

CHAPTER VII.

PREPARATION OF THE HISTORICAL QUESTION.—FIRST THEOLOGICAL PHASE: FETICHISM.—BEGINNING OF THE THEOLOGICAL AND MILITARY SYSTEM.

THE best way of proving that my principle of social development will ultimately regenerate social science, is to show that it affords a perfect interpretation of the past of human society,—at least in its principal phases. If, by this method, any conception of its scope and proper application can be obtained, future philosophers can extend the theory to new analyses, and more and more special aspects of human progression. The application which I propose now to enter upon must, however, in order to be brief, be restricted ; and the first part of my task is to show what the restrictions must be.

The most important of these restrictions, and the one which comprehends all the rest, is, that we must confine our analysis to a single social series ; that is, we must study exclusively the development of the most advanced nations, not allowing our attention to be drawn off to other centres of any independent civilization which has, from any cause whatever, been arrested, and left in an imperfect state. It is the selectest part, the vanguard of the human race, that we have to study ; the greater part of the white race, or the European nations,—even restricting ourselves, at least in regard to modern times, to the nations of Western Europe. When we ascend into the remoter past, it will be in search of the political ancestors of these peoples, whatever their country may be. In short, we are here concerned only with social phenomena which have influenced, more or less, the gradual disclosure of the connected phases that have brought up mankind to its existing state. If Bossuet was guided by literary principle in restricting his historical estimate to one homogeneous and continuous series, it appears to me that he fulfilled not less successfully the philosophical conditions of the inquiry. Those who would produce their

Limitations of
the analysis.

whole stock of erudition, and mix up with the review such populations as those of India and China and others that have not aided the process of development, may reproach Bossuet with his limitations: but not the less is his exposition, in philosophical eyes, truly universal. Unless we proceed in this way, we lose sight of all the political relations arising from the action of the more advanced on the progress of inferior nations. The metaphysical, and even the theological polity seeks to realize its absolute conceptions everywhere, and under all circumstances, by the same empiricism, which disposes civilized men everywhere to transplant into all soils their ideas, customs, and institutions. The consequences are such that practice requires as imperatively as theory that we should concentrate our view upon the most advanced social progression. When we have learned what to look for from the *élite* of humanity, we shall know how the superior portion should intervene for the advantage of the inferior; and we cannot understand the fact, or the consequent function, in any other way: for the view of coexisting states of inequality could not help us. Our first limit then is that we are to concentrate our sociological analysis on the historical estimate of the most advanced social development.

For this object we want only the best-known facts; and they are so perfectly co-ordinated by the law of the three periods, that the largest phases of social life form a ready and complete elucidation of the law; and when we have to contemplate the more special aspects of society, we have only to apply in a secondary way the corresponding subdivisions of the law to the intermediate social states. Social physiology being thus directly founded, its leading conception will be more and more precisely wrought out by our successors by its application to shorter and shorter intervals, the last perfection of which would be, if it could be reached, that the true filiation of every kind of progress should be traced from generation to generation.

In this department of science, as in every other, the commonest facts are the most important. In our search for the laws of society, we shall find that exceptional events and minute details must be discarded as essentially insignificant, while science lays hold of the most general phenomena which everybody is familiar with, as constituting the basis of ordinary social life. It is true, popular prejudice is against this

method of study ; in the same way that physics were till lately studied in thunder and volcanoes, and biology in monstrosities : and there is no doubt that a reformation in our ignorant intellectual habits is even more necessary in Sociology than in regard to any of the other sciences.

The restrictions that I have proposed are not new, or peculiar to the latest department of study. They appear in all the rest under the

Abstract treatment of History.

form of the distinction between abstract and concrete science. We find it in the division which is made between physics and natural history, the first of which is the appropriate field of positive philosophy. The division does not become less indispensable as phenomena become more complex : and it in fact decides, in the clearest and most precise manner, the true office of historical observation in the rational study of social dynamics. Though, as Bacon observed, the abstract determination of the general laws of individual life rests on facts derived from the history of various living beings, we do not the less carefully separate physiological or anatomical conceptions from their concrete application to the total mode of existence proper to each organism. In the same way we must avoid confounding the abstract research into the laws of social existence with the concrete histories of human societies, the explanation of which can result only from a very advanced knowledge of the whole of these laws. Our employment of history in this inquiry, then, must be essentially abstract. It would, in fact, be history without the names of men, or even of nations, if it were not necessary to avoid all such puerile affectation as there would be in depriving ourselves of the use of names which may elucidate our exposition, or consolidate our thought. The further we look into this branch of science, as well as others, the more we shall find that natural history, essentially synthetic, requires, to become rational, that all elementary orders of phenomena should be considered at once : whereas, natural philosophy must be analytical, in order to discover the laws which correspond to each of the general categories. Thus the natural history of humanity involves the history of the globe and all its conditions, physical, chemical, and everything else : while the philosophy of society cannot even exist till the entire system of preceding sciences is formed, and the whole mass of historical information offered as material for its analysis. The function of Sociology is to

derive, from this mass of unconnected material, information which, by the principles of the biological theory of Man, may yield the laws of social life; each portion of this material being carefully prepared by stripping off from it whatever is peculiar or irrelevant,—all circumstances, for instance, of climate, locality, etc.,—in order to transfer it from the concrete to the abstract. This is merely what is done by astronomers, physicists, chemists, and biologists, in regard to the phenomena they have to treat; but the complexity of social phenomena will always render the process more delicate and difficult in their case, even when the positivity of the science shall be universally admitted. As for the reaction of this scientific treatment on History itself, I hope that the following chapters will show that it sets up a series of immutable landmarks throughout the whole past of human experience; that these landmarks afford direction and a rallying-point to all subsequent observations; and that they become more frequent as we descend to modern times, and social progression is accelerated.

Abstract in-
quiry into
laws.

As the abstract history of humanity must be separated from the concrete, so must the abstract inquiry into the laws of society be separated from questions of concrete Sociology. Science is not yet advanced enough for this last. For instance, geological considerations must enter into such concrete inquiry, and we have but little positive knowledge of geology: and the same is true of questions of climate, race, etc., which never can become positively understood till we can apply to them the sociological laws which we must attain through the abstract part of the study. The institution of social dynamics would be in fact impossible, if we did not defer to a future time the formation of concrete sociology; and ready as we are to pursue this course in regard to other sciences, there can be no reason why we should resist it here.—As an instance of this necessity, let us take the most important sociological inquiry that presents itself,—the question of the scene and agent of the chief progression of the race. Why is Europe the scene, and why is the white race the agent, of the highest civilization? This question must have often excited the curiosity of philosophers and statesmen; yet it must remain premature, and incapable of settlement by any ingenuity, till the fundamental laws of social development are ascertained by the abstract research. No doubt, we are

beginning to see, in the organization of the whites, and especially in their cerebral constitution, some positive germs of superiority ; though even on this naturalists are not agreed : and again, we observe certain physical, chemical, and biological conditions which must have contributed to render European countries peculiarly fit to be the scene of high civilization : but if a trained philosophical mind were to collect and arrange all the material for a judgment that we possess, its insufficiency would be immediately apparent. It is not that the material is scanty or imperfect. The deficiency is of a sociological theory which may reveal the scope and bearing of every view, and direct all reasoning to which it may give rise : and in the absence of such a theory, we can never know that we have assembled all the requisites essential to a rational decision. In every other case is the postponement of the concrete study as necessary as in this : and if the novelty and difficulty of my creative task should compel me occasionally to desert my own logical precept, the warning I have now given will enable the reader to rectify any errors into which I may lapse.

One more preliminary consideration remains. We must determine more precisely than I have yet done the regular mode of definition of the successive periods which we are about to examine. The law of evolution, no doubt, connects the chief historical phases with the corresponding one of the three periods : but there is an uncertainty of a secondary kind for which I must provide a solution. It arises out of the unequal progression of the different orders of ideas, which occasions the coexistence, for instance, of the metaphysical state of some intellectual category with the theological state of a later category, less general and less advanced,—or with the positive state of a former category, less complex and more advanced. The apparent confusion thus produced must occasion perplexing doubts in minds which are not in possession of the explanation about the true philosophical character of the corresponding times : but the hesitation may be obviated or relieved by its being settled what intellectual category is to decide the speculative state of any period. On all accounts, the decision must be grounded on the most complex and special ; that is, the category of moral and social ideas,—not only on account of their eminent importance, but from their position at the extremity of the encyclopedical scale. The intellectual character of each pe-

Coexistence of
successive
states.

riod is governed by that order of speculations ; and it is not till any new mental *régime* has reached that category that the corresponding evolution can be regarded as realized, beyond all danger of a return to the prior state. Till then, the more rapid advance of the more general categories can only establish in each phase the germs of the next, without its own character being much affected ; or can, at most, introduce subdivisions into the period. For instance, the theological period must be regarded as still subsisting, as long as moral and political ideas retain a theological character, though other intellectual categories may have passed into the metaphysical state, and some few of the simplest into the positive. Under this method of proceeding, the essential aspect of each period will remain as marked as possible, while freely admitting of the preparation of the following. We may now proceed to a direct examination of the successive periods, estimating the rational character of each, on the one hand ; and, on the other, exhibiting its filiation to the preceding, and its tendency to prepare for the following ; so as to realize by degrees the positive concatenation whose principle has been already established.

Fetichism. The theological period of humanity could begin no otherwise than by a complete and usually very durable state of pure Fetichism, which allowed free exercise to that tendency of our nature by which Man conceives of all external bodies as animated by a life analogous to his own, with differences of mere intensity. This primitive character of human speculation is established by the biological theory of Man in the *à priori* way ; and in the opposite way, by all the precise information that we can obtain of the earliest social period ; and again, the study of individual development confirms the analysis of the collective. Some philosophers set out in the inquiry, as a matter of course, with the supposition that polytheism was the first stage ; and some have been so perverse as to place monotheism furthest back, and fetichism as a corruption of polytheism : but such inversions are inconsistent with both the laws and the facts of human history.

Starting-point of the human race. The real starting-point is, in fact, much humbler than is commonly supposed, Man having everywhere begun by being a fetich-worshiper and a cannibal. Instead of indulging our horror and disgust of such a state of things by denying it, we should admit a collective pride in that human progressiveness

which has brought us into our present state of comparative exaltation, while a being less nobly endowed than Man would have vegetated to this hour in his original wretched condition. Another supposition involves an error less grave, but still requiring notice. Some philosophers suppose a state prior even to fetichism; a state in which the human species was altogether material, and incapable of any speculation whatever;—in that lowest condition in which they now conclude the natives of *Tierra del Fuego* and some of the Pacific Islanders to be. If this were true, there must have been a time when intellectual wants did not exist in Man: and we must suppose a moment when they began to exist, without any prior manifestation;—a notion which is in direct contradiction to biological principles, which show that the human organism, in all times and places, has manifested the same essential needs, differing only in their degree of development and corresponding mode of satisfaction. This is proof enough of the error of the supposition: and all our observation of the lowest idiocy and madness, in which Man appears to be debased below the higher brutes, assures us that a certain degree of speculative activity exists, which obtains satisfaction in a gross fetichism. The error arises from the want of knowing what to look for; and hence, the absence of all theological ideas is hastily concluded wherever there is no organized worship or distinct priesthood. Now, we shall see presently that fetichism may obtain a considerable development, even to the point of star-worship, before it demands a real priesthood; and when arrived at star-worship, it is on the threshold of polytheism. The error is natural enough, and excusable in inquirers who are unfurnished with a positive theory which may obviate or correct any vicious interpretation of facts.

On the ground of this hypothesis, it is said that Man must have begun like the lower animals. The fact is so,—allowing for superiority of organization; but perhaps we may find in the defects of the inference a misapprehension of the mental state of the lower animals themselves. Several species of animals afford clear evidence of speculative activity: and those which are endowed with it certainly attain a kind of gross fetichism, as Man does,—supposing external bodies, even the most inert, to be animated by passion and will, more or less analogous to the personal impressions of the spectator. The difference in the case is that Man has ability to raise himself

out of this primitive darkness, and that the brutes have not,—except some few select animals, in which a beginning to polytheism may be observed,—obtained, no doubt, by association with Man. If, for instance, we exhibit a watch to a child or a savage, on the one hand, and a dog or a monkey, on the other, there will be no great difference in their way of regarding the new object, further than their form of expression:—each will suppose it a sort of animal, exercising its own tastes and inclinations: and in this they will hold a common fetichism,—out of which the one may rise, while the other cannot. And thus the allegation about the starting-point of the human species turns out to be a confirmation of our proposition, instead of being in any way inconsistent with it.

It is so difficult to us to conceive of any but a metaphysical theology, that we are apt to fall into perpetual mistakes in contemplating this, its gross origin. Fetichism has even been usually confounded with polytheism, when the latter has been called Idolatry,—a term which applies only to the former; and the priests of Jupiter and Minerva would doubtless have repelled the trite reproach of the adoration of images as justly as Catholic priests do now, when subject to the same charge from Protestants. But, though we are too distant from fetichism to form a just conception of it, each one of us may find in his own earliest experience a more or less faithful representation of it. The celebrated phrase of Bossuet, applied to the starting-point of the human mind, describes the elementary simplicity of theology:—*Everything was God, except God himself*; and from that moment forward, the number of gods steadily decreased. We may recognize some features of that state in our own condition of mind when we are betrayed into searching after the mode of production of phenomena, of whose natural laws we are ignorant. We then instinctively conceive of the production of unknown effects according to the passions and affections of the corresponding being regarded as alive; and this is the philosophical principle of fetichism. A man who smiles at the folly of the savage in taking the watch for an animal may, if wholly ignorant of watch-making, find himself surprised into a state not so far superior, if any unforeseen and inexplicable effects should arise from some unperceived derangement of the mechanism. But for a widely analogous experience, preparing him for such

accidents and their interpretation, he could hardly resist the impression that the changes were tokens of the affections or caprices of an imaginary being.

Thus is Fetichism the basis of the theological philosophy,—deifying every substance or phenomenon which attracts the attention of nascent humanity, and remaining traceable through all its transformations to the very last. The Egyptian theocracy, whence that of the Jews was evidently derived, exhibited, in its best days, the regular and protracted coexistence of the three religious periods in the different castes of its sacerdotal hierarchy,—the lowest remaining in mere fetichism, while those above them were in full possession of a marked polytheism, and the highest rank had probably attained an incipient monotheism. Moreover, a direct analysis will disclose to us very marked traces, at all times, of the original fetichism, however it may be involved in metaphysical forms in subtle understandings. The conception among the ancients of the Soul of the universe, the modern notion that the earth is a vast living animal, and, in our own time, the obscure pantheism which is so rife among German metaphysicians, is only fetichism generalized and made systematic, and throwing a cloud of learned words as dust into the eyes of the vulgar. These evidences show that fetichism is no theological aberration, but the source of theology itself,—of that primitive theology which exhibits a complete spontaneousness, and which required from Man in his apathetic state no trouble in creating supernatural agents, but permitted him passively to yield to his propensity to transfer to outward objects the sense of existence which served him for an explanation of his own phenomena, and therefore for an absolute explanation of all out of himself. At first it was only inanimate nature that was the object in its more conspicuous phenomena,—even the negative ones, such as shadows, which no doubt terrified the nascent race as they now alarm individual children and some animals: but the spontaneous theology soon extended to embrace the animal kingdom, producing the express adoration of brutes, when they presented any aspect of mystery: that is, when Man did not find the corresponding equivalent of their qualities in himself,—whether it were the exquisite superiority of the sense of smell, or any other sense in animals, or that their organic susceptibility made them aware, sooner than himself, of atmospheric changes, etc. etc.

