject, how much greater import hangs round every Man's being than we are accustomed to discern ; let us learn from it universal tolerance.

LECTURE XXIX.

THE SPIRIT OF LOVE AND THE SPIRIT OF SACRIFICE.

THE twenty-eighth article of my Confession of Faith, the twenty-eighth principle in the System of Individualism, is the following:—I believe that every man is good in proportion as he manifests the Spirit of Love, and great in proportion as he manifests the Spirit of Sacrifice.

This proposition, my friends, makes goodness and greatness to be only different degrees of the same quality. If we so abound in love as to be ready on all occasions to minister to the necessities of our brethren, to promote the welfare of the society around us, to aid the changes whose obvious tendency is to raise Man to a higher order of civilization, if we are hindered neither by sordid nor by selfish considerations from extending a prompt and generous hand to whatever seems fitted to increase the happiness of Individuals and to impel the progress of the world; but if we hesitate to take that further step which would involve peril to us or our estate, we are good,—it is possible we may be very good,—but we are nothing more. If, however, to our affection we add courage, if we are not merely willing to give but willing to renounce, if we welcome risk, and obstacle, and pain, and loss, rather than witness suffering which an effort of ours may assist in removing, if our personal advantages and enjoyments, however dear unto us, are far outweighed in our eyes by the des-

tinies of our race, then we are great,—great with a greatness kindred to that of God. Both goodness and greatness in the sense which I attach to the words must be active; but the activity of the first is the result of an impulse, the activity of the second is the result of a conviction. This assertion thrusts aside with small compunction the spurious goodness and the spurious greatness which our brethren in their ignorance have hitherto so delighted to honor. What is a good man in popular estimation? A man so destitute of energy and passion, a man with blood so cold, with heart so torpid, with brain so barren, that he has never known what it is to feel temptation, and therefore cannot know what it is to yield to or resist it. He is of the earth, earthy; a poor clod of apathy, as dead when alive as after, his veins unscorched by the fire of Hell because his mind, if mind it may be called, is unsunned by the light of Heaven. What is a great man in popular estimation? A man active enough truly,—alas! only too active,—but a man whose only eminence it is to impregnate his activity with a wider and more desolating mischief than others wish, or will, or can. If you pour forth your life to save a neighbor's and die as a hero or a martyr dies, the newspaper gives you five lines, and in a week you are forgotten. If you kill on battleplain or waste out in sieged cities the lives of millions, History does not grudge its five or its fifty or its five hundred volumes: friends and foes are unanimous in proclaiming you great; Poetry breathes its songs the most ardent and beautiful; the Arts rival each other to bestow on your fame radiance and fulmination and immortality; your very bones have lordlier monuments than the Deity, or than the Deity's inspired. Which is the truer goodness and the truer greatness, a child can decide. But it so happens that whereas when alone our conscience prompts us to be good and great naturally, when in the gaze of others our vanity prompts us to be good and great conventionally. If my notion of goodness and greatness, my friends, be a correct one, and such as you may feel disposed

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to admit, it follows that goodness and greatness cannot be measured by external circumstances. It is not the amount which is given that constitutes goodness, but the spirit in which it is given. It is not the amount which is sacrificed which constitutes greatness, but the spirit in which it is sacrificed. What have the poor to give of this world's riches? Little, almost nothing. And yet the best men are often found among the poor. Because, what the poor give they give with a more generous spirit than any other class. It comes from their heart and from their hand, the genial product of a spontaneous affection. The best men among the rich, however modest and unostentatious they may be, cannot help expecting two things; gratitude from those on whom their gifts are bestowed, and the applauding shout of those who behold the bestowment. This expectation obviously takes from the spontaneousness of goodness, and takes of course from its beauty and its merit. Such an expectation, however, the poor but good man cannot indulge. So far from being stimulated to goodness by calculating on the gratitude of those who are the objects of his benefits, it is often with the foresight of ingratitude, it is often on those whose ingratitude he has experienced, that his benignities are dispensed. And as to human applause, his lot is too obscure, his condition too lowly, to permit him to expect it. Even if his whole life is occupied only with acts of goodness, seldom except by accident can any eye but the eye of Heaven mark them. As with his goodness so with his greatness. If his generosity is poured forth unnoted and unknown, so also must his sacrifices be. Indeed it may be questioned whether any display of the spirit of sacrifice, however noble, is entitled to the name of greatness, except that which the poor but great man exhibits. The expectation of gratitude or applause must be as fatal to greatness as to goodness. What matters it that we sacrifice everything which we value most, if we do so less for the sake of a mighty redemption to be wrought by our sacrifice than that Humanity may thank us by crowning us

with immortal glory? It is a common feeling with certain minds that they could be the best of the good, the greatest of the great, if they had only field and opportunity to be so. They yearn for the regeneration of Society, and with all sincerity and earnestness they yearn. Their philanthropy is no sham, no pretence. But they are continually dreaming of certain ideal circumstances in which they could be good and great, after their own fashion. Now if those ideal circumstances existed, their goodness and their greatness would be far less needed than they are at present as agencies of salvation in the Community. It is thus, my friends, that so much of Philanthropic energy lies dormant or is squandered. We may be assured, and we cannot have the assurance too potently or too persuasively present to our hearts, that where everything around us seems adverse to the manifestation of martyr power, there it is precisely that our martyr renouncements are the most needed. Where a community is so depraved or so indifferent as to laugh at all our heroic and benevolent deeds, there we may be certain our heroic and benevolent deeds are most required. Suppose that God were to hearken to our aspirings and to convey us into those communities where the Spirit of Love and the Spirit of Sacrifice had a dwelling and a dominion, is it not evident that there our Spirit of Love and our Spirit of Sacrifice will less be needed, and that we shall merely be an addition to the band of the good and the great who are working for the elevation of our brethren? It is not so much that the race of martyrs is a rare race, that martyrdom accomplishes so little, it is because few martyrs have the strength or disposition to spend their efforts apart from those of other martyrs. We must then regard it as the chief ornament, the most distinctive characteristic of the martyr, that he is able and resigned to work alone. Nor is work all that is required of him. Sometimes he best works when he simply suffers,—suffers and hopes; for hope must be, can be, his only reward and consolation. To suffer in silence, but to know that our suffering is advancing the cause of human truth and

of human happiness, this in these modern times is martyrdom. We must never then delay the commencement of any martyr undertaking till we can find martyr co-operators. The best proof that our martyr labor is much needed, and that we ought to begin it at once, is that we can find no martyr co-operators. If we could at once find such, would it not be evidence that the Society that we thought so corrupt could not be so utterly bad, or else it would not be capable of generating in its bosom a brave man to stand by our side. It is quite natural that we should yearn for the sympathy and co-operation of kindred natures; but we ought to reflect that Martyrdom is not a natural exhibition. Martyrdom is needed; the Spirit of Love which is natural, needs to become the Spirit of Sacrifice which is not, because Man has wandered from Nature, and needs agencies and exhibitions beyond and above Nature to bring him back to Nature. It is not, however, merely the yearning for sympathy which makes those who are endowed with the martyr spirit pant for a scene where other martyrs are expending their sacrifices. It is unconscious vanity, but a vanity which has no tincture of selfishness in it. It is not a vanity that seeks human gratitude or thirsts for human applause, but a vanity that persuades him whom it dominates that he is the only one fitted to do a great martyr work needful to be done at some particular period, and that this martyr work requires a theatre as grand as itself or else it will remain ineffectual. This conclusion overlooks two things; the first that God will find adequate means of realizing some marvellous and benignant purpose of his Providence, even though we do not step in to assist him; the second, that it is the martyr spirit that ennobles the martyr scene, not the martyr scene that has a consonance to the martyr spirit. Every foot of ground is hallowed where a martyr foot hath trod, or a martyr deed hath been done. What ought especially to give incitement to our martyr zeal, when the position in life which we occupy seems unfavorable is, that once we have become thoroughly inter-

ested in our martyr work we are certain to work with infinitely more energy than if we had what would seem to us a much more appropriate field. Formidable and apparently insurmountable obstacles have one of two effects; either they make us abandon altogether the enterprise in which we have embarked, or they give tenfold vigor to every faculty we possess. If we are truly endowed with the martyr spirit, the first effect is an impossibility. The second, therefore, remains with all its augmenting force. Working on pertinaciously, undismayed, invincible, we arm ourselves by degrees with a self-reliance, a promptitude of invention, an abundance of resources, that come to treat dangers and difficulties less as terrors than as amusements. I could instance not a few, my friends, at the present day, who have done their martyr work well, and have grown in martyr energy simply because they had what seemed an unsuitable field for their exertions. And I could instance not a few who as long as they had what seemed an unsuitable field for their exertions labored as martyrs should labor, who, the moment they obtained that field which they deemed so suitable for their endeavors, have altogether forgotten the nobler aspirations of their earlier years, and have left Man to fight his battle with his enemies as best he could.

Another reason why we should endeavor, if endowed with the martyr spirit, to satisfy ourselves with that field of action which seems so unsuitable is, that all those whom we there imbue with the martyr spirit are sure to work with more zeal and courage for martyr objects than if fewer obstacles environed their path and ours. We shall breathe more energy into them, because, in the circumstances supposed, we shall have more to breathe, and they will be more inclined to manifest energy from seeing how great the enterprise that is needed by them and by us to be accomplished.

All the remarks which I have now made have of course an application to every great Reformation, to every labor on behalf of Humanity in which the Spirit of Love and the

Spirit of Sacrifice are demanded. But I wish them to have a special application to that Reformation which I have long been prophesying. I wish them to have an application to you and to me. There are moments of despondency when I am disposed to think my present field of action the most unsuitable that I could possibly have found for the teaching and preaching of a new doctrine, like that of Individuality. A small town in an agricultural district, where priestcraft, aristocratic ascendancy, and the love of money, divide the empire between them; a town in which there is no spirit of enquiry, no intellectual life; where every circumstance appears adverse alike to moral earnestness and mental research, a town where the middle classes spend their time, either in sordid or frivolous pursuits, and where the working classes are crushed by direst penury,—looks, of all places in the empire, the most unsuited for the utterance of a System fitted and destined to regenerate the world. It might have seemed that the active manufacturing districts, or the great metropolis, would have been incalculably better adapted to my purpose. But, if what I have said this evening be true, it is precisely the apparent unsuitableness of my present scene for the radiation upon the hearts of my fellows of the great ideas that to me are so dear which constitutes its appropriateness. For it helps to develope in me more, perhaps, than any other place in England or on the earth, that martyr spirit which I wish to kindle in other bosoms, because it teaches and strengthens me to suffer in silence; and it makes all those who are deeply and permanently touched by my appeals participants of the martyr spirit to a far greater degree than they would be, if all outward things were not so discouraging. Learn then, my friends, to apply the doctrine which I have this evening brought before you, as a power to grapple with and to conquer every obstacle which you may henceforth meet, as pioneers of a Great and Holy Truth. Go forth to the spiritual conquest of the world, by learning and practising the divinest of arts, that of suf-

fering in silence. And if you ever succeed in teaching one single mortal this sacred art, you will have done more to show what is the Spirit of Love and the Spirit of Sacrifice, you will have done more to change the moral aspects of the earth, than if you had revolutionized the outward destiny of millions.

LECTURE XXX.