Relation of
Fetichism to
Morals. That philosophy was as suitable to the moral as to the intellectual state of the infant human race. The preponderance of the affective over the intellectual life, always conspicuous, was in its full strength in the earliest stages of the human mind. The empire of the passions over the reason, favourable to theology at all times, is yet more favourable to fetich theology than to any other. All substances being immediately personified, and endowed with passions, powerful in proportion to the energy of the phenomena, the external world presented to the observer a spectacle of such perfect harmony as has never been seen since: of a harmony which yielded him a satisfaction to which we cannot even give a name, from our inability to feel it, however strenuously we may endeavour to carry our minds back into that cradle of humanity. It is easy to see how this exact correspondence between the universe and Man must attach us to fetichism, which, in return, specially protracts the appropriate moral state. In more advanced periods, evidence of this appears when organizations or situations show us any overwhelming action of the affective part of Man's nature. Men who may be said to think naturally with the hinder part of the head, or who find themselves so disposed for the moment, are not preserved even by high intellectual culture from the danger of being plunged by some passion of hope or fear, into the radical fetichism,—personifying, and then deifying, even the most inert objects that can interest their roused sensibilities. From such tendencies in our own day, we may form some idea of the primitive force of such a moral condition, which, being at once complete and normal, was also permanent and universal.

To Language. The metaphorical constitution of human language is, in my eyes, a remarkable and eternal testimony to the primitive condition of Man. There can be no doubt that the main body of human language has descended from that remotest period, which must probably have endured much longer than any other, from the special slowness of such progress as it could admit of. The common opinion which attributes the use of figurative expressions to a dearth of direct signs is too rational to be admissible with regard to any but a very advanced period. Up to that time, and during the ages which must have mainly influenced the formation, or rather the development, of language, the exces-

CHAPTER XI.

RISE OF THE ELEMENTS OF THE POSITIVE STATE.—PREPARATION FOR SOCIAL REORGANIZATION.

WE have finished the irksome task of observing the process of dissolution of the old system of society during the last five centuries; and we may now turn to the pleasanter consideration of the reorganizing movement which was going on at the same time.

In fixing the date of the beginning of the new social formation, we must remember that there is Date of modern history. an interval between the generation of new social classes and the first manifestation of their tendencies. Considered in this way, it is the opening of the fourteenth century that we must fix upon as the time when the organic industry of modern society began to assume a characteristic quality. All the chief tokens of civilization indeed concur in marking that era as the true origin of modern history. The industrial expansion was then signalized by the universal legal admission of communities as general and permanent elements of the political system, not only in Italy, where it had happened some time before, but throughout Western Europe, where the event was sanctioned by various titles in England, France, Germany, and Spain; and the fact is marked and confirmed by the vast insurrections which, in almost every country, and especially in France and England, testified, during the second half of the century, to the nascent force of the labouring classes against the powers which were, in the respective cases, specially opposed to them. At the same period the great institution of paid armies was established in Italy; and they, marking a phase of industrial life among modern peoples, are as important in the organic as in the critical connection. Such innovations as the use of the compass and of firearms coincide with other tokens of commercial activity. And the same impulsion is traceable in the department of the arts, which we can hardly

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carry back, in their modern aspect, further than Dante and Petrarch in poetry, and the works of their time in painting and music. The scientific movement is somewhat less evident; but this was the time when natural philosophy became a special study, under forms corresponding with prevailing opinions, as we see by the new interest excited by astronomy in the intellectual centres of Western Europe, by chemical researches, and even by the first sound anatomical observations that had ever been regularly instituted. The rise of philosophy, though the latest, and mixed up with the metaphysical spirit and the beginning of scholasticism, indicated the approach of a radical renovation, one symptom of which was the direction taken at that time by the controversy of the Realists and the Nominalists. From all the four points of view it thus appears that the beginning of the fourteenth century is the date of the first development of modern civilization, as far as we may venture to assign dates to sociological processes, which are too gradual to have any natural connection with special dates, such as we introduce as aids to order of thought and precision of memory.

Rise of new
elements.

The development of new social elements was coincident with the decay of the old ones in this way. Their early growth was both repressed and concealed under the contemptuous protection of the preponderant powers of the time, till those powers entered into mutual conflict; then the new elements, being necessarily called in as auxiliaries, could not but aid by their mere action the disorganization of which the conflict was a sign. To the same end, as the Catholic and feudal system was transient in its nature, its decline must begin from the moment of its highest splendour; for, its provisional office being fulfilled, its elements immediately began to lose at once the aim of their activity and the restraint which had curbed their mutual antipathy. From that precise moment the germs of the new system began to expand. When aggressive warfare was over, the human energy which was set free resorted to industrial interests for occupation; and when the monotheistic philosophy had obtained all the political ascendancy it could ever have, the highest minds, finding no more theological development to be looked for, obtained a worthy scope in a scientific or artistic career. Thus we see that there was nothing accidental or empirical in the coincidence of the rise of the new order of things with the

decay of the old, but rather a precise accordance between the principles and the facts of the case.

As to the order which we should assign to the four kinds of development,—it is determined by the great law of the priority of the more general and simple over the more special and complex,—though the working of the law may not be recognized till it is revealed by distance of time. This law is not confined to the co-ordination of speculative conceptions, but extends to all positive modes of human activity, practical and individual, as well as theoretical and collective; and its final customary application will be in social classification, the character of which will be determined by the whole of its deductions. We shall see this fully in the next chapter,—and I mention it here only because I have to arrange my historical material by means of the principle.

The way in which it is to be applied, amidst the distracting speciality of the multitude of human occupations, is by drawing out a vast line comprehending all those occupations, from the most insignificant material acts to the sublimest speculations, æsthetic, scientific, or philosophical, in an ascending succession of generality and abstractness, in a normal view of their character; and therefore in a descending series of professions, according to the increasing complexity of their immediate purpose, and the more direct utility of their daily operations. Regarded as a whole, this vast series presents in its higher divisions a more eminent and extended relation, but one less complete, direct, and certain, so that it in fact often fails; whereas the lower divisions compensate for their inferior and restricted nature by the plenitude, promptness, and clearness of their unquestionable services. Individually compared, these degrees should manifest as they ascend a more and more marked preponderance of the noble faculties which most distinguish humanity; and the corresponding social labours will exhibit a more complete concentration and closer connection in proportion as we ascend to works which are, on account of their difficulty, accessible to a smaller number of co-operators, while they need a smaller variety of organs, according to the more extended scope of their respective action; whence results a more vast but less intense development of the universal sociability which, on the contrary, in the descending hierarchy, diminishes more and more till it is restricted almost within the

Philosophical
order of em-
ployments.

limits of domestic life, where, in truth, it is most valuable and best relished.

This series is like the animal hierarchy (of Classification. which it is in fact a kind of special prolongation), in admitting and even requiring, in the midst of its continuity, some rational divisions, founded on the affinities which occasion certain modes of activity. Of those divisions, the first and most important results from the distinction between the practical and the speculative life, which we have been studying under the names of the temporal and the spiritual order. We need not subdivide the first of these, which we may call, in a general way, the action of Man upon nature: but the other, the speculative life, must be divided into two,—æsthetic and scientific speculation. And thus we have that part of the scale appropriate to modern civilization divided into three great orders;—the Industrial or practical; the Æsthetic or poetic; and the Scientific or philosophical,—of which this is the natural order. All are indispensable in their several ways: they represent universal, though not equally pressing needs; and aptitudes also universal, though unequally marked. They correspond to the three several aspects under which every subject may be positively regarded,—as *good* or beneficial, as *beautiful*, and as *true*. They are regarded in this ascending order by commonplace minds, in which the affective life prevails largely over the intellectual; whereas the reverse order is the rational one, and that which gains upon the other in proportion as the intellect assumes a larger share in the human evolution:—all which is consistent with what we have seen to be the result of our cerebral organization, which compels men in general to think most of practical utility, and next of ideal perfection; while very few are qualified for the persevering search after abstract truth. Whichever way we enter upon the study of the classification of human pursuits, I am convinced that we shall find the æsthetic element always intermediate between the industrial and the scientific, partaking of the nature of both, without however preventing their having direct relations with each other. Such is the series which furnishes the only rational basis for a statical, and therefore for a dynamical analysis of modern civilization. But there is a further subdivision which, though merely provisional, it is necessary to notice, because, however certain to disappear, its duration is no less than from the beginning of the fourteenth century to the future complete

establishment of the positive philosophy. I refer to the distinction between science and philosophy, which, it may have been observed, I have just spoken of as one. They are radically one: but at present our science is not so philosophical, nor our philosophy so scientific, as to permit their being thoroughly united in our view; and for purposes of historical exposition of the last five centuries, we must make a fourth element out of this subdivision. In fact, we must submit to a final protraction of that old Greek error of twenty centuries ago, of separating natural from moral philosophy; an error which has been sustained and rendered conspicuous during the last five centuries by the expansion of natural philosophy, properly so called, and the consecutive transformations of moral philosophy. I proceed, then, on the supposition of there being four classes of social elements,—the industrial, the æsthetic, the scientific, and the philosophical,—striving to keep before my own mind and the reader's the merely provisional character of the last division.

It will be at once admitted that while all the four elements coexist permanently, they are, from their nature, developed at unequal rates; and also that the same law which regulates their respective positions in the scale, decides the succession of their development; and again, that the rise of any one of them impels that of the rest. I need not enlarge again on the reciprocal influence, for direction and excitement, of the scientific evolution and the industrial; and the great social consequences of this connection will appear hereafter. But we are much less aware of the equally certain connection between the æsthetic and the two extreme evolutions. The positive theory of human nature shows us that the cultivation of art naturally succeeds that of industry, and prepares for science and philosophy; and when the progression is, by an exceptional course, in an inverse direction, it is certain, though not so obvious, that scientific activity urges to a certain æsthetic activity, if only for the sake of mental relaxation; and that the practice of art is again favourable to industry. And thus it appears that the mutual action of these elements is as unquestionable as their respective position; that is, their dynamical as their statical arrangement.

Order of succession.

In regard to the historical application of this arrangement, and bearing in mind that it is not the origin of any element

that we are here concerned with, but its historical appearance,—it seems unquestionable that we must ascend the scale, noticing first the industrial aspect of modern civilization, and rising to the philosophical. It is certainly the industrial quality of modern societies which offers their first great contrast with those of antiquity. The industrial element is new; and the others, though far more powerful in recent than in ancient times, had then a very conspicuous existence. After the emancipation of the primitive labourers, the most advanced societies were mainly distinguished by the gradual preponderance of the industrial over the military life; and it was thus the source of their other essential attributes, and the main-spring of their method of social training. The intellectual awakening consequent on this practical activity, and the relative ease spread through society, naturally occasioned a more disinterested extension of the fine arts, which had never been so widely propagated, in their three chief forms, during the polytheistic period. In another view, we see that the improvement in the industrial arts has raised them to a kind of æsthetic quality,—especially in the case of the geometrical arts. Again, the industrial evolution was necessary to impart to the scientific spirit of modern times the thorough positivity which characterizes it, and which has extended from it to the philosophical spirit. So that, on all accounts, we see that the ascending direction is that in which human progression is to be traced; and that the descending one, which alone is perfectly rational, is impracticable till social science has advanced much further than at present.

Such doubt as there is, relates to the order of the æsthetic and scientific evolutions. Though their order is usually what I have now made it, it may be objected that in Germany, the development of science clearly preceded that of art. But, for this single instance exceptional reasons might be assigned, if it were within my province; and it must be our rule to study the civilization, not of any one nation, however important, but of the whole portion of mankind involved in the movement of western Europe; that is (specifying the nations once for all), Italy, France, England, Germany, and Spain. These five great nations may be regarded as having constituted, after the first half of the Middle Ages, one single people, immensely different in various respects, but bound up together under the Catholic and feudal system, and undergoing together all the subsequent

changes which the system brought after it. This being our field of observation, we shall decide that the scientific development was certainly posterior to the æsthetic. This is remarkably clear in regard to Italy, which led the rest of the world in the most important particulars of civilization, and in which we observe the spirit of Art gradually growing up on the traces of industry, and preparing the way for science and philosophy, through its beneficent property of awakening speculation in even the most ordinary minds. As the descending order, however, was the natural one in the infancy of society, when all civilization issued from the theocratic principle; and as it will again be the natural one when society shall be philosophically organized, it is now the natural order in the interior of each of the divisions in the scale of human pursuits. In each, we shall find the course of progression to be from the more general to the more special,—from the abstract to the concrete. And thus, for five centuries past, the ascending and descending order of progression has gone forward,—the one for the general human advancement, and the other for the three special modes of advancement. The actual case represents the natural course of an ideal society, whose early stages could be preserved from theology and war; and it is exhibited to us now in the more restricted instance of individual education,—in as far, at least, as it is spontaneous,—in which, æsthetic follows industrial activity, and prepares for scientific and philosophical action.

I have thus laid down the date and order of succession of modern civilization; and we may proceed to survey its four great departments,—beginning with the industrial evolution.

It appears to me that when serfage succeeded to slavery, the change constituted a kind of direct incorporation, in the earliest degree, of the agricultural population with society in general, to which that population had been hitherto a sort of domestic animals. From that moment, the cultivator, attached to the land, which was then the most stable of possessions, began to acquire, even in his poor and precarious condition, something like social rights;—if no more, the most elementary of all,—that of forming a family, properly so called, which was now for the first time sanctioned by his new position. This amelioration, from which all other civil emancipation proceeded, seems to assign the country as the first seat of popular enfranchisement; and

R 3

this great social phenomenon connects itself naturally with the instinctive predilection of feudal chiefs for an agricultural life, with its precious independence, and with the fine spectacle, so common in the Middle Ages, of the holy hands of monks being extended to labours always before regarded as degrading. Thus, the condition of the country appears to have been at that time less miserable than that of the towns, except in the case of some few centres, which were of great importance as points of support for future efforts. There can be no doubt of the tendency of the medieval system to distribute the population uniformly, even in the most unfavourable localities, by an interior influence, analogous to the exterior, which, interdicting invasion, established settled populations in the most barren countries of Europe. We must unquestionably refer to this period the systems of great public works undertaken to improve places of abode, whose inconveniences could not longer be escaped from by a hostile emigration; for it was now that the miraculous existence of Venice, and yet more, of Holland, began to become possible, by means of obstinate and thoroughly organized efforts, beside which the most laborious of ancient operations appear but secondary affairs. Here then was a beginning of popular emancipation, which must necessarily precede and prepare for a total abolition of personal slavery of every kind. The next period, of three centuries, from the beginning of the eighth to that of the eleventh, was the season of a final preparation for the industrial life, which must succeed to the abolition of popular servitude. Of the two great objects of the institution of personal bondage, one had been accomplished under the period of conquest;—the leaving scope to military activity for the accomplishment of its ends. The other,—the providing industrial training to the mass of men, to whose nature toil was repugnant,—was fulfilled when there was a cessation of the influx of new slaves, and when, under the feudal system, the chiefs were dispersed among submissive populations, and their inferiors were initiated into industrial life by a regular organization. A starting-point was fixed for each serf, whence he might proceed, by extremely slow degrees, towards individual independence,—the principle of which was universally sanctioned by Catholic morality. The conditions of ransom, usually very moderate, affixed to such liberation, besides regulating a just and useful indemnification, furnished a significant safeguard of

such progress, by showing that the freedman was capable of such moderation and foresight as rendered him fit for self-government. For this indispensable preparation the slave of a more ancient time was unfit, while the serf of the Middle Ages was more and more disposed to it, both in town and country, by the influences of the corresponding social state.

Such was the temporal influence of the period immediately preceding personal emancipation. The spiritual influence is obvious enough. The serfs had the same religion with their superiors, and the same fundamental education which was derived from it; and not only did religion afford them rights by prescribing reciprocal duties, but it steadily proclaimed voluntary emancipation to be a Christian duty, whenever the labouring class showed its inclination and its fitness for liberty. The famous bull of Alexander III., on the general abolition of slavery in Christendom, was merely a systematic sanction, and a rather late one, of a custom which had been extending for some centuries. From the sixth century, the temporal chiefs, who were under the fresh influences of Catholicism, had conferred personal freedom, sometimes on the inhabitants of a considerable district; and the practice spread so rapidly that history relates some few cases in which the boon came too early for the needs and the desires of the recipients. The influence which thus wrought, was not that of moral doctrine alone. The morality was enforced by the persevering action of a priesthood which was opposed to the institution of caste, and open to be recruited from every social class, and which relied mainly for the permanence of its organization on the labouring classes, whose rise it therefore constantly favoured.

I have said that at the beginning of the change, the condition of the agricultural labourers was less burdensome than that of the artificers in the towns: but the emancipation proceeded faster in the towns than in the country. The diffusion of the agricultural population, and the more empirical nature of their daily employment, must have retarded the tendency to entire emancipation, and the fitness both to obtain and to use it; the residence of their chiefs in the midst of them would generally relax the desire, and increase the difficulty of enfranchisement; and the spiritual influence itself would be at its weakest in that case. Whereas, the town populations which had obtained, as organized communities, full industrial development, reacted upon the country; so that during the

twelfth, and yet more the thirteenth century, the cultivators gradually obtained freedom in almost all important parts of western Europe, as Adam Smith and Hume have shown us in expositions which are luminous, in spite of the injurious influence of the philosophy of their day.—If we look at the process from the other end, we shall see why personal liberty must have been first obtained in the cities and towns. The servitude was more onerous there, from the absence of the master, who delivered over the multitude to the despotism of his agent. The wish for liberation, which must thence arise, was aided by the concentration of numbers, which made its fulfilment the easier. A far more important reason was that the labour of the townsmen, whether manufacturing or commercial, was of a more abstract and indirect nature, requiring a more special training than that of tilling the soil: it required a smaller number of agents, a more easy and habitual concert, and a greater freedom of operative action; a concurrence of qualities which easily explains the earlier emancipation of the manufacturers and traders. If my space permitted further analysis, I could easily show that the traders, concerned in the more abstract and indirect employment, were enfranchised before the manufacturers; and that the first class of traders who obtained their freedom were those who were concerned in the most abstract and indirect kind of commerce,—that of money exchanges. The money-changers rose to be opulent bankers, the first of whom were usually Jews; and, as Jews, outside of a servitude which would have incorporated them with Christians, however otherwise oppressed. But they were systematically encouraged by the polity of the time, and always more free in Rome than in any other part of Christendom. In precocious Italy, the most special precocity was in the commercial genius which made Venice the wonder of the civilized world; and Genoa and Pisa, even before Florence. The same kind of importance distinguished the commercial elements of the Hanseatic League and cities of Flanders: and the nascent industrial prosperity of France and England was attributable to the establishments, in the thirteenth century, of the Italian and Hanseatic traders, which, from being mere counting-houses, became magazines, and were at length transformed into great centres of manufacture.

In inquiries of a different nature from this, it is usual to pre-

sent the phase of political struggle as beginning with the enfranchisement of communities, without inquiring whether that enfranchisement had any other origin than accident, or some evidently insufficient cause. I must avoid any such fatal break in the history of society by pointing out how and when any collective liberty was acquired by communities. The interval between the obtaining of personal and collective liberty was short; for the latter was not only a necessary consequence of the former, because without it there could be no great industrial progress, but it was obtained more and more rapidly as the forces of opposition relaxed before growing success. Independence was obtained more easily than personal liberty, because it was known that the one could not long be withheld when the other was granted; and it can scarcely be said that the interval between the completion of the first movement and the beginning of the other was longer than the earlier half of the eleventh century. The feudal organism, dispersive in its nature, and foreseeing nothing of the future struggles which must ensue, made no difficulty of admitting industrial communities among the elements of which it was composed. The Catholic organism was even more favourable to such a progression, not only from Christian principle, but from the support that the sacerdotal polity expected to derive from the elevation of the new classes, whose mental emancipation was as yet dreamed of by nobody.

Birth of political liberty.

With regard to the dates,—the entire movement of personal emancipation, from the end of slavery to the end of serfage, coincided with that of defensive warfare, beginning with Charles Martel, and ending with the establishment of the Normans in the West: and the next phase,—that of the establishment of industrial communities, with its resulting operation on rural enfranchisement,—was coincident with the crusading struggle against the invasion of Mussulman monotheism. As for the area, it was precisely that of the Catholic and feudal system,—the movement taking place universally within the limits of that system, and nowhere outside of it, either under the Mohammedan or the Byzantine monotheism; and it was easy and rapid above all in Italy, where the Catholic and feudal organism manifested its greatest vigour. The Catholic influence showed itself in the permanent anxiety of the popes to accommodate the differences which impeded the

nascent coalition of the industrial communities, whose polity was for a long time habitually directed by the religious orders. And the feudal influence was seen at the western limit of the area, where the Hanse Towns arose under the protection of the Empire, corresponding with the Italian cities by the natural intervention of the Flemish towns, and completing the general constitution of the great industrial movement of the Middle Ages, which spread, by the Mediterranean basin, to the furthest parts of the East, and by the Northern seas to the northern extremities of Europe;—an area of European relations far more vast than the Roman dominion could boast in its proudest days. It is for philosophical minds to feel how great is our obligation to the *régime* which gave its first impulse to our existing civilization, however incompatible with further human progress that system may have become.

Our next step must be to ascertain the natural characteristics of this new moving power, and to point out the vices which have equally distinguished it, up to this time.

Characteristics
of the Indus-
trial move-
ment.

There can be no doubt that the change we have been examining constitutes the greatest temporal revolution ever experienced by mankind, since its direct effect was to change irrevocably the natural mode of existence. If the Greek philosophers of twelve centuries before had been told that slavery would be abolished, and that the free men of a great and powerful population would subject themselves to labours then considered servile, the boldest and most generous thinkers would have called out upon a Utopia so absurd and utterly baseless: for the world was yet too young for men to have learned that, in matters of social change, spontaneous and gradual evolutions always end in far transcending the most audacious original speculation. By this vast regeneration, the race closed its preliminary period, and entered upon its definitive state, in regard to practical life, which was thenceforth brought into agreement with our general nature; for a life of labour is, when become habitual, the fittest to develop all our chief dispositions of every kind, as well as to stimulate to co-operation; whereas military life exercises the faculties very partially, and makes the activity of some depend on the repression of others.

Personal effect.

By the highest and truest test that we can apply,—the gradual ascendancy of the faculties

of humanity over those of animality,—the substitution of the industrial for the military life has raised, by one degree, the primitive type of social Man. The use of the understanding in practical matters is more marked in the industrial life of the moderns than in the military life of the ancients, if we compare two organisms of the same rank in the two situations, and discard all reference to modern military life, which requires a special mechanical character in the common soldier. Industrial pursuit is suitable to the intellectual mediocrity of the vast majority of the race, which can best deal with clear, concrete, limited questions, requiring steady but easy attention, admitting of a direct or proximate solution, relating to the practical interests of civilized life, and bringing after them a pretty certain reward of ease and independence, in return for sense and industry. The next test,—the influence of the social on the personal instinct,—shows us that industrial life favours a universal goodwill, because every man's daily toil may be regarded as concerning others quite as much as himself; whereas the military life encouraged the most malignant passions, in the midst of the noblest devotedness. If it is objected that minds are restricted, and that selfishness is encouraged, by such extreme division of labour and care for private interest as we every day witness, the explanation is that the industrial expansion has thus far been merely spontaneous, not having been systematized by rational principles, as it is destined to be. Till it is organized to the same extent as the military system was in its best days, it would be unjust to compare the social qualities of the two. If war, with its barbarous origin and temper, could be organized into an instrument of social service, there is every reason to hope that the vices which are involved in industrial pursuit may be, in like manner, neutralized by a similar method. In the absence of such discipline, the industrial life has unquestionably developed new intellectual and sympathetic power in the very lowest class of the population, from the Middle Ages to this day.

The influence of the change on domestic life has been vast; for it opened that mode of existence for the first time to the most numerous class,—there being nothing in the condition of slaves or serfs which is worthy the name of family life. Even free men were not before aware of the destination of mankind at large

Domestic
effect.

for domestic life, and were perpetually drawn from it by the tumultuous emotions of the city and the battle-field. Again, the two great family relations were improved by the change which brought the occupations, and therefore the manners, of the two sexes into more resemblance, and which lessened the absolute dependence of children upon their parents. Much of the benefit is lost by the absence of organization: but the industrial and the Catholic system worked well together in favour of domestic morality. And if there seemed reason to apprehend that the subordination of the female sex would suffer by the independence obtainable by women under the industrial system, the danger was fully compensated for by men having engrossed various occupations that before belonged to women, and thus consigned the feebler sex to that domestic destination to which alone it is completely adapted.

Social effect.

Proceeding to the social aspect of the change, we see that the industrial movement abolished the system of Caste by setting up against the ancient superiority of birth that of wealth acquired by industry. What the Catholic system had done in suppressing the sacerdotal caste, and founding spiritual rank on capacity, the industrial movement realized in its own way, in regard to even the lowest social functions. The tendency to inheritance of occupation gave way in the lower ranks before the instinct of general improvement which had caused the enfranchisement itself; and in the higher ranks, before the well-known impossibility of preserving great commercial and manufacturing fortunes in the same families. These causes, combined with the increasingly special character of employments, favoured, by merely temporal methods, a closer agreement between aptitudes and destination: and at the same time, the natural connection between private and public interest was directly improved by that marvellous instinctive social economy by which each industrial member is constantly employed in devising and carrying out new methods of serving the community,—every private operation assuming the character of a public function, and the broad old division between the two becoming indistinguishable. Much of this action arose, certainly, from the self-interest and cunning proper to emancipated slaves: but the love of gain is surely preferable to the love of pillage which preceded it. Much of the imperfection of the industrial system is due to the absence of organization; and the

rest to the imperfection of human nature ; but the vices which may be remedied and those which cannot are a good exchange for those of a period of slavery and war. As for the industrial influence, as it affected social transactions,—it substituted the principle of reconciliation of interests for the spirit, first hostile and then litigious, which had prevailed before. During the medieval period, when industrial communities legislated independently, before the formation of the greater polities, there were commercial tribunals and regulations which do great honour to the Hanseatic merchants, whose jurisdiction contrasts very favourably with others of that age. Even such despotic action as there was in the system was an improvement. Considering the natural indolence of the human constitution, it could hardly have been foreseen that the prevailing desire of the majority of free men would be for permanent labour ; but when this happened, the granting or refusal of work became the common basis of social discipline, preventive and coercive, and the great substitute for direct force. However this new power may need regulation, there can be no doubt of its superiority to the military principle of discipline, in which pain and death were the sanction of all subordination. The industrial principle of discipline is less oppressive, more indirect, and therefore avoidable ; and it leaves room for a clearer and more active sense of the reciprocal need of co-operation, and for more conciliating manners. The international operation of the industrial spirit is as remarkable as any part of its action. All causes of international antipathy, even the religious, have succumbed to it. Deficient as it is in organization, the most powerful retrograde system has receded before it ; even the national egotism of England having been unable to restrain the perpetual extension of the pacific dispositions of commerce towards rival nations. Whatever may have been the original effect of the military spirit in extending human association, it not only had been completely exhausted, but it could never have been comparable to the industrial spirit in admitting of the total assimilation of the human race.

This estimate of the qualities of the industrial system was required by the vastness of the change which it introduced into social life. It brings us up to the assigned date, at the opening of the fourteenth century, whence, having settled the relation of the industrial period to more ancient institu-

tions, we may proceed with our historical analysis of its development. In what remains for me to say, it will be understood that, for reasons already sufficiently explained, I speak of the concentrated industry of towns.

The policy of the labouring classes, from their first emancipation onwards, has been, generally speaking, distinguished by two characteristics,—speciality, with liberty for its condition; that is, such new powers as have been sought have been desired for industrial purposes; and political efforts have had industrial liberty for their object.

Industrial policy. It was as a safeguard of such elementary freedom that the primitive independence of the town populations was so important, in the midst of many errors: and this was the destination of the guilds which incorporated the members of each craft, and protected individual industry at first, however they might oppress it at last. By preventing capricious changes of occupation also, they helped the formation of industrial manners, and exerted a moral influence which was of high importance in so new a mode of life. This is the true origin of the characteristic passion of modern society for universal and permanent liberty, as a natural consequence of personal emancipation, and a condition of every man's proper activity. In as far as it rested on an industrial basis, their policy was secure: and we must therefore depart from common opinion so far as to think that the preceding political repression, under the theological and military system, was fortunate for the new element, as long as it was not fatal to it. An evidence of this is afforded by the misfortunes of communities in which the repression ceased too soon, and retrograde influences were mixed up with the progressive, in the form of political ambition. The Italian cities, which had been foremost in political liberty, paid for the privilege by fatal mutual animosities and internal quarrels, till their turbulent independence issued everywhere in the supremacy of a local family,—first feudal in Lombardy, and afterwards industrial in Tuscany. But Venice was saved from the fate of her neighbours: and the Hanse Towns, by their political liberty being restricted till their commerce was established, escaped all fruitless disturbances of the industrial life, which grew up within them as prosperously as in the midst of the most powerful feudal organizations,—like those of England and France. And thus

the action of the corresponding *régime*, which appeared to be so much pure hindrance to the new element, was in fact one of the main conditions of its development.

The relation of the industrial element to the corresponding powers, and especially the spiritual, may be easily anticipated. It was warmly welcomed by Catholicism, both on account of its conformity with the general spirit of the system, and as an ally of the ecclesiastical power in its political antagonism. On the other hand, there were discordances from the theological character of the philosophy of the time. Besides the anti-theological character of industry, as action by Man on the external world, a more direct discrepancy arose between the ardour of industrial activity and the due Christian care for personal salvation. The absolute character of theological doctrine prevented its accommodation to circumstances unforeseen at the time of its formation; and it could only interfere by vague and imperfect precepts, which were often incompatible with the conditions of industrial life. One instance of this is the denunciation of usury by the clergy. After being of some use in restraining cupidity, this prohibition became a hindrance to indispensable transactions, and indirectly stimulated extortion. To this day the clergy have been unable, after all their laborious theological speculation, to agree upon any theory about the interest of money lent; and thus has religious morality, devoid of popular good sense, been for ages an unsuccessful adversary of industry, with popular wisdom for its ally. The opposition thus arising explains why the labouring classes, though receiving with respect the intervention of the clergy in their general affairs, always turned with decided preference to the temporal power, which never seriously interfered with their activity. Before the time came for social rivalship between the aristocracy of birth and that of wealth, the industrial class regarded the nobility as (by their luxury) the great cause of production, and, by the superiority of their moral training, the best types of individual perfection. In both these ways feudal manners have certainly been constantly favourable to industry. To this day new inventions are proposed even too much with a view to the rich few rather than the great multitude of consumers; and social superiority and hereditary wealth have, on the whole, encouraged a largeness of views and a generosity of sentiment among the feudal class which would have been incompatible with the special

Relation to
Catholicism.

Relation to
the temporal
authority.

CHAPTER XII.

REVIEW OF THE REVOLUTIONARY CRISIS.—ASCERTAINMENT
OF THE FINAL TENDENCY OF MODERN SOCIETY.

THE two progressions which were preparing society for its regeneration had advanced at unequal rates,—the negative having far outstripped the positive ; and thus the need of reorganization was vehemently felt before the method and the means of effecting it were disclosed. This is the true explanation of the vicious course taken by the revolutionary movement to this day. The explosion which ensued, lamentable as it was in many ways, was inevitable ; and, besides being inevitable, it was salutary,—inasmuch as without it the caducity of the old system could not have been fully revealed, nor all hopes from it have been intrepidly cast away. The crisis proclaimed to all advanced peoples the approach of the regeneration which had been preparing for five centuries ; and it afforded the solemn experiment which was necessary to show the powerlessness of critical principles to do anything but destroy. The preparation of the different European nations for the lesson varied, according as the monarchical and Catholic, or the aristocratic and Protestant form of power was established. We have seen that the former was the more favourable to the decay of the old system and the construction of the new ; and for various reasons, France was evidently the country to take the lead. The humiliation of the aristocracy had more radically destroyed the old *régime* : the people had passed at once from Catholicism to free thought, thus escaping the dangerous inertia of Protestantism : industrial activity was more distinct and elevated, though less developed than in England, from its great independence of the aristocracy : in Art, the French were in advance of the English, though far behind the Italians ; in science, they were foremost ; and even in philosophy, they were more thoroughly freed than others from the old system, and nearer to a rational philosophy,

France first
revolutionized.

exempt from English empiricism and German mysticism. Thus, on both positive and negative grounds, France was clearly destined to lead the final revolutionary movement. Not the less for this were all the other nations interested and implicated in her movement,—as in former cases when Italy, Spain, Germany, Holland, and England had in turn been foremost: and the deep and general sympathy felt in all those countries on the outbreak of the French Revolution, and lasting through the terrible extravagances which ensued, showed that there was a true universality in the movement.