THE HARMONY OF GOODNESS, BEAUTY, AND TRUTH.

THE twenty-ninth article of my Confession of Faith, the twenty-ninth principle in the System of Individualism, is the following :—I believe that in the Individual and in the Education of the Individual, and in Humanity and in the Education of Humanity, the Good, the True and the Beautiful should be one ; not torn asunder and mutilated for the sake of each other, as they have usually been.

As the Trinity, my friends, is regarded as an essential article in the Creed of the majority of Christians, so I wish you to regard the Trinity as an essential article in my Creed. Mine, however, is rather different from theirs, and needs no Athanasian damnations to keep it from falling to pieces. I believe that God consists of three elements, of Goodness, of Truth, and of Beauty, and that these three elements are so equally proportioned, and so harmoniously combined in the nature and operations of God, that they form only one entire and indivisible unity. The Universe is the embodiment of God ; all in the universe, therefore, has this triune aspect of Goodness, of Truth, and of Beauty. Man is the image of God, and whenever this image is not marred by cruel and crafty devices, the Good, the True, and the Beautiful, beam around it with equal glory. But alas ! what is Earth's direst woe, what has it always been, but the foul and most sorrowful defacement of God's image, so that the Human Trinity

has rarely corresponded either in the Individual or the Race to the Trinity Divine. Not, indeed, that at any period, or in any country, or in any man, there has been too much Truth, too much Goodness, or too intense and rapturous worship of the Beautiful. This is impossible. The Good, the True, and the Beautiful, united, constitute God ; to say of any one, therefore, that he possesses in too large a degree one of these elements, is equivalent to saying that he is too divinely dowered. The evil is, and the evil in the Past has been, not that one of these elements too much prevaieth, but that the others prevail not enough. And this disjunction, this dismemberment, this trampling on one thing that another thing of no stronger claim might be set on high and made honorable, has been as fatal to what has been exalted as to that which is trodden and bemired. This idea, in its diversified applications to the System of Individualism, I have repeatedly enforced and illustrated. And to no aspect of a subject so vast and so various as the Doctrine of Individuality has it a grander, closer, more pertinent application, than to that which is now before us. No, my friends, be it known to you that the Beautiful has not been more sublimely homaged, more pervadingly felt where the Beautiful alone has had supremacy, and the Good and the True have been driven forth like Ishmael into the desert. Inasfar as the Beautiful has not been the True and the Good likewise, just insofar it has not been the Beautiful. Where the Truth also has grasped a monopoly, it has been the victim of that monopoly to the exact extent that it dissevered itself from the Beautiful and the Good. And where the Good has been so arrogantly and exclusively the Good that it treated Truth as an Inferior and Beauty as an Enemy, it was less the Good to the precise amount of this contempt and of this antipathy. The Greeks were not wrong in bowing down their every faculty in rejoicing and most lavish adoration to the Beautiful ; they were simply wrong in beholding in Beauty the sole Celestial, and in viewing Goodness and Truth as worthy only to be its handmaidens. There

was, therefore, a nobler Beauty than they embodied in their Arts or dreamed of in their Ideal aspirings. Neither were the early Christians wrong in seeking for Truth as for hidden treasure, and for scorning pain and peril in its attainment and avowal; they were wrong mainly in that they warred with the Beautiful with the design of establishing the empire of the True. Hence there was a far loftier and more comprehensive Truth than they conceived. In the re-actions, in the ebbings and flowings of the World's history, the Good has seldom usurped such autocratic dominion as the Beautiful and the True. But whenever it has, the power which it has grasped has been limited and transitory, because obedient to the control of a solitary sceptre. The ordinary life of nations is an attempt, a most imperfect one, to realize the Beautiful; inasfar as they are brought into contact with other nations their life is an attempt, a most imperfect one, to realize the True; their extraordinary life is an attempt, a most imperfect one, to realize the Good. If it be said that baser agencies and impulses mingle themselves with these, and have more authority and influence than they, such, for example, as the love of money, the love of praise, social cowardice, social slavery, superstition, that consequently it is capricious and fanciful to characterize the energies that mould and modify Society as I have just been doing, I deny at once that the malignities and the mischiefs which now degrade and desolate the community would have the slightest sway but for the divorcement of the True, the Good, and the Beautiful, from each other. The evils which now play havoc with the happiness of mankind are not independent principles, destined inevitably to act, whatever may be the improvements that Civilization brings. To admit this, were to admit a signal incapacity in God, a signal defect in God's government. To prove an innate depravity in anything that God has made, would be to prove an innate depravity in God himself in the same proportion. It is the silliest of quibbles to say that he permits what he does not cause. He

must be the cause of all, or the cause of nothing. Admit him the cause of all, admit every consequence flowing therefrom, and you need not fear lest his eternal Providence will not amply suffice for its own vindication. But why, it may be asked, the Good, the True, and the Beautiful, which are a harmonious unity in God, and a harmonious unity in the Universe, are they not the same harmonious unity in Man? Simply, because God and the Universe are incapable alike of progression and retrogression, whereas Man is a perfectible Being, urged on by the radiance of the Ideal from one height of excellence to another. No doubt God was able to make the Good, the True, and the Beautiful, the same harmonious unity in Man which they are in himself and in the Universe, without the necessity of growth or probation. But in that case Man would have had much of his glory eclipsed, for it is precisely in his perfectibility that his glory consists. The final unity which Humanity is destined to reach will be all the sublimer that it has not been conferred at once, but has been the laborious product of thousands and thousands of years of struggle, and turmoil, and tribulation. Truth, Goodness, and Beauty, have been hitherto disjoined in the Education of the Individual and the Education of Humanity, and they will long continue to be disjoined, in order that their ultimate union may bring forth more fully the lustre and the beatitude of each. This is no reason, however, why we should strive to continue the dismemberment. The folly of Man is often the wisdom of God. Every war that has yet smitten earth with fierce and blasting breath, was a divine necessity and accomplished divine purposes. But this does not justify nations in going to war now to satiate their own furious passions. The very same flame of persecution that has been kindled to consume a rising truth has often served as a torch to pioneer its triumphant march. But assuredly this is no apology for persecution. The slander which a calumniator's lips have uttered to blast a good man's name, has frequently been

the means of raising the latter from the Obscurity in which he languished, to a scene worthy of his talents and his virtues. This, however, does not make the Calumniator's utterances the less vile and detestable, nor would be any excuse for our becoming their imitators. Thus, likewise, though we know that God is employing and will employ the dismemberment of the True, the Good, and the Beautiful, as a means for crowning Human Fate with a grander consummation than would otherwise be possible, that would not justify us in devoting our efforts to promote the dismemberment. No, my friends, in ourselves, in the individuals to whom our influence more immediately and potently extends, in the community of which we form a part, and in Humanity, as far as a word or a deed of ours can stir and leaven the same, it should be our most strenuous endeavor to render the Good, the True, and the Beautiful, that harmonious unity which God destines for Man's exultant brow, in the course of coming ages. With ourselves, however, should the endeavor begin. We can best serve the Education of Humanity by assisting the Education of the Individual; we can best accomplish the Education of the Individual by educating ourselves as Individuals. When once we have made the Good, the True, and the Beautiful, a harmonious unity for ourselves, the example of this unity will be a more resistless argument to our brethren than all the eloquent appeals which we can employ in its favor. A man good, but in whom goodness has risen from a too susceptible sentiment to a heroic strength; a man truthful, but in whom truth is not the mere product of the understanding, but the response of the Universe to his comprehensive faculties and the spontaneous emanation of these toward the Universe; a man in whom the worship of the Beautiful is not an artistic perception, but a natural and loving emotion; men such as these the world is yearning for; men such as these, be ye, my friends.

The first step in the process for the Rehabilitation of your

Individuality, for your growth in that harmonious unity in which the Good, the True, and the Beautiful, shall have equal sway, will be in relation to Truth. There is no progress for you till you discover that Truth is as much a thing to be felt as a thing to be perceived, and that it is only a very small portion of Truth that the Philosopher's analysis, the Logician's syllogisms, the Theologian's dogmas, the Sec-tarian's creeds, can give you. Some of the noblest victories that Humanity has achieved have been shorn of all their splendor and beneficence, from an ignorance of this principle. The French Revolution, for instance, was an attempt on the part of a mighty nation to realize the True, the Good, and the Beautiful. Why did it fail? Simply, because such erroneous notions prevailed regarding the nature of Truth. After the first outburst of enthusiasm, and when it became necessary to erect institutions that might worthily guide and govern the nation, not the wants of the nation, which, of course, constituted the truth of the nation, in the sense that I attach to Truth, not these, but the theories of the brain alone were consulted. What was thus built of cobwebs could not fail having a cobweb's fate. The French are more liable to the repetition of this error than any other nation of Europe, because they are the most logical people in Europe. This, in a literary and scientific point of view, gives them a transcendent superiority in all that relates to method, but it will always curse them with a proportional inferiority in every case where Man, the Individual, is a better indicator than Man the Logical. The French are destined to traverse more revolutions than any other civilized nation, and they will gain less from their revolutions than any other civilized nation, because they will always repeat the blunder they committed at first, that of endeavoring to embody the conclusions of the Understanding rather than the yearnings of the Whole Man. When the French Revolution was driven by necessity to forget its logical janglings in the clash of battle, it resumed the grandeur of its first enthusiasm. For

force, in whatever shape it shows itself, is better than formula. Truth is Force in Thought; Force is Truth in Action; and though that Action be too often War, still, better War, better a great human reality in whatever garb it puts itself forth, than a great human pretence deceiving all, itself the most deceived. In this respect the most truthful people that ever lived were the Romans. The Good and the Beautiful in the widest and holiest sense, they were alike incapable of feeling and of blending into the framework of their social being. The True in its most comprehensive significance, they were unable to grasp. But the True, inasfar as Force is Truth, pervaded their existence, inspired their enterprise in a manner and to an extent that no future nation can ever surpass. Just in the degree that Truth the Human or the perfectly natural attitude of Man the Aggregate and Man the Individual toward the Universe, is higher than Truth the Energetic, or Truth as it manifests itself in Force, just in that degree is Truth the Energetic higher than Truth the Sectarian. And I would rather at any time accept Truth the Energetic, with all its bloody consequences, than have the Intuition of the Divine and the Sympathy with the Human stifled out of my bosom by Truth the Sectarian. The Peace of the Universe is better than the War of Swords, but the War of Swords is always better than the conflict of Antagonist Dogmas, Scholastic, Political, or Theological. From this, and all its African barrenness, Good Lord deliver us and our country. For, my friends, I reiterate the declaration, that for us or for England there is no redemption possible till we free ourselves from Sectarian thralldom. You may indirectly do this by educating and stimulating the Sentiment of the Beautiful, and by multiplying objects fitted to afford that sentiment food and delight; moreover, by kindling philanthropic warmth and extending philanthropic activity. But you can most directly and effectually do it by hurling from your own shoulders and plucking from the shoulders of others, sectarian despotism. And your weapon