The convulsion had indeed been clearly fore-
 seen by eminent thinkers for above a century,
 and had been emphatically announced by three
 events, unequal in importance, but alike significant in this
 relation;—first, by the abolition of the Order of the Jesuits,
 which proved the decrepitude of the system which thus de-
 stroyed the only agency that could retard its decay; next, by
 the great reformatory enterprise of Turgot, the failure of
 which disclosed the necessity of deeper and wider reforms;
 and, thirdly, by the American revolution, which elicited the
 real expectation of the French nation, and therefore its needs.
 That revolution was regarded as a crisis in which the whole
 civilized world had a direct interest: and when it is said that
 France gained much by that event, it should be understood
 that the benefit to her was simply in the opportunity afforded
 for the manifestation of her impulses and tendencies; and
 that she gave more than she received by planting down
 among a people benumbed by Protestantism, the germs of a
 future philosophical emancipation.—While all indications thus
 pointed to a regeneration, there was no doctrine by which to
 effect it. All negative doctrine and action could be no more
 than a preparation for it; and yet a negative doctrine was all
 that then existed. From the attempt to render it organic,
 nothing ensued but a distribution, or limitation, or displace-
 ment of the old authorities, such as merely impeded action
 by supposing that restrictions could solve political difficulties
 as they arose. Then was the season of constitution-making,
 of which I have spoken before,—the application of metaphy-
 sical principles, which fully exposed their organic helpless-
 ness. Then was the triumph of the metaphysicians and le-
 gists, the degenerate successors of the doctors and judges, and
 the inadequate managers of society, of whose mischievous

Precursory
events.

intervention I have also spoken before. Thus we see what was the necessary direction of the revolutionary crisis, its principal seat, and its special agents. We must now examine its course; and, for that purpose, divide it into its two distinct stages.

First stage.

The Constitu- of preserving, under some form, more or less of
ent Assembly. the old system, reduced to its principles, and purified from its abuses. This was a low state of things, involving a confusion of moral and political authority, and of things permanent with things temporary; so that the provisional position was mistaken for a definitive one. The first effort of the French Revolution could be no other than a rising of the popular against the royal power, as all the elements of the old system were concentrated in royalty; yet the abolition of royalty was not contemplated, but a constitutional union of the monarchical principle with popular ascendancy; and again, of the Catholic constitution with philosophical emancipation. There is no need to dwell on speculations so desultory, nor to point out that they arose from a desire to imitate England, which affords too exceptional a case to admit of imitation. It was supposed that because the negative course of the one country had answered to that of the other, so that England had humbled one of the temporal elements and France the other, they might, by joining forces, destroy the old system altogether. It was for this reason that French reformers turned to England for a pattern for their new work; and again, that the French method is now in favour in the English revolutionary school; each having the qualities that are wanting in the other. But there is, as I showed before, no true equivalence in those qualities; and, if the imitation could have been carried out, it would have been found that the French movement was directed against exactly that political element which gives its special character to the English movement, and which prevents its transplantation to any other soil. It is a mistake to trace back the political constitution of England to the old Saxon forests, and to suppose that it depends on the fanciful balance of powers. It was determined, like every other institution, by the corresponding social state; and if this were thoroughly analysed, the relations of the English polity would be found very different from what is usually supposed. The most analogous political case is, in fact, that of Venice, at the

end of the fourteenth century. The tendency to aristocratic rule is the ground of resemblance. The differences are, that the preponderance of the aristocratic power was more complete in Venice,—that the independence of Venice must disappear under the decline of its special government, whereas that of England may remain uninjured by any dislocation of her provisional constitution,—that English Protestantism secures the subordination of the spiritual power much more effectually than the kind of Catholicism proper to Venice, and is therefore favourable to the prolongation of aristocratic power; and again, that the insular position of England, and her consequent national self-engrossment, connect the interests of all classes with the maintenance of a polity, by which the aristocracy are a sort of guarantee of the common welfare. A similar tendency was apparent in Venice, but with less strength and permanence. It is clear that the continuance of the English polity is due, not to any supposed balance of constitutional powers, but to the natural preponderance of the aristocratic element, and to the union of conditions which are all indispensable, and not to be found in combination in any other case.

We thus see how irrational were the speculations which led the leaders of the Constituent Assembly to propose, as the aim of the French Revolution, a mere imitation of a system as contradictory to the whole of their past history as repugnant to the instincts arising from the actual social state; yet the imitation was meditated and attempted in all leading particulars, and, of course, with thorough failure;—a failure which exhibits the most striking contrast on record of the eternity of speculative hopes and the fragility of actual creations.

When the second period of the Revolution was entered upon, the National Convention discarded

Second stage.
The National
Convention.

the political fictions on which the Constituent Assembly had acted, and considered the abolition of royalty an indispensable introduction to social regeneration. In the concentrated form of royalty then existing, any adhesion to it involved the restoration of the old elements which had supported it. Royalty was the last remnant of the system of Caste, the decay of which we have traced from the time that Catholicism broke it up, and left only hereditary monarchy to represent it. Already doomed by that isolation, hereditary monarchy could not but suffer serious injury by the excessive concentration of functions and prerogatives, spiritual and temporal, which ob-

scured its view of its domain, and tempted it to devolve its chief powers on ministers who became less and less dependent. Again, the growing enlightenment of mankind in social matters made the art of ruling less and less one which might be learned in the hereditary way,—by domestic imitation; and the systematic training requisite for it was open to capacity, full as much, to say the least, as to royal birth, which before had naturally monopolized it.

The abolition of royalty was presently followed by that of whatever might interfere with a renovation of the social system. The first instance that presents itself is the audacious legal suppression of Christianity, which proved at once the decrepitude of a system that had become alien to modern existence, and the necessity of a new spiritual function for the guidance of the regeneration. The minor acts of the same kind were the destruction of all former corporate bodies, which is too commonly attributed to a dislike to all aggregation, but which is rather to be referred to a dim sense that there was a retrograde character about all such bodies, their provisional office being by this time fulfilled. I think this applies even to the suppression of learned societies, not excepting the Academy itself, the only one deserving of serious regret; and before this time its influence had become, on the whole, more injurious than favourable to the progress of knowledge, as it is at this day. It should be remembered that the Assembly, largely composed of legists, suppressed the law corporations with others: and that it showed its solicitude for the encouragement of real science by establishing various foundations, and especially by that of the Polytechnic School, which was of a far higher order than any of its predecessors. These are proofs of disinterestedness and of forecast in regard to social needs which should not be forgotten.

Alliance of
foes. A practical character of universality was given to the Revolution by the alliance of European Governments to put it down. During the second phase of social progress the powers of Europe had allowed Charles I. to fall without any serious effort on his behalf; but they were now abundantly ready to go forth against a revolution of which the French outbreak was evidently only the beginning. Even the English oligarchy, which had no great apparent interest in the preservation of monarchies, put themselves at the head of the coalition, which was to make a last

stand for the preservation of the theological and military system. This attack was favourable to the Revolution in its second period, by compelling France to proclaim the universality of her cause, and by calling out an agreement of sentiment, and even of political views, such as was required for the success of the noblest national defence that history will ever have to exhibit. It was this also which sustained the moral energy and mental rectitude which will always place the National Convention far above the Constituent Assembly in the estimate of posterity, notwithstanding the vices inherent in both their doctrine and their situation. They wonderfully soon escaped from metaphysical toils, respectfully adjourned a useless constitution, and rose to the conception of a revolutionary government, properly so called, regarding it as the provisional resource which the times required. Putting away the ambition of founding eternal institutions which could have no genuine basis, they went to work to organize provisionally a temporal dictatorship equivalent to that gradually wrought out by Louis XI. and Richelieu, but much more responsive to the spirit of the time and the end proposed. Based on popular power, declaratory of the end proposed, animating to the social affections and to popular self-respect, and favourable to the most general and therefore the deepest and highest social interests, this political action of the Convention, supported and recompensed by sublime and touching devotedness, and elevating the moral temper of a people whom successive governments have seduced into abject selfishness, has left ineffaceable impressions and deep regrets in the mind of France, which can never be softened but by the permanent satisfaction of the corresponding instinct. The more this great crisis is studied, the more evident it is that its noble qualities are ascribable to the political and moral worth of its chief directors, and of the people who supported it so devotedly ; while the serious errors which attended it were inseparable from the vicious philosophy with which it was implicated. That philosophy, by its very nature, represented society to be wholly unconnected with past events and their changes, destitute of rational instigation, and indefinitely delivered over to the arbitrary action of the legislator. It passed over all the intervening centuries to select a retrograde and contradictory type in the ancient form of civilization, and then, in the midst of the most exasperating circumstances, appealed to the passions

to fulfil the offices of the reason. Such was the system under which the political conceptions of the time must be formed, if formed at all; and the contrast between the action and the philosophy of that day will for ever excite the admiration of philosophers on behalf of the noble results that were produced, and their indulgence for such extravagances as were worthy of reprobation.

The proper close of that provisional polity would have been when France was sufficiently secured against foreign invasion; but the irritations of the time, and the vices of the negative philosophy caused its protraction, under an increasing intensity; and hence the horrible vagaries by which the period is too exclusively remembered. Now appeared the difference between the schools of Voltaire and Rousseau, which had co-operated during the great revolutionary crisis. The school of Voltaire, progressive in its way, regarded the republican dictatorship as an indispensable transition stage, which it took the chief credit of having instituted, and always supposed the philosophy which directed it to the merely negative: whereas, the school of Rousseau, retrograde in its way, took the doctrine for the basis of a direct reorganization, which it desired to substitute for the exceptional system. The one showed a genuine though confused sense of the conditions of modern civilization, while the other was bent on an imitation of ancient society. The latter school prevailed, when it became a practical question what the philosophy could do in the way of organization; and when the political school had the field to itself, and proceeded to action, it proved how the metaphysical philosophy, disguised as antique civilization, was absolutely hostile to the essential elements of modern civilization. When the negative progression was used for organic purposes, it turned against the positive progression, injuring the scientific and æsthetic evolutions, and threatening the total disorganization of the industrial, by destroying the subordination of the working-classes to their industrial leaders, and calling the incapable multitude to assist directly in the work of government.

Thus we see what the course really was, as a whole, which is usually rendered unintelligible by attempts to ignore one or another of its parts. The republican period proposed a substantive political plan, in a much more complete and energetic way than its constitutional predecessor had done; and that

programme, which abides in all memories, will indicate, till the day of realization arrives, the final destination of the crisis, notwithstanding the failure of the experiment, through the defects of the means. All criticism and reproach about the failure can attach only to the instruments which caused it, and can never gainsay the fundamental need of reorganization, which was as keenly felt by the masses then as at this day. There cannot be a stronger confirmation of this than the remarkable slowness of a retrograde movement which was instinctively felt to be incompatible with the popular state of mind, and which found it necessary to make long and irksome political circuits to restore, under an imperial disguise, a monarchy which a single shock had sufficed to overthrow: if indeed we can speak of royalty as having been re-established at all, while it could not pass peaceably from kings to their natural successors, and had virtually lost the hereditary quality which distinguishes genuine royalty from dictatorship.

When the rule of the Convention was over, the retrograde action made itself felt first by reverting to the last preceding step,—the constitutional notion. It attempted a blind imitation of the English, by parcelling out and balancing the fractional parts of the temporal power, as if any stability was really to be looked for in a political anomaly so imported. The party which intended to be progressive was carrying forward the negative movement, so as to dissolve the most elementary institutions of society. Both proceeded on the supposition that society was entirely at their disposal, unconnected with the past, and impelled by no inherent instigation; and they agreed in subjecting moral regeneration to legislative rules;—much as they continue to do at this day. Such political fluctuation, endangering order, and doing nothing for progress, could have no other issue than in Monarchy. This last test was necessary to prove what kind of order was really compatible with complete retrogradation; a point which could never be settled but by experiment. The issue was hastened by the growth of the military power,—the revolutionary war having ceased to be defensive, and become eminently offensive, under the specious temptation of propagating the movement. While the army remained at home under civic influences, the preponderance of the civil over the military power had been more conspicuous than in any known case of military

Constitutional
attempt.

Military ascendancy.

activity: but when the army was in remote places, uninformed of national affairs, it assumed a new independence and consistency, became compacted with its leaders, and less and less civic in its temper as it was needed for the repression of the barren social agitation of the time. A military dictatorship was the unavoidable consequence; and whether its tendency should be progressive or retrograde depended, more than in any other case on record, on the personal disposition of that one of the great revolutionary generals who should assume the post. The great Hoche seemed at first to be happily destined for it; but by a fatality to be eternally deplored, the honour fell upon a man who was almost a foreigner in France, brought up amidst a backward civilization, and remarkably and superstitiously adoring the ancient social hierarchy; at the same time that his enormous ambition was no sign, notwithstanding his prodigious charlatanism, of any eminent mental superiority, except a genius for war, much more connected, in our times, with moral energy than with intellectual vigour. The whole nature of Napoleon Bonaparte was incompatible with political ability; with any conception of social progression; with the mere idea of an irrevocable extinction of the old theological and military system, outside of which he could conceive of nothing, and whose spirit and conditions he yet failed to understand: as he showed by many serious inconsistencies in the general course of his retrograde policy, and especially in regard to the religious restoration, in which he followed the tendencies of the populace of kings.

The continuous development of military activity was the foundation, necessary at any cost, of this disastrous domination. To set up for awhile a system thoroughly repugnant to social conditions, it was necessary to enlist and humour, by perpetual stimulation, all the general vices of mankind, and all the special imperfections of the national character; and above all, an excessive vanity, which, instead of being carefully regulated by wise opposition, was directly excited to something like madness, by means derived, like all the rest of the system, from the most discredited customs of the ancient monarchy. Nothing but active warfare could have intercepted the effect of the ridicule which could not but be excited by attempts so ill-suited to the age as Bonaparte's restoration of a nobility and a priesthood. In no other way could France have been

oppressed so long and so shamefully. In no other way could the army have been seduced into forgetfulness of its patriotism, and tyranny towards the citizens, who must henceforth console themselves under oppression and misery with the childish satisfaction of seeing the French empire extend from Hamburg to Rome. The Convention had raised the people to a true sense of brotherhood through the medium of self-respect, equally fostered in all: Bonaparte perverted the sentiment into immorality by offering, as a reward for popular co-operation, the oppression and pillage of Europe. But it is needless to dwell on this desolate period, except for the purpose of deriving from it such dearly-bought political instruction as it may yield. The first lesson is, that there is no security against fatal political versatility but genuine political doctrine. The retrograde policy of Bonaparte would have had neither allies nor support, if the people had been saved from the experience of the last part of the revolutionary crisis, and from the demoralizing influence of a negative philosophy, which left them open to the temptation of return to a system which their strong repugnance had so lately overthrown. The second lesson is of the necessity of active and permanent warfare as the foundation of a retrograde system, which could in no other way obtain any temporary consistence: and this condemns as chimerical and disturbing a policy which depends on a condition incompatible with modern civilization as a whole. It is true, the revolutionary warfare was defended as the necessary means of propagating revolutionary benefits: but the result is a sufficient reply to the sophism. The propagation was of oppression and pillage, for the sake of enthroning a foreign family: and the action upon other nations was very unlike that proposed by the first sincere soldiers of the Revolution: while, in Paris, the leaders of the regeneration of the world were ignominiously beguiling their characteristic activity with the rivalries of actors and versifiers, Cadiz, Berlin, and even Vienna were echoing with patriotic songs and acclamations,—generous national insurrections having once more bound together the peoples and their rulers, and popular rights and regenerative action being covered with disgrace as deep as the silence in which the revolutionary hymns of France were buried. France was then subjected to a dislike and fear which have never since ceased to injure her name, and the cause which is bound up with it.