in this sacred combat must be the principle which I have now and often before pressed upon your attention, that there is a Human Truth infinitely higher than the narrow articles of Faith, which Priests sell to their brethren for filthy lucre. To seize this weapon firmly, to wield it aright, you must learn to forget that you ever belonged to a sect. Till you entirely and for ever throw off this bondage and trample it beneath your feet as a worn-out rag which you have formerly most mistakenly honored as a hallowed banner in the fight of freedom, you cannot be Saviours to yourselves, you cannot be Saviours to your native land, you cannot be Saviours to Humanity, you cannot feel, you cannot comprehend, you cannot manifest the Trinity in Unity, the Unity in Trinity, the Blending of Perfect Man with Perfect God, the Heavenly Harmony of the True, the Good, and the Beautiful. Cease to read exclusively or chiefly sectarian books or sectarian periodicals; cease in any shape to identify yourselves with sectarian objects of any kind; cease altogether to touch the unclean thing. I have frequently told you that the mere theological negation of orthodoxy, unless it take grander social and religious developements, is apt to degenerate into the same monstrous hypocrisy in Religion which Aristocratic reform is in Politics. That is the same fraud among sects which this is among parties. Both have the pretence of Liberalism on the lip, and a thorough disregard for the people in the heart. Both are unpopular, and deservedly so, because both with all their glib plausibilities are thoroughly indifferent to popular emancipation and popular enjoyment. Unless I knew that all past experience is present wisdom and present holiness I should regret with most crouching shame, I should mourn with sorest lamentation, that the most brilliant, energetic, ardent period of my life should have been expended on what I cannot help regarding as the paltriest, though most prating, of pedantries. By future deeds I must atone for bygone mistakes. And among those future deeds will I trust be that of preventing my fellows from committing mistakes of a

similar kind. I shall be the more encouraged in believing my ability to accomplish this, if I can beget in you the disposition to care nothing, absolutely nothing, for names, but to be willing to be called Progressionists, Individualists, Humanists, Universists, Naturists, anything rather than Sectarians. Names are of small importance ; but yet in all cases you must live down the bad name which your neighbor has given you before you can manifest yourself to your neighbor as a reality. This is what I am doing, and it is what you must also do. It is enough to say to any one who asks you what you are :—I am a Man striving through the harmonization of the Good, the Beautiful, and the True, in my Being, and through the Appropriation of the Good, the Beautiful, and the True, in Creation, to become a Divinity. Say to all questioners ;—I am a Man ; it is my ambition to be what God made me, in order that I may become a portion of God himself. The most commonplace things are the greatest novelties, and you will rouse the attention of your brethren more by claiming and proclaiming manhood as your proudest attribute and privilege than if you paraded in the World's gaze a system as complicated and mystical, as that of a genius and a Saint,—Emanuel Swedenborg. A season, my friends, is approaching, a season is rapidly approaching, which will force you, which will force all men, to be men, not from the loftier relations and aimings of our nature, but from the grim clutch and pressure of Necessity. It is evident to any one who looks at the world sagaciously, or, what is better, sagely, that Railways and all kindred innovations are rapidly and resistlessly democratic. Some shortsighted people prognosticate that the march of scientific invention and of material enterprise in these modern times tends to widen the gulph, already too wide, between the Rich and the Poor, and that ere many years elapse there will be only two classes,—Princes and Paupers. Be assured that this is not the catastrophe to be dreaded. It is only silly scribblers who think that they have settled great questions by writing about them, and changed the determinations of Provi-

dence because they have kindly given him a hint, that can dream of any such preposterous result to all the majestic strivings of Civilization. But Nature, or rather God, having vainly tried, by appealing to the mind and to the heart, to make a small dominant class more merciful to the various classes below, may resort to the expedient of accomplishing the object, by reducing all classes to the same material level ; if not exposing each and all to the same material hardships, yet giving to each and all participation in the chief material advantages. When by the power of association applied to material enterprise, immeasurably grander are those things which the Public, or some portion of the Public, creates for the Public, than anything that the affluence of lords or the power of kings can create for themselves, how small will a lord or a king appear in the presence of this material magnificence ! On whom alone will this general levelling innocuous fall ? On you, my friends, if you dare be men according to the conception of manhood that I have so frequently given you, and on all who dare to realize that conception. What will it import to him who has striven to be a Man, not in the eye of Man but in the eye of God, who has striven to be a Man by establishing his spirit in the harmonious Unity of the Good, the True, and the Beautiful, that Science searching out the secrets of Matter has reduced all men to one miserable uniformity, and that physical Civilization outrunning Moral and Mental Civilization, has brought round again the reign of the lowest physical necessities, so that Society, if it is to exist at all, must begin anew and shiver all conventionalism to pieces ; what will all this import to him who has ever and ever aimed to be a Man, not from external pressure, but from inner prompting ? Nothing. He can say to his fellows,—What circumstances have made you, I have made myself ; how rich is my reward for a selfdenial which you have never dared to exercise !

LECTURE XXXI.

THE RELATION OF SECTS AND PARTIES TO TRUTH AND PROGRESS.

THE thirtieth article of my Confession of Faith, the thirtieth principle in the System of Individualism, is the following :— I believe that sects and parties are simply instruments of Truth and Progress, and though, from the social as well as from the combative nature of Man, the entire disappearance of sects and parties is improbable, yet no man who values his manhood, who loves his brethren, and who reverences his God, should ever sacrifice the end for the sake of the Instrument.

Though all the propositions, my friends, contained in the Creed of a Man, have, as I believe, an eternal significance, yet some of them there be that have a more direct and potent application than the rest to the existing circumstances, wants, and tendencies of Society. Of this class is the one I have now introduced to your attention. It is manifest to the most unthinking and the most unobservant, that one mighty obstacle to human improvement at present is the pertinacious adherence to sect and party of many who have long outgrown sectarian bigotries and factious malignities. There is not a sect or a party in England that could last for a day if its only strength and support were those who give a hearty and entire adhesion to its principles and objects. In the early times of faith, when a sect or a party has been recently formed, the numerical difference between real and formal believers cannot be great. It augments, however, in proportion as the an-

tiquity of the sect or the party augments, so that at last the real believers completely disappear; and if the system or the institution continues still to wear a semblance to life, it is only from the tenacity of habit, or because no fresh fact has yet succeeded in organizing itself into a symmetrical and missionary vigor. Now no new sects or parties exist at the present time in England, at least none important, or likely to become important. The real believers, therefore, the earnest, enthusiastic, devoted believers, those who would be ready to peril all for the sake of a conviction, must be few when compared to the formal believers. We must not, however, suppose that all the latter are actuated by motives of a sinister kind, in maintaining an external connection with that which no longer receives the loving, ardent, spontaneous homage of their souls. No doubt a large portion of them have selfish reasons for their conduct. But there is a considerable and most honorable and intelligent portion, who continue to cling to the sect or the party, not from their attachment thereto, but, forasmuch as they see no other sect or party with which they could consistently co-operate, or which makes any approach to a realization of their aspirings for human salvation. They are not yet enlightened enough to discover, what I have long been teaching you, that the sectarian badge and the sectarian bondage are easily dispensed with by him who would work with utmost energy for the redemption of Man. When once they make the discovery, existing sects and parties will be scattered to the four winds of Heaven. Take, for instance, the Church of England. Nothing could save that Church from immediate dissolution, if its only sustainment were those who more peculiarly merit the name of members of the Church of England. It is the progressionists in the Church who alone perpetuate its empire, men for whom the Church of England is simply the supposed most efficient agency for the incorporation of certain theories, and who, whether called Evangelicals or Puseyites, or Pietist Rationalists, of the Arnold and Whately school, would far

rather, as recent examples have proved, abandon the Church, than abandon their theories. The substance of the Church of England, whether as to dogma or form, has always been something equivalent to Arminianism. But Arminianism is a sober faith, is a compromise between antagonistic faiths, is a reconciliation of extremes, and, therefore, little fitted to kindle enthusiasm. It is, consequently, altogether incompetent to satisfy the religious wants, and to grapple with the religious perils, of an era characterized by great social and political turmoil such as our own ; all the more, that for the last fifty years, Arminianism, both among the clergy and the laity, has been declining. What then is it that gives the Church of England so much of apparent and also so much of real vigor, but the innovators within its fold, who float unfixed between their habitudes of submission, their associations of attachment, and their allegiance to a revolutionary idea? It is vain to say that the internal innovations in the Church cause divisions in the Church. So they do. But division is a fountain of life, as much as multiplication or addition. It is only subtraction which is death. Sure we are, that internal innovation will be more fatal to the Church of England than the onslaught of its fiercest foes ; but for those innovations however, it would have had no power to resist its foes. If it had begun the present century by exhibiting itself as the same old quiet, and comfortable platitude and prolixity which it was from the death of Queen Anne to the French Revolution, it would, ere this, have perished from sheer and incurable feebleness. The internal innovations in Methodism, Romanism, Independency, Quakerism, which have kept them alive, may not be so obvious, may not be so easily classified, as those that have traversed and tormented the Church of England. But a little research would tend to bring them, if not so clearly, yet as eminently forth. Politics, however, offer at present a still more illustrious and convincing example than religion of the principle I am now proclaiming. A dozen years ago, every sane man concluded that the old Tory party,

so rabid and so rapacious, was extinct. The Reform Bill, and the enthusiasm thereunto belonging, seemed to have demolished it for ever. Suddenly, however, that which was thought dead proved that it had only been sleeping, and rushed into energetic action, with what appeared more than its pristine strength. How was this miracle accomplished? By means simple as sunshine. Though resistance to all change, and a bigoted adherence to the traditions of the Past, and a haughty blindness, and a pertinacity in wrong, have not ceased for one instant to constitute the basis of Toryism as such, yet in Toryism, as a party, internal transmutations have taken place kindred to those that have distinguished the Church of England as a sect. Nine tenths of the Tories, though still marshalled under the Tory banner, have ceased to be Tories at all. They are either Progressionists of a practical kind, like the followers of Peel, or of a poetical kind, like the amiable and accomplished, but somewhat feeble and frivolous, Young England school. For Tories of this kind, Civilization is as great a fact, and for some of them a more radiant and comprehensive fact, than ~~for those~~ ~~denominated~~ Liberals. Anxious, however, as ~~they~~ manifestly are for the regeneration of their country, and for the progress of the world, they are still the slaves of party. They would not, indeed, throw aside their earnest patriotism and their enlightened philanthropy for the sake of their party. But they permit necessary measures to be postponed if party convenience or indolence demands ~~the~~ delay; to let wise measures be marred and shorn of their ~~fair~~ proportions, because their party has not the courage to propose or the perseverance to carry them in their completeness; to wink at blunders in legislation, or iniquities in administration, committed by their political friends, which they would fiercely denounce in their political foes; to palliate the delinquency which they would scorn themselves to commit, lest if it came before the public eye in its undisguised foulness, it would irreparably damage the faction with which they habitually act;—timidly

to patch that which should be thoroughly and resolutely reformed, and to attempt the improvement of that which pining in hopeless paralysis ought at once to be abolished. Not for an hour would so many brave and honorable minds participate in such trimming and trickery, not for an instant would they justify that in public affairs and in political conflict, which they would loathe in private conduct, if the article of my Creed, which I have this night brought before you, pressed home all the weight of its meaning to their hearts. Taught by the philosophy contained in this article, they and all others similarly situated, of whatever sect or of whatever party, would see, that even if the advantages to Society which they try to persuade themselves are realized through the compactness and vigor of the religious or political tribe to which they belong, and therefore through their fidelity to it, were not exaggerations and fond delusions of their own fancy, they defeat and neutralize all those advantages by the flagrant example of insincerity which they give to the community. Moral Truth and Moral Progress,—what more important than these? And how can any other Truth or any other Progress be benefited if these are sacrificed? And note well that the insincerity of the high-minded is much more pernicious than the insincerity of the mercenary. If a man cling to a sect or a party for selfish objects, while both his sentiments and his opinions are opposed to it, others are more likely to be disgusted with his hypocrisy than infected by his corruption. But if a man famous for his nobleness of character, and for his chivalrous disinterestedness, sacrifice his convictions rather than damage his party or his sect, he unwittingly but most effectually affords to the sordid, the adventurer, the renegade, an apology which is dexterously and greedily seized on for every treachery to Conscience, Justice, and Right. Of course, if there be any one,—and we know that there are many,—who considers a sect or a party not only as an instrument but as an end, little could argument or appeal of mine avail to persuade him

of this error. But it is not of such, to such, I am speaking now, but of and to those whose education, whose knowledge, whose sympathies, whose aspirings, all raise them far above the meagre and narrow region of factious strife and sectarian antagonism, who yet, however, from a want of more light or of more valor, perhaps from a want of both, yield their manly neck to the yoke, and their luminous brow to the brand of a petty and pestering thralldom, which an accident of birth or of position has created. I do not ask them to quarrel with their sect or party, or even to leave it; perchance that sect and that party may respond more to their Individuality, may aid them more in its developement, may help more to embody their theories of Human Progression into facts than any others. I simply ask them to co-operate as willingly and as zealously with sects and parties far different from those with which they are habitually and more closely connected, if they carry more rapidly and completely on to victory their yearnings and schemes for human salvation. In general, however, it is certain that perfect sincerity would require the entire separation of the class of whom and to whom I am now discoursing, from the sects and parties with which they are at present united. But it is not necessary that the separation should be violent, abrupt and ostentatious. It cannot be too tranquil and modest. It should be less an outburst of indignation at the sect or the party we abandon than the re-conquest and re-assertion of our manhood. It is foolish as it is fiendish to set on fire the dwelling we are quitting, because its dimensions are no longer capacious enough to offer a fitting tabernacle to our spirit. If no longer large enough for us, it may be large enough for those whose mind has not grown so much or so rapidly as our own. There are moments when I reflect with something akin to remorse on the fierce and bitter words I hurled at the theological faith I renounced to embrace Unitarianism. "Whatever that faith may be in itself, or whatever might be my feelings regarding it, at least it was the faith of my childhood,—the

faith in which my fathers had lived for many generations. It therefore deserved at my hands respect, commiseration, forbearance. And all these feelings it is much more easy to cherish and display when our deliverance from sectarian thralldom is not the transition from one sect to another sect, or from one party to another party, but is simply the resumption of our Individuality. In the former case, the new sect or the new party with which we ally ourselves, demands our hatred and denunciation of the old as a proof of the honesty of our conversion. But in the latter case, we have none to satisfy but ourselves. When we have once broken away from the sectarian despotism, the only question for us, is, whether we have become as thoroughly and energetically individual as we aspired to be, when deliverance for us seemed almost impossible, and dawned only afar off on the summit of the mountain.

Amid the many circumstances, my friends, which deter the unsectarian mind at the present day from taking an unsectarian position, is the dread of isolation, and of missionary inaction as a consequence thereof. If this dread were once overcome, other fears of a less alarming and vital kind would be easily dissipated. The larger the political or religious association to which we are linked, the more natural is this dread of isolation. Those who belong to small sects and small parties, cannot understand such dread, and are apt to consider it a monstrous folly. It is not however by laughing at it as a folly that we can banish it from the mind of those who are its victims, but by showing them from the history of the Past, that every great work that has been wrought for Humanity has had for its doer a solitary man, one thrust forth from the throng of social intercourse, from domestic delights, from all the comforts and enjoyments that the human heart clings to the most tenderly ; by showing them that our powers are multiplied and strengthened in a marvellous degree the moment we with stern will throw ourselves on our own personal prowess and unassisted endeavor, and that

even if no other proof existed of how much could be done by him who works alone, literature would suffice. Books have been the revolutionizers of the world, they have conquered more than the sword's slash and the cannon's thunder, yet, how silently has each divine book been created! How silently has it entered on its mission! It is a mistake however for the unsectarian mind to suppose that from taking an unsectarian position, isolation would be an inevitable result. In quitting special connection with a particular sect or a particular party, in order to assume its Individuality again, it would find that it had only brought ~~itself~~ itself into fraternal contact with all sects and all parties, especially with those in all sects and all parties with whom it would most willingly fraternize. It would find that it had only widened association instead of cutting itself off from all association. It would also discover a still more comprehensive a still nobler association than this if once it seized the courage to burst away from sectarian bondage,—community with the brotherhood of Truth throughout the world, with the poets, with the philosophers, with the philanthropists, who in all lands are working for no other object than the happiness and enlightenment of man, and who obey no other inspiration than that of making the Universe, material and spiritual, a more glad and glorious revelation to the human intelligence. Will not community with those saints and prophets and martyrs be an ample compensation for the small conventional advantages which connection with a sect or a party bestows? If, in spite of such appeals, unsectarian minds should hesitate still to make that one bold step that would free them for ever, I should endeavor to decide them by putting to them the question, why did a particular sect or a particular party, those for instance with which they are connected, arise at first? Was it not to assert some new truth? Was it not to aid the march of human progress? Are they not then warring, in their adherence to a sect and a party, with that for which the sect or the party originally arose, when that sect or

that party has ceased to be the dominating truth of their soul, has ceased to march as they know Society as a whole is marching? There are, at the present day, men who have taken an unsectarian position in religion, who are afraid to take an unsectarian position in politics; others who have taken an unsectarian position in politics, who are afraid to take an unsectarian position in religion. The latter, however, are the more numerous, since less is the risk to him who is unsectarian in politics than to him who is unsectarian in religion. Be it ours, my friends, to do what so few have the light and the courage to do, to be alike unsectarian in our religious and political attitude and utterances; to labor with the good of all sects and of all parties for common objects of social emancipation; and doubt not that thousands and thousands, even in bigoted England, will be induced to follow an example so sublime, and to work in the same noble spirit that we work for the elevation and regeneration of our race.

LECTURE XXXII.

THE GRAND OBSTACLE TO INDIVIDUALISM.

THE thirty-first article of my Confession of Faith, the thirty-first principle in the System of Individualism, is the following :—I believe, that as the Doctrine of Individuality, when fully carried out, will prove the greatest blessing to Humanity that has yet fallen on its bosom, so the chief obstacle that this doctrine will have to encounter, and the chief curse that it will have to vanquish, is Conventionalism.

Many, my friends, may admit the last part of this proposition, who would most strenuously contest the first. Many may admit that the Doctrine of Individuality has nothing so much to fear as Conventionalism, who would deny altogether that the Doctrine itself is the marvellous revelation, the mighty redemption, I am disposed to regard it. Yet, unless I believed it to be all that I have ever represented it, even in my most enthusiastic moods, little should I care to know what the hindrances and the retardments were which stood in the way of its final victory. Bold and rapturous, however, as the prophecies occasionally are which I utter concerning my Doctrine, they convey only the most inadequate notion of the ardor and intensity of my faith in its value and destiny. Perhaps my visions of what the System of Individualism will ultimately accomplish for mankind, are all the sublimer in that they point to the far Future and do not yearn for temporary and contemporary triumphs. I sow the seed, and I sow it with lavish hand, but it is only on the glad eye of coming

centuries that the glory of the harvest will gleam. It is precisely because I think the idea, of which I am the teacher, so divine, that I am convinced it must but slowly climb to and grasp the mastery of the world. If it were to flash and fulminate on the startled souls of men now, how little fitted and fated would it be to seize universal supremacy! But it must soar in silence to empire, as the stars glide in silence one by one into the azure infinite of the evening. Mere antagonistic revolutions, such as Luther's, may attain dominion otherwise; not otherwise can a great positive potency, religious or philosophical, beneficently spread. In reference, my friends, to the transcendent estimate that I cherish of the Doctrine of Individuality, I would have you to regard me either as the most earnest or the most presumptuous of living men. Either this, this which I unfold with such fervency of spirit, is the noblest of all truths, or I am a deluder of others and of myself to an extent that history offers no parallel of. Scrutinize me well, scrutinize my doctrine well, and then pronounce, for it is needful for your own peace that ye should. What justice to me demands, mercy to yourselves likewise demands. I have unsettled all your old prejudices; you cannot relapse into the traditional dogmatism from which I have disenthralled you; it behoves you therefore to know what I have put in its stead, lest I be mocking you with a phantasm of liberty. Reflect, my friends, that it is only through you and other disciples, that I may gather round me here and elsewhere, during the residue of my pilgrimage, that I can truly commence the celestial labor allotted me by God. Much of my thought I may be able to enshrine in books. But that of me and in me, which is best; that of me and in me, which is most impulsive, spontaneous, vital and godlike, that of my nature and of my yearnings, and meditations, and sympathies, which is most adapted to move and regenerate the earth and to gladden the dwellers thereof, I cannot put in books. My best argument must be my own life, and the most corroborative illustration of that argument must be the lives of my

followers. It matters not how few these may be, provided they are thoroughly convinced of my honesty as an utterer of the oracles of the Highest, of my honor as a man, of the unspeakable excellence of the principle I enounce, and strive to the utmost stretch of their energies to realize that principle alike, in the ordinary and extraordinary circumstances and relations of their career. It is the eloquence of your surpassing virtue, my friends, that must persuade the doubting, rouse the indifferent, and proclaim far and wide the grandeur and beatitude that dwell in the Individuality of the Individual. Unless I can go forth boldly with this weapon, to fight the battles of the Lord, they must, as far as I am concerned, remain unfought. You, by your walk and conversation, by the whole tenor and tendency of your existence, must capacitate me to say to those who question the superiority of my faith,—Do you find my words cold, do you find my reasonings feeble, then, behold in these, my believers, the transforming strength of my doctrine, and resist and refute that living logic if you can. It is narrated of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, one of the noblest women that human records can boast of, that on one occasion, I forget what, when some vulgar and haughty gossip prated of mundane wealth and of mundane ornament, she proudly and magnanimously cried, pointing to her children, some of them the future essaying saviours of Rome from the thralldom of the Aristocracy,—These, these are my jewels. Thus, my friends, would I wish to point to you. When assailed by the stupid, the selfish, the sceptical, or the bad, put in my mouth by the beauty and the benignity of your being the invincible speech,—Trample my theory under your feet, if so it pleaseth you, but gaze on these holy and radiant facts,—men and women struggling through my urgency and agency, and example and appeal, to vanquish the outward, to rise above the feverish and fainting flesh to the heights of the skies, where the Deity breathes a still small voice of counsel and of love to the souls of his sincere and ardent worshippers; gaze wisely on these, and