This system, founded on war, fell by a natural consequence of the war, when the resistance had become popular and the attack despotic. There can be no doubt in any impartial mind that the fall of Bonaparte was very welcome to the French nation in general, which, besides its sufferings from oppression and poverty, was weary of a state of perpetual fear of the only alternative,—the humiliation of its arms or the defeat of its dearest principles. The only cause of regret is that the nation did not anticipate the catastrophe by popular insurrection against retrograde tyranny, before its country underwent the disgrace of invasion. The humiliating form of the overthrow is the only pretence on which the national glory can be connected with the memory of the man who, more injurious to human kind than any other personage in history, was always and peculiarly the worst enemy of a revolution of which he is sometimes absurdly supposed to be the chief representative. The monarchical spirit which he had striven to restore, and the political habits formed under his influence facilitated the return, when he fell, of the natural heirs of the French throne. They were received without confidence, without fear, and with some hopes from the discipline they had undergone which were not fulfilled. The people supposed they must see, as all France did, the connection between conquest and retrogradation, and that both were detested: and the Bourbons supposed that the people, having allowed their restoration, were favourable to their ideas of sovereignty. The people would have left royalty to such fate as might have ensued from domestic dissensions, if the disastrous episodic return of Bonaparte had not once more united all Europe against France, and deferred for fifteen years, at a heavy cost, a substitution of rulers which had clearly become inevitable.

Once more constitutional discussions abounded, and a third attempt was made to imitate the English parliamentary system,—the remains of the imperial system seeming likely to answer for the aristocratic element. The people, however, had long been disheartened about social regeneration, and were bent on profiting by the state of peace for the furtherance of industrial interests: and, for want of a sound theory, the new experiment, more durable, more peaceable, and therefore more decisive than any former one, soon disclosed the anti-historical and anti-national character of the enterprise,

and its total disagreement with the social environment. In England, the royal power was a great sinecure granted to the nominal head of the British oligarchy, with the name of hereditary sovereignty, but with little more real power than that of the Doges of Venice. This was not the French notion of monarchy; and any attempt to imitate it in France could lead to nothing but a neutralizing of royalty; and the more decisively in this case, because, under the new forms, the adhesion of the sovereign was made specially voluntary. This is the juncture to which, in the history of the modern transition, we must refer the direct dissolution of the great temporal dictatorship in which the whole movement of decomposition had been concentrated, from the time when Louis XI. wrought at it, and Richelieu completed it. The form of dissolution now was—opposition between the central and local powers,—between imperfect royalty and the partial action of a popular assembly; under which all unity of direction disappeared, and each party sought a preponderance which was impossible to either. Bonaparte himself would have had to encounter a similar liability, sooner or later. The ministerial power also testified by its growth to the restriction of royalty. It had been, under the second modern phase, an optional emanation of power: it was now an established substitution, tending more and more to independence. This sort of spontaneous abdication helped the political dispersion, which seemed to be thereby erected into an irrevocable principle. The two polities were now in something like the same position that they were in before the revolution: only that the progressive school had avowed their end and proved the insufficiency of their means: and the retrograde party understood rather better the conditions of the *régime* it desired to restore. Now was the time for the stationary school to intervene, borrowing from each of the others the principles which can only neutralize each other; as, for instance and especially, when it sought to reconcile the legal supremacy of Catholicism with real religious liberty. I have shown before what are the moral and political consequences of such an intervention. As soon as the hopeless reaction appeared to threaten the revolutionary movement, it fell by a single shock; an event which might convince doubters that the fall of Bonaparte was owing to something more than the desire for peace,—to the aversion inspired by

Fall of the
Bourbons.

his tyrannical retrogression. It was now clear that order and peace would not satisfy the nation, which must have progress also.

The great characteristic of the policy which succeeded the flight of the elder Bourbons was its implicit voluntary renunciation of regular intellectual and moral government, in any form. Having become directly material, the policy held itself aloof from doctrines and sentiments, and concerned itself only with interests, properly so called. This was owing, not only to disgust and perplexity amidst the chaos of conceptions, but to the increasing difficulty of maintaining material order in the midst of mental and moral anarchy; a difficulty which left no leisure or liberty to government to think of anything beyond the immediate embarrassment, or to provide for anything higher than its own existence. This was the complete political fulfilment of the negative philosophy, all functions of government being simply repressive, unconnected with any idea of guidance, and leaving all active pursuit of intellectual and moral regeneration to private co-operation. A system of organized corruption was the necessary consequence, as the whole structure must otherwise be liable to fall to pieces at any moment, under the attacks of uncontrolled ambition. Hence the perpetual increase of public expenditure, as an indispensable condition of a system boasted of for its economy.—While closing my elucidation of the decay of the great temporal dictatorship, I must just observe on the novelty of the situation of a central power to which we may hardly apply the term royal, as all monarchical associations had vanished with the political faith that sanctioned them, and whose hereditary transmission appears extremely improbable*, considering the course of events for half a century past, and the impossibility that the function should ever degenerate into the mere sinecure that it is in England; a condition which requires that genuine personal capacity which rarely descends from father to son. Meantime the encroachments of the legislature on the so-called royal power,—the forcing of its organs upon it, without liberty of choice, so that the action of government is in reality transferred to any one who may for the moment be in a position of parliamentary ascendancy,—the independence of the ministers who might presently determine the abstraction of

* Published in 1842.

the royal element altogether,—these dangers would render the royal function a totally impracticable one if it were not administered with personal ability, confined to the maintenance of public order, and so vigilant and concentrated as to have the advantage over the desultory and contradictory ambition of men who are appeased by new distributions of power and frequent personal changes. In this provisional state of affairs, when the official system declines the spiritual reorganization for which it feels its own unfitness, the intellectual and moral authority falls into the hands of anybody who will accept it, without any security of personal aptitude in regard to the most important and difficult problems that have ever engaged or can engage human thought: hence the reign of journalism, in the hands of literary men and lawyers, and the hopeless anarchy which some of them propose and all of them, in their collective capacity, illustrate. The power actually possessed by this illegal social authority appears to me a kind of imperfect recognition of the proper priority of intellectual and moral regeneration over mere political experiment, the efficacy of which is wholly exhausted as long as it is separated from the philosophical guidance of the higher renovating agency.

The actual results of this last period consist of the extension of the crisis to the whole of the great European community, of which France is merely the vanguard. The germs of progress could not but be checked everywhere while it appeared that they failed in France; and the propagation of the movement was resumed only when the cause of the failure in France was made apparent. The imitation of the English type was never carried very far; for Catholic nations observed its effect in France; and even in Germany, where the aristocratic element is least reduced, no substantial experiment was tried, while the spectacle was before the world of the revolutionary excitement penetrating the British organization itself. There was no encouragement to transplant a system whose type was attacked at home. The negative doctrine presided over political movement everywhere; but it was nowhere so put to the trial as in France; and thus its radical impotence was universally manifest, without the need of any other nation undergoing the dreadful experience which had been endured by the French people for the benefit of all others. I observe lastly, that the

Extension of
the movement.

common movement is rendered secure by this decisive extension. The French revolutionary defence first guaranteed its safety ; and it now rests upon the impossibility of any serious retrograde repression, which must be universal to be of any effect ; and which cannot be universal, because the nations will never again be seriously stirred up against any one of their number, and armies are everywhere engaged, for the most part, in restraining interior disturbance.

We have now reviewed the five periods of revolutionary crisis which have divided the last half-century ; and the first consideration thence arising is of the necessity of a spiritual reorganization, towards which all political tendencies converge, and which awaits only the philosophical initiative that it requires. Before proceeding to discuss and supply that need, I must present a general view of the extinction of the theological and military *régime*, and the rise of a rational and pacific system, without regard to particular periods. It is necessary thus to estimate the natural and rapid fulfilment of the slow negative and positive movement of the five preceding centuries.

Completion of the theological decay. We must begin by considering the prolongation of the political decay ; and the theological part of it first, as the chief basis of the old social system. The revolutionary crisis completed the religious disorganization by striking a decisive blow at the essential conditions, political, intellectual, and moral, of the old spiritual economy. Politically, the subjection of the clergy to the temporal power was much aggravated by depriving them of the legal influence over domestic life which they retain in appearance in Protestant countries ; and again, by stripping them of special property, and making them dependent on the annual discussion of an assembly of unbelieving laymen, usually ill-disposed towards the priesthood, and only restrained from practically proving it by an empirical notion that theological belief is necessary to social harmony. Whatever consideration has been shown them has been on condition of their renouncing all political influence, and confining themselves to their private functions among those who desire their offices. The time is evidently near when the ecclesiastical budget will be suppressed, and the religious part of society will be left to support their respective pastors. This method, which is highly favourable to the American clergy, would be certain destruction in France, and in all countries nominally Catholic. The

intellectual decay of the theological organization was accelerated by the revolutionary crisis, which spread religious emancipation among all classes. Such enfranchisement cannot be doubtful among a people who have listened, in their old cathedrals, to the direct preaching of a bold atheism, or of a deism not less hostile to ancient faith: and the case is complete when we add that the most odious persecutions could not revive any genuine religious fervour, when its intellectual sources were dried up: and any testimony of the kind that has been alleged in such instances has not been of the spontaneous sort that is socially valuable, but the result of retrograde prepossessions, imperial or royal.—A persuasion which lasted longer was that the principle of all morality was to be found in religious doctrine. After minds of a high order had obtained theological emancipation, many private examples,—and the whole life of the virtuous Spinoza for one,—indicated how entirely all virtue was independent of the beliefs which, in the infancy of humanity, had long been indispensable to its support. In addition to this case of the few, the many exemplified the same truth,—the feeble religious convictions which remained to them during the third phase having obviously no essential effect on conduct, while they were the direct cause of discord, domestic, civil, and national. It is long, however, before any habitual belief yields to evidence; especially on matters so complex as the relations of morality; and we have seen that there is no virtue which did not in the first instance need that religious sanction which must be relinquished when intellectual and moral advancement has disclosed the real foundation of morals. There has always been an outcry, in one direction or another, about the demoralization that humanity must undergo if this or that superstition were suppressed; and we see the folly, when it relates to a matter which to us has long ceased to be connected with religion; as, for instance, the observance of personal cleanliness, which the Brahmins insist on making wholly dependent on theological prescription. For some centuries after Christianity was widely established, a great number of statesmen, and even philosophers, went on lamenting the corruption which must follow the fall of polytheistic superstitions. The greatest service that could be rendered to humankind while this sort of clamour continues to exist, is that a whole nation should manifest a high order of virtue while essentially alienated from

theological belief. This service was rendered by the demonstration attending the French Revolution. When, from the leaders to the lowest citizens, there was seen so much courage, military and civic, such patriotic devotedness, so many acts of disinterestedness, obscure as well as conspicuous, and especially throughout the whole course of the republican defence, while the ancient faith was abased or persecuted, it was impossible to hold to the retrograde belief of the moral necessity of religious opinions. It will not be supposed that deism was the animating influence in this case; for not only are its prescriptions confused and precarious, but the people were nearly as indifferent to modern deism as to any other religious system. This view,—of religious doctrine having lost its moral prerogatives,—concludes the evidence of the revolutionary crisis having completed the decay of the theological *régime*. From this date Catholicism could be regarded only as external to the society which it once ruled over;—as a majestic ruin, a monument of a genuine spiritual organization, and an evidence of its radical conditions. These purposes are at present very imperfectly fulfilled,—partly because the political organization shares the theological discredit, and partly from the intellectual inferiority of the Catholic clergy, who are of a lower and lower mental average, and less and less aware of the elevation of their old social mission. The social barrenness of this great organization is a sad spectacle: and we can hardly hope that it can be made use of in the work of reconstruction, because the priesthood has a blind antipathy to all positive philosophy, and persists in its resort to hopeless intrigue to obtain a fancied restoration. The obvious probability is, that this noble social edifice will follow the fate of polytheism, through the wearing out of its intellectual basis, and be wholly overthrown, leaving only the imperishable remembrance of the vast services of every kind which connect it historically with human progress, and of the essential improvements which it introduced into the theory of social organization.

Decay of
the Military
system.

Turning from the religious to the civic system, we find that, notwithstanding a great exceptional warfare, the revolutionary crisis destroyed the military, no less than the theological system. The mode of republican defence, in the first place, discredited the old military caste, which lost its exclusiveness; its professional prac-

tice being rivalled by the citizens in general, after a very short apprenticeship. Popular determination was proved to be worth more than tactics. Again, the last series of systematic wars,—those undertaken on behalf of Industry,—were now brought to an end. It was only in England that this old ground remained; and even there it was encroached upon by serious social anxieties. The colonial system was declining everywhere else; and its existence in the British empire is doubtless a special and temporary exception, which may be left to find its own destiny, unmolested by European interference. The independence of the American Colonies introduced the change; and it went forward while the countries of Europe were engrossed with the cares of the revolutionary crisis: and thus disappeared the last general occasion of modern warfare. The great exceptional warfare that I referred to as occasioned by an irresistible sway of circumstances must be the last. Wars of principle, which alone are henceforth possible, are restrained by a sufficient extension of the revolutionary action through Western Europe; for all the anxiety and all the military resources of the governments are engrossed by the care of external order. Precarious as is such a safeguard, it is yet one which will probably avail till the time of reorganization arrives, to institute a more direct and permanent security. A third token of military decline is the practice of forced enlistment, begun in France under the pressure of the revolutionary crisis, perpetuated by the wars of the Empire, and imitated in other countries to strengthen national antagonisms. Having survived the peace, the practice remains a testimony of the anti-military tendencies of modern populations, which furnish a few volunteer officers, but few or no volunteer privates. At the same time it extinguishes military habits and manners, by destroying the special character of the profession, and by making the army consist of a multitude of anti-military citizens, who assume the duty as a temporary burden. The probability is, that the method will be broken up by an explosion of resistance; and meantime it reduces the military system to a subaltern office in the mechanism of modern society. Thus the time is come when we may congratulate ourselves on the final passing away of serious and durable warfare among the most advanced nations. In this case as in others, the dreams and aspirations which have multiplied in recent times are an expression of a real and serious need,—a prevision of the heart

rather than the head, of a happier state of things approaching. The existing peace, long beyond example, and maintained amidst strong incitements to national quarrels, is an evidence that the change is more than a dream or an aspiration. The only fear for the maintenance of this peace is from any temporary preponderance in France of disastrous systematic movements; and these would be presently put a stop to by the popular antipathy to war, and experience of the terrible effects thus induced.

There is nothing inconsistent with this view in the fact that each European nation maintains a vast military apparatus. Armies are now employed in the preservation of public order. This was once a function altogether subordinate to that of foreign warfare; but the functions are reversed, and foreign war is contemplated only as a possible consequence of a certain amount of domestic agitation. While intellectual and moral anarchy render it difficult to preserve material order, the defensive force must equal at all times the insurrectional; and this will be the business of physical force till it is superseded by social reorganization. As for the time when this martial police will cease to be wanted, it is yet, though within view, very distant; for it has only just entered upon its last function, to which old opinions and manners are still so opposed that the truth is not recognized, but hidden under pretences of imminent war, which is made the excuse of a great military apparatus provided, in fact, for service at home. That service will be better performed when it is avowed, and all false pretences are put away; and this might surely be done now that the central power itself is reduced to a similar provisional office. The military system and spirit are thus not doomed to the same decay as the sacerdotal, with which they were so long incorporated. The priesthood shows no disposition and no power to fuse itself in the new social organization; whereas there has never been a time since the decline of the military system began, when the soldiery were unable to assume the spirit and manners appropriate to their new social destination. In modern times the military mind has shown itself ready for theological emancipation; its habit of discipline is favourable to incorporation, and its employments to scientific researches and professional studies; all which are propitious to the positive spirit. In recent times, consequently, the spirit of the army has been, in France at least, strikingly progressive;

while that of the priesthood has been so stationary as to place it actually outside of the modern social action. Thus different are now the character and the fate of the two elements of ancient civilization, which were once so closely connected. The one is now left behind in the march of social improvement, and the other is destined to be gradually absorbed.

Here I close my review of the negative progress of the last half-century ; and I proceed to review the positive progression under the four heads into which it was divided in the preceding period.

The Industrial evolution has gone on, as in natural course of prolongation from the preceding period. The revolutionary crisis assisted and confirmed the advance by completing the secular destruction of the ancient hierarchy, and raising to the first social rank, even to a degree of extravagance, the civic influence of wealth. Since the peace this process has gone on without interruption, and the technical progress of industry has kept pace with the social. I assigned the grand impetus of the movement to the time when mechanical forces were largely adopted in the place of human industry ; and during the last half-century the systematic use of machinery, owing to the application of steam, has caused prodigious improvements in artificial locomotion, by land, river, and sea, to the great profit of industry. This progression has been caused by the union of science and industry, though the mental influence of this union has been unfavourable to the philosophy of science, for reasons which I shall explain. In recent times the industrial class, which is, by its superior generality, most capable of entertaining political views, has begun to show its capability, and to regulate its relations with the other branches, by means of the system of public credit which has grown out of the inevitable extension of the national expenditure. In this connection we must take note, unhappily, of the growing seriousness of the deficiencies which I pointed out at the end of the last chapter. Agricultural industry has been further isolated through the stimulus given to manufacturing and commercial industry, and their engrossing interest under such circumstances. A worse and wholly unquestionable mischief is the deeper hostility which has arisen between the interests of employers and employed,—a state of things which shows how far we are from that industrial organization which is illustrated by the very

Recent Industrial progress.

use of those mechanical agencies, without which the practical expansion of industry could not have taken place. There is no doubt that the dissension has been aggravated by the arts of demagogues and sophists, who have alienated the working class from their natural industrial leaders; but I cannot but attribute this severance of the head and the hands much more to the political incapacity, the social indifference, and especially the blind selfishness of the employers than to the unreasonable demands of the employed. The employers have taken no pains to guard the workmen from seduction by the organization of a broad popular education, the extension of which, on the contrary, they appear to dread; and they have evidently yielded to the old tendency to take the place of the feudal chiefs, whose fall they longed for without inheriting their antique generosity towards inferiors. Unlike military superiors, who are bound to consider and protect their humblest brother soldiers, the industrial employers abuse the power of capital to carry their points in opposition to the employed; and they have done so in defiance of equity, while the law authorized or countenanced coalitions among the one party which it forbade to the other. Passing thus briefly over evils which are unquestionable, I must once more point out the pedantic blindness of that political economy which, in the presence of such conflicts, hides its organic helplessness under an irrational declaration of the necessity of delivering over modern industry to its unregulated course. The only consolation which hence arises is the vague but virtual admission of the insufficiency of popular measures, properly so called,—that is, of purely temporal resources,—for the solution of this vast difficulty, which can be disposed of by no means short of a true intellectual and moral reorganization.

Recent
Æsthetic
progress.

In Art, the main advance has been the exposure of the defect of philosophical principle and social destination, in modern Art, and of the hopelessness of imitation of antique types,—an exposure which has been brought about by the general direction of minds towards political speculation and regeneration as a whole. Amidst the wildness, the æsthetic vagabondism, to which the negative philosophy gave occasion and encouragement, especially in France,—taking the form for the substance, and discussion for construction, and interdicting to Art all large spontaneous exercise and sound general efficacy,—there have been immortal

creations which have established in each department the undiminished vigour of the æsthetic faculties of mankind, even amidst the most unfavourable environment. The kind of Art in the form of literature which appears most suitable to modern civilization is that in which private is historically connected with public life, which in every age necessarily modifies its character. The Protestant civilization of times sufficiently remote and well chosen is represented, amidst the deep interest of all Europe, by the immortal author of 'Ivanhoe,' 'Quentin Durward,' 'Old Mortality,' and 'Peveril of the Peak;' while the Catholic civilization is charmingly represented by the author of 'I Promessi Sposi,' who is one of the chief ornaments of Art in modern times. This epic form probably indicates the mode of renovation of Art generally, when our civilization shall have become solid, energetic, and settled enough to constitute the subject of æsthetic representation. The other fine arts have well sustained their power, during this recent period, without having achieved any remarkable advancement, unless it be in the case of music, and especially dramatic music, the general character of which has risen, in Italy and Germany, to higher elevation and finish. A striking instance of the æsthetic power proper to every great social movement is afforded by the sudden production, in a nation so unmusical as the French, of the most perfect type of political music in the Revolutionary hymn which was so animating to the patriotism of the citizen-soldiery of France.

The progress of Science was, at the same time, steady and effective, without any extraordinary brilliancy. On account of that progress, and of the supreme importance of science as the basis of social reorganization, and again, of the serious faults and errors involved in its pursuit, we must look a little more closely into its condition during this recent period.

Recent Scientific progress.

In mathematical science, besides the labours necessary for the completion of Celestial Mechanics, we have Fourier's great creation, extending analysis to a new order of general phenomena by the study of the abstract laws of the equilibrium and motion of temperatures. He also gave us, in regard to pure analysis, his original conception on the resolution of equations, carried forward, and in some collateral respects improved, by various geometers who have not duly acknowledged the source whence they derived the master idea. Geometry

has been enlarged by Monge's conception of the general theory of the family of surfaces,—a view still unappreciated by ordinary mathematicians, and perhaps even by Monge himself, Lagrange alone appearing to have perceived its full bearings. Lagrange at the same time perfected Rational Mechanics as a whole, by giving it entire rationality and unity. This great feat must not however be considered by itself, but must be connected with Lagrange's effort to constitute a true mathematical philosophy, founded on a prior renovation of transcendental analysis, a purpose which is illustrated by that incomparable work in which he undertook to regenerate in the same spirit all the great conceptions, first of analysis, then of geometry, and finally of mechanics. Though this premature project could not be wholly successful, it will be, in the eyes of posterity, the pre-eminent honour of this mathematical period, even leaving out of the account the philosophical genius of Lagrange, the only geometer who has duly appreciated that ulterior alliance between the historical spirit and the scientific, which must signalize the highest perfection of positive speculation. Pure astronomy, or celestial geometry, must always advance in an inferior way, in comparison with celestial mechanics; but there have been some interesting discoveries,—as of Uranus, the small planets between Mars and Jupiter, and some others. In Physics, in the midst of some hypothetical extravagance, many valuable experimental ideas have arisen in all the principal departments, and especially in Optics and Electrology, by means of the successive labours of Malus, Fresnel, and Young, on the one hand, and of Volta, Oersted, and Ampère on the other. We have seen how Chemistry has been advanced, in the midst of the necessary demolition of Lavoisier's beautiful theory, by the gradual formation of its numerical doctrine, and by the general series of electrical researches. But the great glory of the period in the eyes of future generations will be the creation of biological philosophy, which completes the positive character of the mental evolution, while it carries modern science forward to its highest social destination. I have said enough, in the former volume, to show the importance of Bichat's conceptions of vital dualism, and especially of the theory of tissues; and of the successive labours of Vicq d'Azyr, Lamarck, and the German school, to constitute the animal hierarchy, since rendered systematic by the philosophical genius of Blainville; and,

finally, of the all-important discoveries of Gall, by which the whole of science, with the exception of social speculations, is withdrawn from the cognizance of the theologico-metaphysical philosophy. We ought not to overlook the important though premature attempt of Broussais to found a true pathological philosophy. His deficiency of materials and imperfect biological conceptions should not render us insensible to the merit and the utility of this great effort, which, after having excited an undue enthusiasm, has fallen into temporary neglect. The biological evolution has certainly contributed, more than any other part of the scientific movement, to the progress of the human mind, not only in a scientific view, by affording a basis for the philosophical study of Man, preparatory to that of Society, but far more in a logical view, by establishing that part of natural philosophy in which the synthetical spirit must finally prevail over the analytical, so as to develop the intellectual condition most necessary to sociological speculation. In this way, but without being suspected, the scientific movement was closely connected with the vast political crisis, through which social regeneration was sought before its true basis was ascertained.

Meantime, the scientific element was becoming more and more incorporated with the modern social system. In the midst of the fiercest political storms, scientific educational institutions were rising up, which were less devoted to specialties than they are now, though still too much so. Throughout civilized Europe there was a striking increase in the amount of scientific conditions imposed at the entrance on any of a multitude of professions and employments, by which means authorities who are most averse to reorganization are led to regard real knowledge more and more as a practical safeguard of social order. Among the special services of science to the time is the institution of an admirable system of universal measures, which was begun by revolutionary France, and thence slowly spread among other nations. This introduction of the true speculative spirit among the most familiar transactions of daily life is a fine example and suggestion of the improvements that must ensue whenever a generalized scientific influence shall have penetrated the elementary economy of society.

These are the favourable features of the scientific movement. The vicious tendencies have

Abuses.

grown in an over-proportion, and consist of that abuse of special research which I have so often had occasion to denounce and lament. In all reforms, and in all progressions, the most vehement opposition arises from within. Hildebrand's enterprise of raising the Catholic clergy to be the head of society in Europe was counteracted by none so formidably as by the priesthood; and in like manner, it is the *savans* who now oppose, with violent prejudice and passion, the organization of science which alone can give it the social influence that it ought to be obtaining. It is not ambition that they want, but enlargement and elevation. The partial perfection of our positive knowledge may easily deceive both the public and the workers as to the real value of most of the contributors, each of whom has probably furnished an extremely minute and easy portion to the vast elaboration; and it is not always understood by the public that, owing to the extreme restriction of pursuit, any *savant* who may have won honour in some single inquiry, may not be above mediocrity in any view, even in connection with science. In the theological case, the clergy were superior to religion; in the scientific case, on the contrary, the doctors are inferior to the doctrine. The evil is owing to the undue protraction of a state of things inevitable and indispensable in its day.

We have seen that when modern science was detached from the scholastic philosophy, there was a provisional necessity for a system of scientific speciality; and that because the formation of the different sciences was successive, in proportion to the complexity of their phenomena, the positive spirit could in no way have elicited the attributes of each case but by a partial and exclusive institution of different orders of abstract speculation. But the very purpose of this introductory system indicated its transitory nature, by limiting its office to the interval preceding the incorporation of rational positivity with all the great elementary categories,—the boundary being thus fixed at the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as my survey has shown. The two great legislators of positive philosophy, Bacon and Descartes, saw how merely provisional was this ascendancy of the analytical over the synthetical spirit: and under their influence the *savans* of those two centuries pursued their inquiries avowedly with the view of accumulating materials for the ultimate construction of a philosophical system, however imperfect their notion of such a system might

be. If this spontaneous tendency had been duly grounded, the preparatory stage would have come to its natural close on the advent of biological science; and, during the last half-century, the discovery of the scientific place of the intellectual and moral faculties would have been received as completing the system of natural philosophy, up to the threshold of social science, and as constituting an order of speculation in which, from the nature of the phenomena, the spirit of generality must overrule the spirit of detail. But the habits of special pursuit were too strong to be withstood at the right point; and the preparatory stage has been extended to the most disastrous degree, and even erected into an absolute and indefinite state of affairs. It even appears as if the radical distinction were to be effaced between the analytical and the synthetical spirit, both of which are necessary in all positive speculation, and which should alternately guide the intellectual evolution, individual and social, under the exigencies proper to each age; the one seizing the differences and the other the resemblances: the one dividing, and the other co-ordinating; and therefore the one destined to the elaboration of materials, and the other to the construction of edifices. When the masons will endure no architects, they aim at changing the elementary economy of the human understanding. Through this protraction of the preparatory stage, the positive philosophy cannot be really understood by any student, placed in any part of the present vicious organization of scientific labour. The *savans* of each section acquire only isolated fragments of knowledge, and have no means of comparing the general attributes of rational positivity exhibited by the various orders of phenomena, according to their natural arrangement. Each mind may be positive within the narrow limits of its special inquiry, while the slave of the ancient philosophy in all the rest. Each may exhibit the fatal contrast between the advancement of some partial conceptions, and the disgraceful triteness of all the rest: and this is the spectacle actually afforded by the learned academies of our day, by their very constitution. The characteristic parcelling out of these societies,—a reproduction of their intellectual dispersion,—increases the mischief of this state of things by facilitating the rise of ordinary minds, which are less likely to amend the scientific constitution than to be jealous of a philosophical superiority of which they feel them-

selves incapable. It is lamentable that, at a time when the state of human affairs offers every other encouragement to the active pursuit of generalities, science, in which alone the whole solution lies, should be so degraded by the incompetence of its interpreters as that it now seems to prescribe intellectual restriction, and to condemn every attempt at generalization. The demerit of the classes of *savans* implicated in the case varies in proportion to the independence and simplicity of the phenomena with which they are respectively engaged. The geometers are the most special and empirical of all; and the mischief began with them. We have seen how, though positivism arose in the mathematical province, the geometers see nothing before them but a future extension of their analysis to all phenomena whatever; and how the absolute character of the old philosophy is more thoroughly preserved among them than any other class, from their greater intellectual restriction. The biologists, on the contrary, whose speculations are necessarily dependent on all the rest of natural philosophy, and relating to a subject in which all artificial decomposition implies a spontaneous future combination, would be the least prone to dispersive errors, and the best disposed for philosophical order, if their education were in any agreement with their destination, and if they were not too apt to transfer to their own studies the conceptions and habits proper to inorganic research. Their influence is beneficial on the whole however, as counteracting, though too feebly, the ascendancy of the geometers. Their progression has, accordingly, been more impeded than aided by the learned bodies, whose nature relates to a preparatory period when the inorganic philosophy, with its spirit and practice of detail, flourished alone. The Academy of Paris, for instance, which had no welcome for Bichat, and formed a junction with Bonaparte to persecute Gall, and failed to recognize the worth of Broussais, and admitted the brilliant but superficial Cuvier to a superiority over Lamarck and Blainville, has a much less complete and general sense of biological philosophy than prevails beyond its walls. These faults of the scientific class have become the more conspicuous from the new social importance that has been accorded to *savans* during the last half-century, and which has elicited at once their intellectual insufficiency and the moral inferiority which must attend it, since, in the speculative class, elevation of soul and generosity of feeling can

hardly be developed without generality of ideas, through the natural affinity between narrow and desultory views and selfish dispositions. During a former period, when science began to be systematically encouraged, pensions were given to *savans* to enable them freely to carry on their work; a mode of provision which was suitable to the circumstances of the time. Since the revolutionary crisis, the system has been changed in some countries, and especially in France, by conferring on learned men useful office and its remuneration, by which they are rendered more independent. No inquiry was made, however, as to the fitness of the *savans* for the change. Education was one chief function thus appointed; and thus we find education in special subjects more and more engrossed by learned bodies; and pupils sent forth who are less and less prepared to recognize the true position of science in relation to human welfare. The end of this provisional state of things is, however, manifestly approaching. When science itself is found to be injured by the inaccuracy of observations, and by its too selfish connection with profitable industrial operations, a change must soon take place: and no influence will then impede the renovation of modern science by a generalization which will bring it into harmony with the chief needs of our position. We may regard the *savans*, properly so called, as an equivocal class, destined to speedy elimination, inasmuch as they are intermediate between the engineers and the philosophers, uniting in an untenable way the speciality of occupation of the one, and the abstract speculative character of the other. Out of the academies themselves the greater number of the *savans* will melt in among the pure engineers, to form a body practically offering to direct the action of Man upon nature, on the principles specially required; while the most eminent of them will doubtless become the nucleus of a really philosophical class directly reserved to conduct the intellectual and moral regeneration of modern society, under the impulsion of a common positive doctrine. They will institute a general scientific education, which will rationally superintend all ulterior distribution of contemplative labours by determining the variable importance which, at each period, must be assigned to each abstract category, and therefore first granting the highest place to social studies, till the final reorganization shall be sufficiently advanced. As for the *savans* who are fit for neither class, they will abide outside of any genuine classification, till they

can assume some social character, speculative or active,—their special labours meantime being welcomed with all just appreciation; for those who are capable of generality can estimate the value of the special, while the understanding restricted to special pursuit can feel nothing but aversion for complete and therefore general conceptions. This fact easily explains the antipathy which these provisional leaders of our mental evolution entertain against all proposals and prophecies of true intellectual government, dreaded in proportion as its positivity renders it powerful against all usurpation.