then treat me as a dreamer if you choose. Speech has been bestowed, my friends, by the inscrutable God of the Universe, in whose sight we are less than nothing and vanity; speech has been bestowed by him, not to display our powers, but to communicate our defects. The powers are their own orators, and do not need to borrow the fluency of the lips. The greatest men, those in whom the essence of the Alone Great has been notably incarnated, have bowed the most to the majesty of Silence. When a boy, I read a memoir of the Emperor Napoleon, in which it was stated that all that this unrivalled battler, on a famous court day, could or did say to one after another of the finest, most brilliant, most talented women in France, was,—It is very hot. Now did this prove that Napoleon was a fool, or, if not a fool, a genius only in the art and mystery of war? Far from it. It simply proved that he had been so accustomed to flash as the presiding and penetrating angel through miraculous deeds, that he attached small worth to the frivolous rhetoric of Etiquette. Most of you have heard as a subject alike for astonishment and ridicule, that the Ancient Egyptians adored not a few of the beasts that perish. But most of you may not have heard that they adored these solely as symbols of the Eternal Monarch of the Universe. Among other animals more or less abominable they bowed down to and environed with sacerdotal splendor the hideous crocodile. Why? Let a Greek author, Plutarch, tell. He says that it is considered to be the only animal that is without a tongue, and, therefore, the suitablest of all emblems in Egyptian estimation of God the Creator, whose Providence is silent as it is sage, and is satisfied tranquilly to await its vindication in its results. Be ye, my friends, after like fashion, vindicators of the Everlasting, asserters of Individualism; not in ostentatious harangue, but in omnipotent heroism, disclose your manhood to your brethren. The great worth of the Doctrine of Individuality is unquestionably its moral worth. Of course, it has many and most operative relations with religion, with philosophy, with all that constitutes that sublime and myste-

rious thing,—Humanity ; but its main superiority, its main claim, to the attention of mankind is, that it gives to Morality a broader and stabler basis than any preceding system. The two most interesting, the two most important things to mankind, are,—Religion and Morality. From duties to God and from duties to our neighbor we cannot for a day nor for an hour escape. Unhappily, however, for our race, Morality and Religion have not received a proportionate attention. Seldom, as a whole, have men been otherwise than religious. Times have been when Religion has occupied too much both of their time and thoughts. It is wrong to think that the superstition which has characterized all nations and all periods is simply a misuse of religion ; it is likewise an excess. Morality, however, has never had that deep, abiding, comprehensive influence which the harmonies of Civilization require ; and sometimes Morality has been most defective when Religion has held the widest and most pervading dominion. There have been moral sects and moral parties ; but there has never been a moral period. It may be said, that if this be so, then Christianity has proved altogether a failure. Not at all. For it is evident that the Revelation of which Jesus was the Prophet, and in freely giving which to mankind he as freely gave his own life, was altogether or chiefly a religious revelation. It was only incidentally, and not as the main object of his Mission, that he taught Morality, and, therefore, if moral results have not flowed from the gospel in the same degree as religious results, no blame for this is attachable to Christianity, which aimed above all at enlightening and purifying the religious feelings of mankind. When Jesus rose to work through the simplest means the most wondrous of revolutions, men had not forgotten God ; but they had come to devote more of their affection and reverence to the material emblems of the Deity than to the Deity himself. It was the Mission of Jesus to convince them of, and to reclaim them from, this great error, and to show them, beyond the highest and within the most beautiful of outward things, Him who is the Maker of

them all. Now what Jesus attempted Jesus accomplished. Men have gone astray after forms since the time of Christ, and they are going astray now ; but they have never gone astray to nearly the same extent as before. We ought also to recollect that Christianity is a revolution only in process of accomplishment. During all future time its impulse will be felt, and never again will a Prophet arise like to Jesus ; for it is impossible to give sublimer ideas of Religion than he has given. And monstrous audacity on my part would it be to attempt in reference to Religion to do better than Jesus that which Jesus has done. My sole aim and attempt are to do for Morality that which Jesus has done for Religion ; to make men turn with warm hearts to their brethren while not ceasing to gaze with adoring glance to the skies. In this aim and in this attempt, so far from warring with Christianity, I shall potently assist its developement. Men have erred, not so much by being too religious, as by giving to religion an exclusive preference and a preposterous monopoly. I shall never, therefore, endeavor, when teaching the Doctrine of Individuality, to drive Religion out and to put Morality in its place. But along with those religious elements which God has planted in the human heart, and which Christ has so grandly assisted to unfold, I shall strive to bring forth in equal strength and glory those moral elements which God has no less planted therein. And so far from considering, as Christianity has accustomed men to consider, Morality as only valuable inasfar as it is the handmaid of Religion, I consider, and shall always represent, Religion as only valuable inasfar as it assists Morality. Religious duties are not binding on Man for their own sake ; they are merely valuable through their power to increase the happiness of him who fulfils them, while inspiring him to aid more nobly and heroically the improvement of the world. When a religious duty remains unfulfilled, no one is a loser but the Individual who has neglected it, and who has cut himself off thereby from a source of the holiest and sweetest emotion. God does not suffer, for he is alike unaf-

fected by our devotional praise and our devotional indifference ; and our neighbor does not suffer, for the divinest of our devotional acts are such as do not bring us into contact with our neighbor. But when we neglect a moral duty, we suffer, and our neighbor suffers likewise ; we suffer, it may be, in the power which the community may arrogate to itself of punishing our crime ; and if what we have committed is not a sin amenable to public law, at all events we suffer in the various forms of retribution and remorse ; and our neighbor suffers, for there is no moral act of ours so trifling that it does not bring us into contact with our neighbor. In making Religion simply the auxiliary of Morality, and in attaching no importance to Religion except as it aids the power of Morality, I am commencing a far more extensive and lasting change than is at first apparent. Among other things, I am thereby taking the most effectual mode of putting an end for ever to the arrogant claims and the grasping and cruel authority of the Priesthood. It is evident that as long as Religion monopolizes men's thoughts and men's feelings as it has hitherto done, as long as it is considered as the one and the only thing needful, as long as the eternal salvation or the eternal damnation of a human soul is regarded as the most important affair that can occupy that soul, so long will the priesthood trample on the freedom and the mental independence of mankind. In a matter viewed as so perilous, even the boldest will consider it necessary to have a guide. Since the Reformation, there has been as much spiritual despotism and spiritual slavery, as abject submission to the command of priests, as ever there was before. Because the Reformation left the source of the thralldom untouched. Indeed, it might be said rather to increase that thralldom ; for though, in the Popish Church, Religion was regarded as that which should have the main dominancy in men's being, it yet allowed a great importance to acts of mercy and of sacrifice. But Luther, by his doctrine of Justification by Faith, not only kept up the monopoly which Religion already possessed, but increased it by excluding

Morality from view altogether. Where faith, and faith alone, could give a title to the favor of the skies without reference to moral excellence, it became much more indispensable than formerly to have a religious guide. When, however, my friends, Religion is viewed as I have been viewing it, simply as the auxiliary of Morality, the power of the Priesthood will perish, never to revive. For, obviously, men, when induced to view Morality as the Chief Thing, and Morality as consisting in the Whole and Harmonious Developement of The Individual, which they themselves alone can accomplish for themselves, would never, while their own guides in this great process, dream of seeking a guide in a subordinate portion of that process. Now, such a Morality as this, a Morality in which The Individuality of The Individual is supremest law, necessitates and indispensably necessitates a ceaseless warfare with the current notions and customs of the community, with all which I have so frequently designated by the word Conventionalism, with all that portion of social observance which has no longer a social significance. Religious Reformation, my friends, speaks to the masses of Mankind. Moral Reformation speaks and can speak only to Individuals. In rapidity of success, therefore, the Religious Reformer has a great advantage over the Moral Reformer. Does not this show you, in addition to all that I have this night or formerly said, that you ought more and more to be strenuous and courageous in your warfare with Conventionalism, and in the unshrinking assertion of your individual manhood?

LECTURE XXXIII.

THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF GREAT TRUTHS.

THE thirty-second article of my Confession of Faith, the thirty-second principle in the System of Individualism, is the following :—I believe that the greatest and most blissful Truths have had the feeblest beginnings, and that the best proof of their divinity is, that they trusted in their incipient progress to the hand of Omnipotence alone.

We cannot have a more potent confirmation of this statement, my friends, than the fact so well known to the student of history, that, with few exceptions, it is impossible to discover when or where the truths that have pierced the profoundest into the hearts of mankind, that have contributed the most to the ennoblement of civilization, had their origin. We see the energy of their effects, and the glory of their triumphs, but it is in vain that we look for their birthplace. How lost in the darkness of the Past the first appearance and the early growth of the chief philosophical truths, which, next to religious sentiments and ideas, have tended most to modify and impel the spiritual destiny of the world! We find some of the sublimest treasured in Greek books, and adorned with every beauty that the genius, with every grace that the taste, of the Greeks could bestow. But, even the Greeks themselves confess that such truths had not sprung up on the soil of Greece, but been transplanted from foreign climes. Most of the celebrated Greek philosophers merely did for Egypt that which, in an illustrious manner, Carlyle in

England, and Madame de Stael in France, have done for Germany,—interpreted and popularised thoughts which, in their native form, were uncouth and repulsive. But have we any reason to believe that the truths which Egypt gave to Greece, Egypt itself produced? Does not every probability lead us to conclude, that those truths were the common heritage of the East, that they had stirred the brain of many a solitary sage before they became popular traditions; that they had long lived as popular traditions before Egypt robed them in sacerdotal gorgeousness and theological symmetry? And here it may be remarked that, as literary revolutions are, in general, nothing more than revolutions of style, so philosophical revolutions can scarcely, in any case, be considered as anything but revolutions in phraseology. There is great apparent novelty in modern German philosophy; but its real novelty is small. The main merit of German philosophy is, that it has raised men's minds above, far above, the degrading sensational systems, which for nearly a century had dominated Europe. In its principal features it is simply an elaborate revival of the sacred intuitions that dawned on the fresh souls of Earth's first thinkers in the radiant and mystic East. All philosophy is an attempt to do one of three things; to exhibit to the individual the grandeur of the Universe; to exhibit the grandeur of the Individual in the presence of the Universe; or to harmonize the Individual with the Universe. Now, these three modes of philosophizing were made four or five thousand years ago, if not so methodically, yet with more of celestial aspiring and meditation than they can ever be again. They were made by men whose name and whose nation are alike forgotten. But even when we can trace a philosophical doctrine whose import and influence are mighty alike, even when we can trace it to the bosom of him who conceived it and endowed it with organic life, how insignificant is it in its commencement, how slow in attaining its fitting empire. Take Spinoza for an example, and one of the most suitable. Now,

I am not disposed to vindicate the Creed of Spinoza. I frankly declare that it is not mine. But I cannot help venerating Spinoza the man, nor regarding Spinoza the philosopher as the most godlike and godleavened ponderer on Creation that the last eighteen hundred years can show. What, however, has Spinoza's fate been? I do not speak of the venom, the ribaldry and the falsehood which priests have poured upon his grave. But what has been the lot of his philosophy? Nearly two centuries have passed away since he, so humbly and beautifully, lived before God and Man. From time to time a few of the educated, more large of breast, more curious of intellect, than their brethren, may have thrown a cursory glance on his forbidden volumes; now and then a kindred spirit may have studied them and drawn nourishment therefrom. But it is only within the last dozen or fifteen years that Spinoza has been regarded by a somewhat wider circle as a Prophet of the Lord, as a miraculous revealer of the mysteries of the Infinite, as one whose whole nature burned in ineffable sympathy with the Highest. Not many years ago, a History of Philosophy was written by an eloquent but not very erudite, or surface-piercing countryman of mine, in which I believe the name of Spinoza did not once occur. This man had been a Professor, and a popular Professor, in one of the Scotch Universities. Can I give a better proof how little, till recently, Spinoza was cared for, or cared for only by priests to be calumniated and cursed? At present students, scholars, are beginning to know him better. But generations, many generations, must sink into the tomb ere the mass of students and scholars know him as they know Aristotle, Plato, or Locke the Arid and the Angular. And even when students, scholars, bursting through cloud upon cloud of prejudice, have made of Spinoza a favorite and familiar altar, where they may offer up the first fruits of their being, it is only in the remote, the remotest, future, that Spinoza can become a home fact, a thing of which men may talk and be glad, as an Englishman,

a Frenchman, or a Swiss, might talk and be glad of the holy and inspiring events in the history of his country. By the way, it may be stated that this dread doom has no connection with any literary peculiarity; for, unlike the prosy, awkward, pedantic Germans, there is nothing in Spinoza which the capacity the most lazy and limited may not comprehend.