Turning to the consideration of philosophy during the last half-century, we find its state no less lamentable than that of science. It might have been hoped that this element might have corrected the peculiar vice of the other, substituting the spirit of generality for that of speciality: but it has not been so. Instead of rebuking that vice, philosophy has given a dogmatic sanction to it by extending it to the class of subjects to which it is thoroughly repugnant. When science diverged from a worn-out philosophy in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, without being as yet able to furnish a basis for any other, philosophy, receding further and further from science, which it had before directed, restricted itself to the immediate formation of moral and social theories, which had no permanent relation to the only researches that could supply a true foundation, as to either method or doctrine. Since the separation took place, there has been in fact no philosopher, properly so called; no mind in which the spirit of generality has been habitually preponderant, whatever might be its direction,—theological, metaphysical, or positive. In this strict sense, Leibnitz might be called the last modern philosopher; since no one after him—not even the illustrious Kant, with all his logical power—has adequately fulfilled the conditions of philosophical generality, in agreement with the advanced state of intellectual progress. Except some bright exceptional presentiments of an approaching renovation, the last half-century has offered nothing better than a barren dogmatic sanction of the transitory state of things now existing. As however this vain attempt is the characteristic of what is called philosophy in our day, it is necessary to notice it.

We have seen that the general spirit of the primitive philosophy, which still lingers through time and change, chiefly

consists in conceiving the study of Man, and especially intellectual and moral Man, as entirely independent of that of the external world, of which it is supposed to be the basis, in direct contrast with the true definitive philosophy. Since science has shown the marvellous power of the positive method, modern metaphysics has endeavoured to make its own philosophy congenial with the existing state of the human mind by adopting a logical principle equivalent to that of science, whose conditions were less and less understood. This procedure, very marked from the time of Locke onward, has now issued in dogmatically sanctioning, under one form or another, the isolation and priority of moral speculation, by representing this supposed philosophy to be, like science itself, founded on a collection of observed facts. This has been done by proposing, as analogous to genuine observation, which must always be external to the observer, that celebrated *interior observation* which can be only a parody on the other, and according to which the ridiculous contradiction would take place, of our reason contemplating itself during the common course of its own acts. This is the doctrine which was learnedly prescribed at the very time that Gall was irreversibly incorporating the study of the cerebral functions with positive science. Every one knows what barren agitation has followed upon this false principle, and how the metaphysical philosophy of the present day puts forth the grandest pretensions, which produce nothing better than translations and commentaries on the old Greek or scholastic philosophy, destitute of even an historical estimate of the corresponding doctrines, for want of a sound theory of the evolution of the human mind. The parody at first implicated only the logical principle; but it soon comprehended the general course of the philosophy. The speciality which belongs to inorganic researches alone, was transferred to this just when it ought to have been allowed to disappear even in its own domain of science. A philosophy worthy of the name would at once have indicated to scientific men, and especially to biologists, the enormous error they were committing by extending to the science of living bodies, in which all aspects are closely interconnected, a mode of research that was only provisionally admissible even in regard to inert bodies. That instead of this, the so-called philosophy should have argued from the error of the other case, and have applied it systematically to the study which has always been ad-

mitted to require unity and generality above all others, appears to me one of the most memorable examples on record of a disastrous metaphysical infatuation. Such is the decayed condition of the philosophical evolution in the nineteenth century. But its very weakness is an evidence of the common sense of the need and the power of intellectual generality, since it is the affectation of that quality which provisionally sustains the practical influence of a doctrine now in universal disrepute, which has no other office than keeping up, in an imperfect way, a notion of intellectual concentration in the midst of the most active dispersion. When the advent of the true philosophy shall have stripped the metaphysical doctrine of every vestige of this attribute, the supposed philosophy will disappear,—probably without any discussion, or any other notice than a comparison of its uses with those of its successor. Then the great preparatory schism, organized by Aristotle and Plato, between natural and moral philosophy, will be dissolved. As modified by Descartes, it has now reached its last term, after having fulfilled its provisional office. The intellectual unity, vainly because prematurely sought by scholasticism, will now result, irrevocably, from the perpetual coincidence of philosophical science and scientific philosophy. The study of moral and social Man will obtain without opposition the due normal ascendancy which belongs to it in the speculative system, because it is no longer hostile to the most simple and perfect contemplations, but is even based upon them and contributory to their use. However men may act in the presence of this change,—whether young thinkers adhere to the philosophy of egotism or join that of renovation; whether the *savans* will rise to philosophy, or philosophers will return to science; and however a narrow and self-interested majority may resist the change,—there will be a nucleus of eminent minds to form the new spiritual body (which may be indifferently called scientific or philosophical), under the sway and guidance of an adequate general education.

Here ends my historical review of the last half-century, and with it, of the whole past of the human race: a survey which yields the conviction that the present time is that in which the philosophical renovation, so long prepared for and projected by Bacon and Descartes, must take place. Amidst some personal impediments, everything is essentially ready for the process. I have endeavoured to show how clear it is,

after the failure of all manner of vain attempts, that science is the only basis of a true philosophy; and that their union affords the only fulfilment of the conditions of order and of progress, by substituting a sustained and determinate movement for a vague and anarchical agitation. It is for the thoughtful to judge whether my fundamental theory of human evolution, illustrated by the history of human progress, contains the principle of this great solution. But, before I proceed to the philosophical conclusions derivable from the whole of this Work, I must offer a general elucidation of the new political philosophy which has been disclosed by the successive portions of my dynamical estimate, by specially and directly considering the proper nature of the spiritual reorganization in which we have seen the whole past converge, and from which the whole future must evidently proceed. The reader cannot fail to bear in mind the concatenation of events, as presented in my historical analysis; and he will not lose sight of my explanation that, though I was compelled, for the sake of clearness, to separate the negative from the positive progression of modern times, the two were in fact most intimately connected, and must be so considered, in the act of drawing conclusions from them. It certainly appears to me that the whole course of human history affords so decisive a verification of my theory of evolution, that no essential law of natural philosophy is more fully demonstrated. From the earliest beginnings of civilization to the present state of the most advanced nations, this theory has explained, consistently and dispassionately, the character of all the great phases of humanity; the participation of each in the perdurable common development, and their precise filiation; so as to introduce perfect unity and rigorous continuity into this vast spectacle which otherwise appears altogether desultory and confused. A law which fulfils such conditions must be regarded as no philosophical pastime, but as the abstract expression of the general reality. Being so, it may be employed with logical security to connect the past with the future, notwithstanding the perpetual variety which characterizes the social succession; for its essential course, without being in any way periodical, is thus constantly referrible to a steady rule which, almost imperceptible in the study of any separate phase, becomes unquestionable when the whole progression is surveyed. Now, the use of this great

The law of
evolution.

law has led us to determine the necessary general tendency of existing civilization by accurately marking the degree already achieved by the great evolution: and hence results at once the indication of the direction which the systematic movement should be made to take, in order to accord with the spontaneous movement. We have seen that the most advanced part of the human race has exhausted the theological and metaphysical life, and is now at the threshold of the fully positive life, the elements of which are all prepared, and only awaiting their co-ordination to form a new social system, more homogeneous and more stable than mankind has hitherto had any experience of. This co-ordination must be, from its nature, first intellectual, then moral, and finally political; for the revolution which has to be completed proceeds in fact from the necessary tendency of the human mind to substitute for the philosophical method which suited its infancy that which is appropriate to its maturity. In this view, the mere knowledge of the law of progression becomes the general principle of solution by establishing a perfect agreement in the whole system of our understanding, through the preponderance, thus obtained, of the positive method, in social as in all other researches. Again, this last fulfilment of the intellectual evolution necessarily favours the ascendancy of the spirit of generality, and therefore the sentiment of duty, which is, by its nature, closely connected with it, so as naturally to induce moral regeneration. Moral laws are at present dangerously shaken only through their implication with theological conceptions that have fallen into disrepute; and they will assume a surpassing vigour when they are connected with positive ideas that are generally relied on. Again, in a political view, the regeneration of social doctrine must, by its very action, raise up from the midst of anarchy a new spiritual authority which, after having disciplined the human intellect and reconstructed morals, will peaceably become, throughout Western Europe, the basis of the final system of human society. Thus, the same philosophical conception which discloses to us the true nature of the great problem furnishes the general principle of the solution, and indicates the necessary course of action.

Speculative
preparation.

In the present stage, the philosophical contemplation and labour are more important than political action, in regard to social regeneration;

because a basis is the thing wanted, while there is no lack of political measures, more or less provisional, which preserve material order from invasion by the restless spirits that come forth during a season of anarchy. The governments are relying on corruption and on repressive force, while the philosophers are elaborating their principles; and what the philosophers have to expect from wise governments is that they will not interfere with the task while in progress, nor hereafter with the gradual application of its results. The French Convention is, thus far, the only government that, since the opening of the crisis, has manifested any instinct of its true position. During its ascending phase, at least, it strove, amidst vast difficulties, to introduce progressive though provisional institutions; whereas, all other political powers have written on their flimsy erections that they were built for eternity.

As for the kind of persons who are to constitute the new spiritual authority,—it is easy to say who they will not be, and impossible to say who they will be. There will be no organization like that of the Catholic priesthood, for the benefit of any existing class. I need not say that it will not be the *savans*. It will not be any class now existing; because the natural elements of the new authority must undergo a thorough intellectual and moral regeneration in accordance with the doctrine which is to organize them. The future spiritual power will reside in a wholly new class, in no analogy with any now existing, and originally composed of members issuing, according to their qualifications, from all orders of existing society,—the scientific having, to all appearance, no sort of predominance over the rest. The advent of this body will be essentially spontaneous, since its social sway can arise from nothing else than the voluntary assent of men's minds to the new doctrines successively wrought out: and such an authority can therefore no more be decreed than it can be interdicted. As it must thus arise, little by little, out of its own work, all speculation about the ulterior forms of its constitution would be idle and uncertain. As its social power must, like that of Catholicism, precede its political organization, all that can be done now is to mark its destination in the final social system, so as to show how it may act on the general state of affairs, by accomplishing the philosophical labours which will secure its formation long before it can be regularly constituted.

Speculative
authority.

I cannot but suppose my readers convinced by this time that there is a growing pressure of necessity for a spiritual power entirely independent of the temporal,—governing opinions and morals, while the civil rule applies only to acts. We see that the grand characteristic of human progress is an ever-increasing preponderance of the speculative over the active life: and, though the latter always keeps the active ascendancy, it would be contradictory to suppose that the contemplative part of Man is to be for ever deprived of due culture and distinct direction in the social state in which the reason will find habitual scope and expansion, even among the lowest order, while the separation existed, in the Middle Ages, amidst a civilization which stood much nearer to the cradle of human society. All the wise now admit the necessity of a permanent division between theory and practice, in order to the perfecting of both; even in regard to the smallest subjects of study: and there can be no more hesitation about applying the principle to operations of the utmost difficulty and importance, when we are advanced enough for the process. Intellectually, the separation of the two powers is merely the external manifestation of the same distinction between science and art, transferred to social ideas, and there systematized. It would be a vast retrogression, most degrading to our intelligence, if we were to leave modern society below the level of that of the Middle Ages, by reconstituting the ancient confusion which the Middle Ages had outgrown, without any of the excuse that the ancients had for that confusion. Yet more striking would be the return to barbarism in the moral relation. We have seen how, by the aid of Catholicism, Morality escaped from the control of policy, to assume the social supremacy which is its due, and without which it could not attain a necessary purity and universality. This procedure, so little understood by the philosophic vulgar, laid the foundation of our moral education by securing from the encroachment of inferior and private interests the immutable laws which relate to the most intimate and general needs of the human race. It is certain that this indispensable co-ordination would have no consistence amidst the conflict of human passions if, resting only on an abstract doctrine, it was not animated and confirmed by the intervention of a moral power distinct from, and independent of, the political. We know this by what we see of the breaches of morals that take place through the

spiritual disorganization, and though the morality which accords with modern civilization is thereby secured from dogmatic attack,—fallen as is the Catholic philosophy, which was its original organ. We may observe in our metaphysical constitutions themselves some recognition of the principle of separation in those remarkable preliminary declarations which give to the humblest citizens a general control of political measures. This is a feeble image and imperfect equivalent of the strong means furnished by the Catholic organism to every member for resistance to every legal injunction which should be contrary to established morality,—avoiding, the while, any revolt against an economy regularly founded on such a separation. Since Mankind first really entered upon a career of civilization, this great division has been, in all respects, the social principle of intellectual elevation and moral dignity.—It fell into discredit, it is true, with the decline of Catholicism; but revolutionary prejudices are not to last for ever; and the nature of modern civilization both prescribes and prepares for a renewal of the distinction, without any of the forced character which belonged to it in the Middle Ages. Under the ascendancy of Industry, there can be no confusion between the speculative and the active authorities, which could never be united in the same organ, for the simplest and most restricted operations; and much less for those of high social importance. Morals and manners are as adverse to such a concentration as capacities. Though the different classes imitate one another too much, and though wealth is held in pre-eminent honour at present, no one will pretend that riches can confer any right to decide on great social questions. Again, while artists, and, more disgracefully, scientific men, struggle in rivalry of wealth with industrial leaders, there is no reason to fear that the æsthetic and the scientific career can ever lead to high station by means of wealth. The generous improvidence of the one order of men, when their vocation is real, is incompatible with the anxious solicitude necessary to the acquisition of wealth. The highest degrees of fortune and of consideration can never be united; the first belonging naturally to services of immediate and material utility; and the other following, more remotely, upon speculative labours, which, in proportion to their superior social value, find at length their social reward in the highest veneration. There is some recognition of the necessity of a

separate spiritual government in the influence which actually belongs to men of letters and metaphysicians in our day ; and the only real question is whether society shall be governed on a basis of ascertained knowledge and unquestionable philosophy, or whether it shall be guided by organs qualified neither by sound knowledge nor by genuine conviction. The answer is found in the fact that, whereas in the Middle Ages the separation of powers was necessarily as imperfect as it was arbitrary, the tendency of the modern social spirit is to render human government more and more moral and less and less political. The moral reorganization is the most urgent ; and it is at the same time the best prepared. The governments decline it more and more, and thus leave it for the hands that ought to assume it : and the peoples have had experience enough to convince them that existing principles of government have done all that is to be expected of them, and that social progress must depend upon a wholly new philosophy.