Fichte is another philosopher whom I may have mentioned to you, with as much commendation as Spinoza, perhaps occasionally still more. Fichte did for the personality of Man, that which Spinoza did for the divinity of the Universe. To reconcile the personality of Man with the Divinity of the Universe was beyond the power, perhaps did not enter into the wish, of either. At all events, Fichte was as great a prophet in raising Man up to God, as Spinoza was in bringing God down to Man. Has Fichte had any better destiny than Spinoza? Somewhat, because he lived in a later age of the world. As a man however, rather than a philosopher. He has not been so reviled, but he has been equally unstudied or misunderstood. He differed from Spinoza by possessing that vehemence of feeling, and that vivacity of imagination, which enabled him when he chose to treat a popular subject and to treat an abstruse subject popularly. But he had not that fertile fancy, that rich Memory, that ingenious subtlety, that profuse, that prodigal suggestiveness which distinguished the old English writers, Hooker, Taylor, Barrow, South and others, which enabled them to make all subjects not only popular but irresistibly interesting. Hence he has written no work which all the world will read as it reads the Pilgrim's Progress. But he has written works which any one who feels himself impelled to go beyond the most superficial acquirements in literature and research will yearningly seek after. Now beyond these popular books, books which contain merely shreds and fragments of his philosophy, Fichte is little known even by his countrymen. Yet whatever other objects he had in view when writing them, his main object unques-

tionably was, to stimulate the attention of mankind to his more abstract and systematic productions. But the earnest appreciators, the thorough penetrators of the latter, are almost as few as when Fichte died.

To pass however from philosophy, with which, in its highest aimings and manifestations, few of you can be intimate, let me take what recent events have made a very appropriate example. Just seventy years have elapsed since Adam Smith published the first edition of his famous work, the *Wealth of Nations*, in which he enounced and expounded the principles of what is called Free Trade. For a time this work, now the manual of all who pretend to know anything about political economy, attracted little attention. After a while, what he advocated in reference to commercial intercourse began to be admitted by the more enlightened statesmen and politicians, as desirable but not possible. Twenty years ago, some of the more benevolent of England's public counsellors and guides, advised and succeeded in obtaining, a very moderate application of Adam Smith's theories, respecting the wrong and absurdity of commercial restrictions. And now after a teasing and tedious struggle, what do we see? The most cheering of all sights; the prime minister of England rising amid the gladness and gratitude of the nation, to hurl the final blow at the most grievous, grinding, and grasping of all commercial Monopolies. Though you and I thrill with rapture, when contemplating this noble deed, we must not suppose that commercial freedom has no more conquests to gain. It has a thousand and a thousand in our own land, and it has countless in other countries, even in those, such as France and America, which boast the most of their progress. And Australia, Polynesia, and the whole habitable globe, will require to be as well peopled and much more civilized than England, before Adam Smith's Free Trade prophecies receive their ultimate, victorious, benignant realization.

It may seem, notwithstanding what I have now uttered, as

if Religious truths were a contradiction to the article of my creed which I am this evening illustrating, and that the greatest of all religious truths, Christianity, not only has obtained a wide dominion, but early seized a vigorous dominion. To this I reply; first, that religious sentiment, whenever it becomes the germ of an immense revolution, such as that which Christianity caused, is never anything else but the transmutation into invincible sympathy and electric inspiration of that which has circulated from primeval times as a philosophical idea, and that in accordance with this fact, Christ's religion, where it is found in most perfection—in the Gospel of John—closely resembles the philosophy of Plato, the mystic theology of the Egyptians, and the ancient oriental traditions regarding God and the Universe; secondly, that the divinest part of Christianity, that which alone deserves to be called Christianity, has never yet been understood or felt by the mass of those who call themselves Christians, and is only beginning, if indeed it has begun, its mission; and thirdly, that Christ was cradled in a manger and died on a cross; declared that while the foxes had holes the Son of Man had not where to lay his head; was born the poor, lived the persecuted; and need we aught more to assure us that he who was thus denuded of outward garniture and greatness could trust for the success of his religion to the Almighty only? Those who might desire to bring forward Christianity as a proof that a truth may be the greatest and most blissful and yet rapidly spread, forget that Christianity was not only a truth, and the divinest of truths, but that soon after its promulgation it erected itself into a formidable instrument of antagonism against the forms and institutions of Paganism. These were hastening to their fall when Christianity arose; they had fulfilled their mission, and their inevitable decay would, by that very necessity which impels and moulds human affairs, have created some new fact, some new and vigorous reality, even if Christianity had not arisen. Had Christianity appeared at a time when heathenism had all the freshness of

youth in it and around it, it would have gone forth, as Christ meant it to go forth, simply as a positive teaching. It would slowly, most slowly, have spread from mind to mind and from heart to heart; it would never have come into direct collision with Heathenism, but through its silent and effectual influence Heathenism would have perished without turmoil, without conflict, as the ripe fruit drops from the tree. And this is the way that every positive teacher would wish the truth of which he is the missionary to spread, whether that truth be moral, philosophical, or religious. A truth which is thus diffused excites none of men's angry passions; it mingles as a natural thing with the whole humanhood of their being; it seems to them less a doctrine that they have received from others than a suggestion that has flashed up, welcome and rapturous, in the fervent fertility of their own brain; it has transformed and elevated and expanded their faculties ere they are aware of its presence; it has become a light eternal and holy in the remotest depths of their souls, where all before was darkness, but they know not when the darkness dispersed and the light arrived. A truth, however, which sets itself up in opposition to a falsehood, or an apparent falsehood, may extend its empire with more energy and fulmination; but it loses in blissfulness what it gains in outward glory. It is at war both with those who fight against it and with those whom it would convince. And even those whom it convinces it converts only to be warriors on its behalf. In this jangle and chaos of fierce antipathies, what was at first the contest for and against truth becomes a mere selfish and savage struggle for supremacy. And it is only through the course of long ages and the clash of many reactions that the truth, which has been thus strangled and mangled by the mad and merciless hands of sects and parties, can at last disclose itself in the whole of its beauty and power to the bosom of the Individual. On this distinction between positive and antagonistic teaching I have frequently insisted; and I insist upon it all the more, as up

to the present period you have fought under the banner of sectarian antagonism, and you might be tempted by habit to display the same militant spirit in favor of my distinctive truths which you have hitherto done in defence of your theological peculiarities. Now, my friends, it was not the fault of Christianity that it took a warring attitude from the beginning. Christ declared,—Blest are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth: and it was his obvious wish that his disciples should inherit the earth, or rather obtain the power to do good on the earth. But when a system is worn out and ready to shiver in pieces from its own inherent corruption, it is much more suspicious and susceptible than when it possesses the utmost plenitude of energetic resources. It was sufficient then for the gospel to be a novelty, to rouse all the wrath of the priestly corporations among the Heathen. And the war once begun, it could not again cease till victory decided emphatically and finally for the one side or the other. Now superficial observers confound the long conflict that arose between Heathenism and Christianity, and the triumphant growth of the latter in the course of a few centuries, with the progress of Christianity as a divine truth, as a blissful and spiritual idea. Christianity as a divine truth, as the sublime ideal that Christ conceived and nurtured in the profundity of his breast, would have spread more rapidly, would have spread more effectually, if its outward career, as a system of antagonism, had been slower. Men have been so occupied in fighting for their dogma of it, that they have not had time or inclination to look into or pierce the mystery of itself. So that so far from admitting that Christianity refutes the principle which I have this evening brought before you, I maintain, on the contrary, that it is the best example that I could find in its favor.

Every truth, my friends, every great and blissful truth, is subject to the same chances in this respect as Christianity. However positively taught by its author, it will degenerate into a weapon of antagonism, if the existing institutions,

social or religious, which it is calculated to destroy are thoroughly exhausted and headlong hastening to the sepulchre. In that case, these will rouse themselves into a supernatural vigor and strive to crush the new foe,—as often when dying, he that an instant before was unable to move a single muscle becomes suddenly endowed with the strength of a giant. On the contrary, if those institutions are filled with something of their pristine life, and panoplied with something of their pristine potency, the truth goes forth on its silent path to fulfil, not in strife, not in struggle, but with most loving influence, its mighty mission.

Apply what I have been saying to the Doctrine of Individuality. I teach it as a positive truth, and I wish it to fulfil its work as a positive truth. Remaining such, it will most effectually accomplish that which I think it capable of accomplishing. But it does not depend on me to keep it in this region of positive endeavor, nor does it depend on those who, as glad disciples, receive it from my lips. It depends altogether upon the circumstance, whether the institutions which it is fitted and intended to destroy have more or less of vitality. If they are as far exhausted as Heathenism was when the gospel appeared, then it is certain to become antagonistic ; if they are not, then it will go forth as I wish it, as a positive influence. Whether however fated to be positive or fated to be antagonistic in its incipient efforts, nothing I believe can hinder its final victory.

LECTURE XXXIV.

THE POWER OF ENTHUSIASM.

THE thirty-third and last article of my Confession of Faith, the thirty-third principle in the System of Individualism, is the following :—I believe that Enthusiasm is the soul of success ; that he whose heart does not burn with Enthusiasm cannot be a Prophet ; that he who cannot kindle Enthusiasm in the hearts of others cannot be a Prophet ; and that he whose heart is dead to Enthusiasm cannot be the Disciple of a Prophet.

Earnestness and Enthusiasm are not exactly the same thing. To be enthusiastic is to surrender ourselves with utmost ardor and gladness to an idea, to a sentiment, without reference to personal results. Whereas we may be, indeed we often are, exceedingly earnest about matters in which self and self of a very ugly kind is alone the inspiration. Earnestness is the great element of Enthusiasm, but it does not constitute Enthusiasm. Neither are Fanaticism and Enthusiasm to be regarded as identical. The faith of the fanatic and that of the enthusiast are alike fervent ; but the fanatic seeks to realize and disseminate his faith for the faith's sake ; the enthusiast seeks to diffuse his faith for the sake of the benig- nities it may scatter abroad. The latter that he may bless, believes ; the other too often curses, because he believes. There is something noble, generous, loving, in Enthusiasm, of which Fanaticism is utterly incapable. Among the anomalies that perplex us in human character and conduct is this ; that

religion and enthusiasm have more of kindredness than any other two principles that influence the human heart, yet no two principles are found less allied in human action than these, enthusiasts in general assuming every garb but a religious one ; that no two principles have less affinity than religion and fanaticism, yet it is under a religious banner that fanatics are almost always found marshalled. With the exception of religious ideas, all ideas that are fitted potently to stir the heart of man begin with fanaticism and rise into enthusiasm ; religious ideas, on the contrary, begin with enthusiasm and degenerate into fanaticism. The early Christians were enthusiasts ; the mass of religionists at present, when their warmth, too often pretended, is real, are not enthusiasts but fanatics. Enthusiasm however, my friends, is not merely dowered with a moral excellence which fanaticism never exhibits, but it has also much higher intellectual accomplishments and tendencies. The spirit of sacrifice, wherever found, or in what manner soever shown, is always a spirit of illumination. No one, however lowly his lot, can be ignorant, who is capable of irradiating his earthly path with the divinity of a renouncement. Enthusiasm therefore has a mental grasp and breadth and elevation of which fanaticism is destitute, because not possessing the same self-denying heroism and affection. I wish you well to seize, my friends, this distinction between enthusiasm and fanaticism, otherwise you might suppose that I am desirous of praising and recommending a mode of feeling and of action similar to those which have made Methodism so disgusting. It is not a blind, headlong, brutal order that I advocate, but a heat that enlightens and a light that warms. Such a harmony of light and heat, such a union of thought with courage and love, triumphs, and irresistibly triumphs, however mighty the obstacles that may be arrayed against it ; triumphs not because it is thought, not because it is courage, but because it is love. Enthusiasm, then, is only another name for philanthropy, a philanthropy however of a more exalted order than the indolent good nature which so often

steals this title. Paul the apostle ere his conversion was a fanatic; after it he was an enthusiast. The difference however between Paul before and after, was not merely a difference of knowledge. No, my friends; but the same supernatural gleam that flashed a transforming idea on Paul's brain, was a still more celestial revelation to his heart, roused yearnings there that Bigotry had smothered, and unscaled the fountain of charities which the thorns and briers of theological narrowness and bitterness had choked up. Previous to the revolution which made him one of earth's most memorable benefactors, the sole object of Paul's attachment was the Mosaic system, Pharisaically interpreted; he clinging thereto, not on account of the advantages which it conferred, or was supposed to confer, on the Jews, but simply because he had been educated to view it with a superstitious and exclusive veneration. After the change, he travelled from land to land, preaching the gospel, and preaching it with such pertinacious valor that death became at once his penalty and reward; not merely did he this because he was leavened with an overwhelming conviction of the truth of the gospel, but because he considered the gospel fitted to make Man better and happier, more worthy of the God who made him. Love, then, was his grand inspiration. Love was the plenteous source of his enthusiasm. Love was the instrument of his marvellous success. And how did he obtain such converts as were destined to increase the number of converts in their turn, but by teaching them to love as brethren should, to love even as Christ the Saviour loved? The strongest element in the human bosom is the social element; and he who cannot effectually appeal to this can never be a prophet, however richly he may otherwise be gifted. And he cannot thus appeal, unless more energetic and pervading than all else in his nature be his sympathy. Circumstances may for a time check and conceal this as they did in the case of Paul; circumstances may for a time squander it on the perishing dross of terrestrial passions, as in the case of St. Augustine and of

many others ; but no circumstances can create it. You cannot plant love in the soul where God hath not planted it. Other of the prophetic powers, properly nurtured, carefully cultured, may, from feeblest germs, grow into stalwart and expansive vitalities ; but this must, from the beginning, have a large and spreading root in the very substance of the individual, or else there is no prophet's work and no prophet's victory for him. And as it is the prophet's work to make prophets, his disciples must all, in this beautiful and distinctive characteristic, resemble him. They must love as he loves, and the sole deliverance which he brings them is to enable them to unfold in its fullness the love which they had suppressed, or to direct aright the love which they had misapplied. When any idea claiming to be a prophetic idea arises in the world, we must not estimate its abstract value as an idea, we must not weigh it in the balance of comprehensive reason, we must judge it solely by its capacity to kindle, educe, and propagate affection. And this capacity entirely depends on the degree that the idea has been associated with affection in the breast of its author. To many of his disciples it may become more clear as an idea than to him ; to none can it become more potent as a sympathy ; or if it did, he in whom it superabounded would, through that very superabundance, be marked by the finger of God for the originator of a new and more progressive idea. There are few men,* very few men, capable of making nice intellectual distinctions, or of drawing rigid logical conclusions ; but all men, without exception, are capable of being moved and led by exciting their sensibilities and by rousing their passions, and the great majority of men, in the great majority of their actions, are guided and impelled by feeling. It is in vain, then, that we show them, by the most convincing arguments, that they ought to believe a particular doctrine which we bring before them ; it is in vain that we show them that it is infinitely superior to every other doctrine. They remain deaf to all our rhetoric and all our evidence, however triumphant to us they

may appear. While we are speaking to their heads, and speaking with the utmost eloquence and force, others have gained their hearts. Of all silly things, none is more silly than by elaborate proofs to show to ourselves, that we ought on such and such occasions to have been successful, when it so happens that we have not been so. Whenever we fail, we are paying both God and ourselves a suitable compliment, by admitting frankly and at once that we deserved to fail. This is philosophy, and it is likewise religion. We have failed ; well, then, the wisdom is to take care that we do not fail again. To fail, and fail, and fail again and again, is not to prove that we do not deserve success, or that we shall never obtain it. How often we fail matters not. We have not failed as long as our spirit quails not, but only grows stronger in the conflict. Our enthusiasm, if it continue undaunted by obstacles, unsubdued by defeats, is itself success, and the most glorious of all success. The blows we receive, however hard, if we receive them as all true enthusiasts receive them, are only preparing us for future triumphs ; for they only more closely incorporate the idea which dominates our whole being, with the affection of our whole being ; they create within us an intense and more resistless enthusiasm ; they make more radiant on our brow the high title of prophet, so that the entire world may see it, and bow to its import. It is a great mistake, then, to suppose, as even many who are not worldlings do, that the ardor with which we begin our prophetic career must gradually subside into some more sedate and measured emotion. When we set forth upon our career as the missionaries of some new and regenerating idea, we seem to ourselves, and we seem to others, to possess a large store of undisciplined fervor, which threatens to carry everything before it. But all reformations are slow, and the best are the slowest ; and the laws of God cannot change to give us an easy victory, which they refuse to our brethren. Our first onset on the evil which we strive to crush is, therefore, sure to prove a signal failure. And we, if we are not

wise, conclude that we have failed, because we have evinced too much feeling, too much enthusiasm. We are, consequently, disposed to believe, that if the idea we cherish is ever to be successful, we must make it more than we have previously made it, simply an idea, and tame impetuous sentiments down into calm and obedience. In this way, Society has lost many who offered every promise of being its saviours in things, where it most needed salvation. They began their course with great valor, with great energy. They had no selfish objects, no ambitious schemes. Their sole desire was to diffuse what they considered to be a truth, because they had deep faith in that truth, as an agency for human happiness and improvement. But presently that befel them which befalls all who consecrate their powers heroically to the redemption of earth. Their success was small, apparently nothing. Pondering anxiously, they concluded that the cause of this was, that they had yielded too much to the impulse of their feelings when standing forth as the champions of their favorite idea. They, therefore, put a check on their feelings; they unfolded their doctrine to the gaze of mankind as pure thought, with neither the fire of passion, nor the radiance of imagination to disturb it, persuading themselves that thus would they take captive the breast of the community. 'Alas! instead of making their path by this means more brilliant with the victories they gained, they made it less so. The few adherents they had slowly acquired by feeling, slowly disappeared under the cold reign of reason; and they who had once been such ardent enthusiasts, sink into apathy and despair, believing in their blindness and sorrow that Man is for ever doomed to slavery, misery, and sin. More, far more, have been swept from the array of prophets through this cause, than through all the temptations that Despotism or Mammon can offer; though the world in estimating the character of those who, having formerly striven for its liberty and bliss, strive no more, indiscriminately places in the same class those who have abandoned a martyr course

from feebleness, and those who have abandoned it from selfishness. I am convinced, however, that no one who has ever sincerely entered that course will ever desert it from any worldly seduction whatever. And if he deserts it, it must be from the cause which I have just mentioned. But if they who desert it from that cause were acquainted with the principle which I am now illustrating, they would persevere in that holy and heroic course to the end. I would show them that they were not wrong in commencing their career as prophets with too much enthusiasm, but in not displaying enough of sustained and systematic enthusiasm. Yes, my friends, let us know it, and let us act upon it, for these are times that demand enthusiasm more than all periods that have preceded them; let us know that we cannot put too much feeling, too much enthusiasm, into the advocacy of a great and sacred cause. Our fault has been, that our feeling and our enthusiasm have been of a fitful kind, whenever we exalted ourselves, whether as prophets or as disciples of prophets, into the champions of a divine idea. That idea will grow diviner and diviner in our hearts from its own spontaneous strength. But with us it depends to add more and more to the enthusiasm with which we avow, uphold and defend it. Enthusiasm cannot live, and cannot accomplish the adequate results of enthusiasm, if we permit it for a single instant to relax. Occasional enthusiasm is but a youthful phantasy, or the revival of a youthful phantasy. It is less of the heart than of the imagination, and when the imagination grows cold, as in most men it grows cold with age, the enthusiasm grows cold with it, or now and then has an unprofitable flash when some accident has stimulated the imagination. Let our enthusiasm, however, my friends, begin in the heart, continue in the heart, take a larger and stronger hold upon the heart, and thus will it gloriously seize the great and desired result of enthusiasm, by kindling enthusiasm in other hearts. Of course, what I have said this evening regarding enthusiasm has an application to a thousand subjects. But I wish you

to apply it more than you have yet done, to the various ideas of whose truth I have convinced you, and I shall strive to make myself apply it more than I have yet done, to the Doctrine of Individuality. I doubt not, that I have kindled in the hearts of those who regularly hear me, an enthusiasm which they had not when I first began to address them. That enthusiasm, however, I am afraid, has only been of a fitful kind. Henceforth let it be of a sustained and systematic kind, not a transient flash of the fancy, but a pervading and permanent impulse of the heart. And, as regards myself, I shall endeavor to give a better example in this matter than I have yet given ; for though my enthusiasm may be of a more sustained and systematic kind than yours, I shall aim with every energy to render it still more an abiding fact ; and thus resolving, may God grant that both you and I may accomplish still more for Humanity than we have yet done.

LECTURE XXXV.

THE FINAL, FERVENT, FAMILIAR WORD.

THIS evening, my friends, I bring to a close my series of lectures on the Doctrine of Individuality.

I have illustrated each of the propositions in *The Creed of A Man* in as familiar and forcible a manner as I could, easily avoiding the erudite, for which I have neither tendency nor capacity, and trying to avoid the abstract and the metaphysical, which offer temptations which I cannot always resist.

The pressure of other occupations, frequent, I might almost say continual, ill-health, the debilitating and prostrating effects of a mild climate on a northern constitution, many anxieties, many sorrows, persecution, calumny,—the isolation which is invariably the doom of a strenuous fighter for the truth, divers obstacles, annoyances, afflictions, bereavements, which I would willingly forget,—have all combined to prevent me from rendering these lectures what I intended that they should be, when I began them a year ago. They were composed with great haste ; indeed, sometimes the whole, and in general the larger portion of each lecture, was written on the day on which it was delivered. This, of course, must strip them of every pretension to literary merit. In this respect, nothing can be so raw, uncouth and sketchy. And if judged by an artistic standard, I am certain that, without any critical carping or injustice, they could be proved to be the most preposterous things that human brain ever conceived, or

human pen ever scrawled. But if I can form an impartial estimate of them, it is precisely their literary defects which constitute their prophetic value. They have been poured forth with utmost spontaneousness, and seeking to redintegrate eternal Nature they have been free and fervid as Nature. Never in anything of mine has the mere author spoken so little, and the individual so much. And what better argument can I give in favor of Individualism than my own Individuality? If that fail, every other must be ineffectual. And if the rude and familiar, but most earnest, utterances which I have cast into your bosom in these addresses, have not touched you, have not inspired and impelled you, no voice of prophecy that falls from my lips can have power to do so. Man, however, cannot speak to Man in the unrestrainedness of his manhood without moving and interesting Man. And I have faith that I have moved and interested you, not by novelty of thought, not by subtlety of speculation, but simply in that I have breathed my convictions, the crowning and most spiritual experiences of my life, as brother discourseth to brother. What also, my friends, forms the main value as respects you of the illustrations of my doctrine which this evening terminates, forms their chief value as respects myself. By throwing aside every shred of elaboration and art, and by using no weapons but those that pierce to the quick keen fibres of sympathy, they have immensely deepened an impression that was stealing upon me when I began them, that there was some prodigious anomaly in my position as a Teacher, some flagrant incongruity between what I was and what I recommended. I was persuaded, that I was not guilty of hypocrisy, yet I painfully saw that what I was and what I did was not unlike hypocrisy. The indomitable and pertinacious purpose of my existence was to teach and urge my fellows to radiate forth their faculties as responsive harmonies to the primal harmony of Creation. Was this, however, what I myself did? If not a slave to the conventional habits of the world, was I not a slave to my own habits? And was the

one slavery not as inconsistent as the other with the principles I promulgated? I enounced and advocated with most potent zeal the Individuality of the Individual, but there was not that correspondence which there ought always to be between the precept and the practice. While proclaiming my doctrine as a mighty and saving revelation to others, as a celestial fact which ought to leaven and interfuse their every deed and every resolve, I had allowed it to grow too much into the mere luxury of my own intellect, neglecting its application to the more ordinary and prosaic aspects of my career. On occasions of importance, in moments of excitement and enthusiasm, I was sufficiently faithful to the idea whose diffusion as an energy to enlighten and to bless I had chosen as my mission. But in the lassitude and monotony of commonplace duties, I was apt, not to overlook it, but to consider it as a burden, and to grudge the time and the attention that it required. My fault was not in yielding to the enticements of sense and self, but in permitting the man to degenerate into the student, at the very instant that I was striving to rouse every man to the consciousness of his manhood. What effect could my teaching have when the chilling reproof could so readily and with so much propriety be thrust in the face of my boldest statements and most vigorous appeals,—Physician heal thyself? How could I convincingly cry to each I met,—Be a Man, above and before and more than all things, Be a man, for to be a Man is to be what God made thee, what the welfare of Society demands of thee, what the fresh and healthy countenance of the entire Universe smilingly invites thee to be?—How could I thus cry, seeing that I allowed the books of the learned and the theories of the ingenious to dwarf and weaken my own manhood, and though leaving it much of its native steadfastness and strength, yet rendering it subordinate and subservient to my ideal contemplations? Now, these lectures have commenced my slow march back from the Student to the Man. They have accustomed me to throw away the mantle of the Scholar, whenever it impedes my progress,—a mantle,

by the bye, that I never wore with much of professional decorum or of classical correctness. Had circumstances enabled me to present you more of my thoughts and fewer of my emotions, when expounding one after another of the Articles in my Confession of Faith, the chance is that I should have sunk irretrievably into the mere Student. The Doctrine of Individuality would not thereby have ceased to be the great and holy reality which I now believe it, nor would it have been less certain of success, but I should have been a far less efficient instrument for its dissemination, and it would have passed less rapidly as a transforming influence into the soul of the people. So that, my friends, while I have been occupied in teaching you, I have been still more occupied in teaching myself. And indeed it is questionable, whether any teaching can accomplish the objects which it seeks, unless the teacher learn from it still more than the taught. At present I have arrived at that point, when the Student and the Man are equally strong, and fiercely contending for mastery. I trust no long time will elapse, ere I shall be able to show you, that the Man has gained the victory. The two things that have mainly hampered my career, as the Prophet of Individuality, are, great natural reserve, and my love of literary retirement, which has been at once a cause and a consequence of that reserve. I must conquer both, if ever destined to develope all the resources of my nature, and to tell popularly on the popular heart. As they are so closely related, I shall vanquish both by vanquishing one. I speak thus freely of myself, my friends, as I have often done before, not assuredly for the sake of gratifying my vanity, but in order to show you that I am as conscious of defects as you, and that if I who teach a great doctrine, am yet convinced that that doctrine has not the complete and continual power over my being which it ought to have, I must not be impatient if those whom I teach do not make rapid progress in the application of my doctrine. Yes, my friends, I am persuaded, and it is a most painful persuasion, that I have suffered as

many capacities to slumber in my own bosom, as ever you have permitted to slumber in yours. In my self-perfectionment, I have as great a work before me as you can have. The difference as I conceive between us is this : You have permitted certain moral powers to slumber undeveloped, because certain other intellectual powers have not been excited ; and I have permitted certain intellectual powers to slumber undeveloped, because certain moral powers have not been excited. The grand labor that is demanded of my hands on your part is, that I should rouse your moral powers through your intellectual ; the grand labor that is demanded of my hands for myself is, that I should rouse my intellectual through the stimulation of the moral. The work then which in this respect I have to accomplish is much more difficult than that which is demanded of you, just in the degree that Thought is easier than Duty. Whenever I can get you to think sufficiently about the Doctrine of Individuality, you will not need my aid to show you its moral importance, and moral obligations. These you will easily discern for yourselves. But I have to begin the harder task of practising long-neglected duties. The crime that I charge upon myself, is one which in the eyes of many would be thought exceedingly lenient. I have allowed my morbid susceptibilities to shut me out from loving intercourse, with the warm full heart of Humanity, and to shut me thereby from speaking to that warm full heart with vigor and effect. When I reflect what I have said of the beauty of human affection, when compared to the frigidity of human systems ; when I reflect that never was a human being born, who had a more social nature than mine, and yet that I have been a traitor to it, by a cowardly yielding to a false sensibility ; when I reflect how much I have blamed the ministers of the gospel for not mingling more frequently and familiarly with the poor, and yet that I have not so mingled ; when I think that I have been the ardent and enthusiastic champion of the people, of the people's welfare, and of the people's freedom, and yet that week

after week and month after month have passed on, during which I have not come either directly or indirectly into contact with the people; when I reflect on these and other kindred things, I perceive that I have been guilty of a glaring inconsistency, and of a crime for which I cannot help feeling all the tortures of remorse. When I reflect also how all the great teachers who have gone before me have acted, this remorse is much increased. The most celebrated Greek philosophers taught in general with the living voice, and not with the far inferior pen. Few of them left any writings, and the productions of those who wrote have nearly all perished. Socrates, the most famous of them, never wrote a word. His doctrines are chiefly preserved to us by two of his scholars, Plato and Xenophon. Yet how immense and how lasting was the influence of Socrates! And how was it acquired? Simply thus—that Socrates lived almost entirely in the open air, mingled freely and frequently with all classes, had no fastidious delicacy, restraining him from addressing and counselling the most vicious, and spoke to the proudest aristocrat and the humblest peasant with the same facility. And take a far grander example than that of Socrates, the grandest example of all, the example of Jesus Christ. Jesus, like Socrates, wrote nothing. All his teaching was oral. And so little did he care for the opinion that might be formed of him, that he was content to be called the friend of publicans and sinners, rather than lose an opportunity of doing good. His doctrines might have been sublimer than they were, though that is scarcely possible; but how much longer would they have been in fighting their way to empire, unless Jesus had given to his sympathy with man such an active and outgoing shape. I stand then rebuked and ashamed in the presence of these great memories. Socrates, Jesus, and other kindred spirits, aspired to accomplish a grand spiritual revolution, and they accomplished it. I also aspire to accomplish a grand spiritual revolution, but I am taking means far different from, and far inferior to, theirs to realize my divine

vision of emancipation to Man. I come, then, here to-night, my friends, not merely for the purpose of impressing upon your souls the great doctrine which is so dear to me, but also to avow my sincere repentance for having hitherto done so little for that doctrine's propagation. And I make the avowal of neglect and the avowal of my repentance so publicly under the impression that an avowal so openly made will be more effectual in urging me to nobler activity than my own silent remorse. Here in the face of you all I avow, that the faults I have hitherto committed in the preaching of my principles it will be my most strenuous endeavor to correct. Be witnesses of my vow, and if you see me relapse into any of those faults I pray you to remind me of it. If you see me becoming the Student when I should be the Man, remind me. When you see me allowing my susceptibility and reserve to overcome my sociability, and preventing my warm sympathy with the poor and with the people from becoming a vigorous and living fact, remind me. I shall thank you with the whole gratitude of my nature. Do not think, my friends, that this is the confession of a mock humility. Far from it. It is the honest utterance of true humility and penitence, and I hope, therefore, that you will not refuse to co-operate with me in so needful a work. I ask this by your interest in me; I ask this by your interest in my doctrine; I ask this by your interest in yourselves. For you and I and my doctrine have a close and necessary connection, and whatever assists each assists all. I ponder with delight how much I could do for your spiritual elevation and for the social and moral deliverance of mankind, when your generous aid has helped me to rise to the height to which I have always aspired. Considering that my thralldom to Conventionalism is daily growing weaker, I shall, when you have done for me all that you can do, regard myself as the invincible. All that is needed to make me a perfect Prophet, to make me the great Reformer, in fact which I have long been in idea, is, that I should have the same faith in myself which I have in my doctrine. My

faith in my doctrine is boundless, and the enthusiastic language which I have so frequently employed is sufficient to prove the intensity of my faith therein. But I have not, alas! the same faith in myself. My self-reliance is much more than usually falls to the lot of my fellows; but still it has not that proportion to my faith in my doctrine which would make my doctrine and me one identical fact. Strange it is that it was my faith in myself that mainly led to my faith in my doctrine; yet my faith in my doctrine now much surpasses my faith in myself. To you, then, I entrust the task of increasing my faith in myself. But while working thus for me, my friends, cease not to work for yourselves in this great spiritual labor. Make, as I wish to make for myself, faith in the Doctrine of Individuality and faith in yourselves the same mighty and missionary fact. Be not merely disciples but prophets. Show to mankind that I have placed in your hearts a sublimer idea, a more celestial sentiment, than have yet gone forth to redeem the world. Shrink from no peril, shrink from no pain, which the advocacy of the Truth in word and in action requires. Go forth, armed with the energies and beatitudes of a salvation, that will bless all nations, and exalt, purify and enlighten remotest Humanity.

THE END.