We have seen how the Greek philosophers dreamed of a political reign of Mind, and how dangerous and futile such a notion was. During the Middle Ages the Catholic system provided satisfaction for intellectual ambition : but when, by the demolition of that system, the two orders of power were again confounded, the old Utopia was revived. Except the few whom their philosophy raised above such desires, almost all active minds have been actuated, often unconsciously, by an insurrectionary tendency against a state of affairs which offered them no legal position. As the negative movement proceeded, such men grew more eager for temporal greatness, which was then the only social eminence ; and during the revolutionary convulsion, such aspirations exceeded all bounds. Such attempts, unsupported by any religious organization, must necessarily succumb to the power of wealth, which had established a material preponderance too strong to be shaken ; but the efforts themselves were very disturbing to the state of things which they could not essentially change. This principle of disorder is the more dangerous from its appearance of reasonableness. It is all that the most eminent rationality and morality combined can do to preserve a mind of the present day from the illusion that, as modern civilization tends to strengthen the social influence of intelligence, the government of society, speculative and active, ought to be confided to the highest intellectual capacity. Most minds that are occupied with social

questions are secretly swayed by this notion,—without excepting those who repel the error which no one attempts rationally to vindicate. The separation of the two powers will extinguish this cause of disorder by providing for the gratification of whatever is legitimate in this ambition. The sound theory of the case, as imperfectly presented in the Middle Age system, is, that it is the social function of Mind to struggle perpetually, in its own way, to modify the necessary rule of material power, by subjecting it more and more to respect for the moral laws of universal harmony, from which all practical activity, public and private, is apt to revolt, for want of loftiness of view and generosity of sentiment. Regarded in this way, legitimate social supremacy belongs neither to force nor to reason, but to morality, governing alike the actions of the one and the counsels of the other. Such, at least, is the type which is to be proposed, though it may never be fully realized: and in view of it, Mind may sincerely relinquish its idle pretension to govern the world by the supposed right of capacity; for it will be regularly installed in a noble permanent office, alike adapted to occupy its activity and recompense its services. This spiritual authority will be naturally kept within bounds by the very nature of its functions, which will be those of education, and the consultative influence which results from it in active life; and again, by the conditions imposed on their exercise, and the continuous resistance which must be encountered,—the authority itself being founded on free assent, within the limits necessary to guard against abuse. Such an organization is the only issue for the disturbing political action of intelligence, which can escape from unjust exclusion only by aspiring to a vicious domination: and statesmen at present protract the embarrassment caused by the political claims of capacity by their blind antipathy to the regular separation of the two powers.—The system needed would be no less beneficial to the multitude than to the active few. The disposition to seek in political institutions the solution of all difficulties whatever is a disastrous tendency of our time. Naturally arising from the concentration of powers, it has been aggravated by the constitution-making of the last half-century. The hallucination will be dissolved by the same philosophical instigation which will destroy that of a reign of Mind. While a social issue is provided for a large mental capacity, just popular claims, which are oftener moral than

political, will receive the guidance fittest for their object. There can be no doubt that the legitimate complaints lodged by the masses against a system under which their general needs are too little considered, relate to a renovation of opinions and manners, and could not be satisfied by express institutions. This is especially true in regard to the evils inherent in the inequality of wealth, which afford the most dangerous theme to both agitators and dreamers; for these evils derive their force much more from our intellectual and moral disorder than from the imperfections of political measures. The philosophical expansion which is to work out the new system must, in this and in many other respects, exert a very important rational influence on modern populations,—directly facilitating the restoration of general and durable harmony; always supposing that it is linked with conditions of progress, no less than of order, and that, while showing that our social embarrassments are independent of institutions, the new instruction shall teach us the true solution,—the submission of all classes to the moral requirements of their position, under the instigation of a spiritual authority strong enough to enforce discipline. Thus might disturbing popular dispositions, now the constant source of political illusion and quackery, be reformed; and the vague and stormy discussion of *rights* would be replaced by the calm and precise determinations of *duties*. The one, a critical and metaphysical notion, necessarily prevailed till the negative progression was completed: the other, essentially an organic and positive idea, must rule the final regeneration: for the one is purely individual, and the other directly social. Instead of making individual duty consist politically in respect for universal rights, the rights of each individual will be regarded as resulting from the duties of others towards him: in the one case the morality will be nearly passive, and will be ruled by selfishness: whereas in the other the morality will be thoroughly active, and directed by benevolence. Here, again, the opposition of statesmen is wholly inconsistent with their own complaints of the eagerness of the popular mind for political solutions of their difficulties:—the difficulties exist; the popular tendency exists; and no complaints of either can avail while politicians themselves discountenance the only means of correcting the thoughtless popular habit and desire.

Such are the services to be rendered by the new spiritual

authority. In order to dispel the natural uneasiness excited by the mention of such an agency in our day, connected as it is in most minds with theocratic notions, I will briefly indicate its offices and prerogatives, and the consequent nature of its normal authority.

If we resort to the Catholic organization as to a sort of pattern of spiritual government, we must remember that we have now nothing to do with the religious element; and we must consider the clergy in their social relations alone. Being careful to do this, we may refer to my statement of their function, as being that of every spiritual authority;—that of directing Education, while remaining merely consultative in all that relates to Action,—having, in fact, no other concern with action than that of recalling in each case the appropriate rules of conduct. The temporal authority, on the other hand, is supreme in regard to Action, and only consultative in regard to Education. Thus the great characteristic office and privilege of the modern spiritual power will be the organization and working of a universal system of positive Education, not only intellectual, but also, and more emphatically, moral. In order to maintain the positive nature and social purpose of this education, it must be ever remembered that it is intended for the direct and continuous use of no exclusive class, however vast, but for the whole mass of the population of Western Europe. Catholicism established a universal education, imperfect and variable, but essentially homogeneous, and common to the loftiest and the humblest Christians: and it would be strange to propose a less general institution for a more advanced civilization. The revolutionary demand for equality in education manifested a sense of what was needed, and a forecast of what was coming. In our own time no feature of the existing anarchy is more disgraceful than the indifference of the upper classes about that absence of popular education which threatens them with a fearful retribution. The positive philosophy teaches us the invariable homogeneity of the human mind, not only among various social ranks, but as regards individuals: and it therefore shows us that no differences are possible but those of degree. The system must be necessarily identical, but applied according to diversities of aptitude and of leisure. This was the principle and mode of the Catholic religious education: and it is now found to be the only sound one in

Its Educational function.

the one kind of education that is regulated among us,—special instruction. Round this fundamental system will ramify spontaneously the various collateral pursuits which relate to direct preparation for different social conditions. The scientific spirit must then lose its present tendency to speciality, and be impelled towards a logical generality; for all the branches of natural philosophy must furnish their contingent to the common doctrine; in order to which they must first be completely condensed and co-ordinated. When the *savans* have learned that active life requires the habitual and simultaneous use of the various positive ideas that each of them isolates from all the rest, they will perceive that their social ascendancy supposes the prior generalization of their common conceptions, and consequently the entire philosophical reformation of their present practice. Even in the most advanced sciences, as we have seen, the scientific character at present fluctuates between the abstract expansion and the partial application, so as to be usually neither thoroughly speculative nor completely active; a consequence of the same defect of generality which rests the ultimate utility of the positive spirit on minor services, which are as special as the corresponding theoretical habits. But this view, which ought to have been long outgrown, is a mere hindrance in the way of the true conception,—that positive philosophy contemplates no other immediate application than the intellectual and moral direction of civilized society; a necessary application, presenting nothing that is incidental or desultory, and imparting the utmost generality, elevation, unity, and consistency, to the speculative character. Under such a homogeneousness of view and identity of aim, the various positive philosophers will naturally and gradually constitute a European body, in which the dissensions that now break up the scientific world into coteries will merge; and with the rivalries of struggling interests will cease the quarrels and coalitions which are the opprobrium of science in our day.

Regeneration of morality. Under this system of general education, Morality will be immoveably based upon positive philosophy as a whole. Human nature being one of the branches of positive knowledge, it will be understood how childhood is to be trained in good habits, by means of the best prepossessions; and how those habits and views are afterwards to be rationalized, so as solidly to establish the uni-

versal obligations of civilized Man,—duties personal, domestic, and social, with the modifications that will be required by changes in civilization. We have seen how all connection between theological faith and morality has long been recognized as arbitrary; and any such degree of theological unity as is necessary for affording a basis to morality, would now suppose a vast system of hypocrisy, which, if it were possible, would be fatal to the very morality it proposed to sustain. In the present state of the most advanced portion of the human race, the positive spirit is certainly the only one which, duly systematized, can at once generate universal moral convictions and permit the rise of a spiritual authority independent enough to regulate its social application. At the same time, the social sentiment, as a part of morals, can be fully developed only by the positive philosophy, because it alone contemplates and understands the whole of human nature. The social sentiment has hitherto been cultivated only in an indirect and even contradictory manner, under the theological philosophy first, which gave a character of exorbitant selfishness to all moral acts; and then under the metaphysical, which bases morality on self-interest. Human faculties, affective as well as intellectual, can be developed only by habitual exercise; and positive morality, which teaches the habitual practice of goodness without any other certain recompense than internal satisfaction, must be much more favourable to the growth of the benevolent affections than any doctrine which attaches devotedness itself to personal considerations,—the admission of which allows no fair play to the claims of our generous instincts. It will be long before habit, sustained by powerful interests, will permit the systematizing of morality without religious intervention; and when it is done, it will be by the fulfilment itself silencing all controversy: and this is why no other part of the great philosophical task can be nearly so important in determining the regeneration of modern society. Humanity must be regarded as still in a state of infancy while its laws of conduct are derived from extraordinary fictions, and not from a wise estimate of its own nature and condition.

I must point out another respect in which this great task will satisfy a serious present exigency. We have seen how the revolutionary influence extended, as the Roman sway once did, and the Catholic and

International
duty.

feudal system afterwards, over the whole of Western Europe; whereas, the metaphysical polity does not look beyond national action, in which the community of nations is wholly lost sight of. It cannot be otherwise while the temporal government is supposed to include the spiritual; for the temporal union of nations is impossible but through mere oppression by the strongest. The five great nations concerned cannot be for a moment supposed to be fused, or subjected to the same political government; and yet the perpetual extension of their mutual relations already requires the natural intervention of a moral authority which should be common to all, according to their aggregate affinities. This is now, as in the Middle Ages, the privilege of the spiritual power, which will connect the various populations by an identical educational basis, and thus obtain a regular, free, and unanimous assent. Such an education must have a European character; because Western Europe alone is qualified to receive it. It may hereafter be extended, even beyond the white races, as the outlying groups of humanity become fitted to enter the system; but, while asserting the radical identity of human nature everywhere, the new social philosophy must distinguish between positive societies and those which are still theological or metaphysical; in the same way that the Middle Age system distinguished Catholic populations from those which were polytheistic or fetich. The only difference between the two cases is that the modern organization is destined to a wider spread, and that there is a superior reconciling quality in a doctrine which connects all human situations with the same fundamental evolution. The necessity of extending the modern regeneration to Western Europe in general teaches us how the temporal reorganization proper to each nation, must be preceded and directed by a spiritual reorganization common to them all: and at the same time, the philosophical constitution of positive education provides the best instrumentality for satisfying the social need of union by summoning all nationalities to the same task, under the direction of a homogeneous speculative class, habitually animated by an active European patriotism. The same power which administers education watches over the application, through life, of the principles taught: thus, this eminent authority, impartial in its nature, and planted at the general point of view, will naturally be the arbitrating power among the nations that it will have trained. Interna-

tional relations cannot be submitted to any temporal authority; and they would be at the mercy of mere antagonism if they did not fall under the natural decision of the only general authority. Hence must arise an entirely new diplomatic system; or rather, the closing of an interregnum instituted by diplomacy to facilitate the great European transition,—as I have already explained. The great wars are no doubt over; but the divergences which arise the more as relations extend will find new forms, less disastrous, but equally requiring the intervention of a moderating power. The selfish interests which, for example, are brought into collision by the extension of Industry, may be best kept in check by an authority which assigns its true value to the practical point of view, which directs the moral education of nations, as well as of individuals and classes, and which must therefore be best fitted to bring the divergences of practical life into subordination to a higher order of power.

The difference of social character between this authority and the Catholic sway is easily pointed out, and important to be understood. All spiritual authority must rest on free and perfect confidence and assent, such as are accorded to intellectual and moral superiority; and they imply an agreement and sympathy in a common primary doctrine, regulating the exercise and the conditions of the relation, which is dissolved when the doctrine is disbelieved. The theological faith was connected with some revelation in which the believer had no share; and it must therefore be wholly different from the positive faith, which follows upon demonstration, open to universal examination, under due conditions. Thus, the positive authority is essentially relative, like the spirit of the corresponding philosophy: and as no individual can know everything and judge of everything, the confidence enjoyed by the most eminent thinker is analogous to that which, in a limited degree, he accords in turn to the humblest intelligence, on certain subjects best understood by the latter. The absolute power of man over man, which was so dreadful and irresistible in former ages, is gone for ever, together with the mental condition which gave rise to it: but, though the positive faith can never be so intense as the theological, its unsystematic action during the last three centuries proves that it can spontaneously occasion a sufficient agreement on subjects that have been duly explored. We see, by the

Basis of Assent.

universal admission of the chief scientific truths, notwithstanding their opposition to religious notions, how irresistible will be the sway of the logical force of genuine demonstration when human reason attains maturity; and especially when its extension to moral and social considerations shall have imparted to it its full energy. There will be a sufficient harmony between the need and the power of a regular discipline of minds,—at all events, when the theologico-metaphysical system, with all its disturbing influences, has died out. These considerations may serve to dissipate the theocratic uneasiness that naturally arises on the mere mention of any spiritual reorganization,—the philosophical nature of the new government wholly precluding such usurpations as those which were perpetrated by theological authority. Nevertheless, we must not suppose, on the other hand, that the positive system will admit of no abuses. The infirmity of our mental and moral nature will remain; and the social superintendence which will be natural will be also needful. We have only too much reason to know that true science is compatible with charlatanism, and that *sarans* are quite as much disposed to oppression as the priests ever were, though happily they have not the same means and opportunity. The remedy lies in the critical social spirit, which was introduced with the Catholic system, and which must attend again upon the separation of the two powers. Its disastrous exaggeration in our day is no evidence against its future efficacy, when it shall have been duly subordinated to the organic spirit, and applied to restrain the abuses of the new system. The universal propagation of sound knowledge will check false pretension to a great extent: but there will also be need of the social criticism which will arise from the very constitution of the spiritual authority,—based as it must be on principles which may be at all times appealed to, as tests of capacity and morality. If, under the Catholic constitution, the meanest disciple might remonstrate against any authority, spiritual or temporal, which had infringed ordinary obligations, much more must such a liberty exist under the positive system, which excludes no subject whatever from discussion, under fitting conditions,—to say nothing of the greater precision and indisputableness of moral prescriptions under the positive system.

The Temporal
authority.

I have exhibited the nature and character of
the spiritual reorganization which must result

from the preparation of past ages. It is not possible to perform the same office in regard to the temporal system, because it must issue from the other; and it is impossible for any one to foresee more than the general principle and spirit which will regulate the classification of society. Of that principle and spirit I may briefly speak; but it would be countenancing the empiricism of the present day to enter into detail, which must be altogether premature. First, we must discard the distinction between public and private functions,—a distinction which could never be more than temporary, and which it is impossible to refer to any rational principle. The separation was never contemplated till the industrial system succeeded to that of personal bondage: and then the distinction referred to the old system, on the one hand, with its normal functions; and, on the other, to the new system, with its partial and empirical operations, which were not perceived to have any tendency towards a new economy. Thenceforward the conception represents our view of the whole past, in its negative and its positive progression; and it assumed its present preponderance when the final crisis began, when public professions, spiritual and temporal, dissolved, as an extension took place of functions which were formerly private. The distinction will endure till the primary conception of the new system shall have taught all men that there is a public utility in the humblest office of co-operation, no less truly than in the loftiest function of government. Other men would feel, if their labour were but systematized, as the private soldier feels in the discharge of his humblest duty, the dignity of public service, and the honour of a share in the action of the general economy. Thus, the abolition of this distinction depends on the universal regeneration of modern ideas and manners. We have thus to discard altogether the notion of private functions, as belonging to a transitory system, and to consider all as alike social, after having put out of the question whatever functions have to be eliminated; that is, the theological and metaphysical offices which will then have expired. The modern economy thus presenting only homogeneous elements, it becomes possible to form a conception of the classification that is to ensue. The elevation of private professions to the dignity of public functions need occasion no essential change in the manner of their discharge; but it will make all the difference in the world in

their general spirit, and not a little in their ordinary conditions. While on the one hand there will be a universal personal sense of social value, there will be on the other hand an admission of the necessity of systematic discipline, incompatible with a private career, but guaranteeing the obligations belonging to each function. This one change will be a universal symptom of modern regeneration.

The co-ordinating principle must be the same that I have applied in establishing the hierarchy of the sciences,—that of the degree of generality and simplicity of the subject, according to the nature of the phenomena. The same principle was tested in its application in the interior of each science; and when we were applying it in biology, we found it assuming a more active character, indicating its social destination. Transferred from ideas and phenomena to actual beings, it became the principle of zoological classification. We then found it to be the basis of social statics; and our dynamical inquiry showed us that it has determined all the elementary evolutions of modern social practice. It must thus be regarded as the law of all hierarchies; and its successive coincidences are explained by the necessary universality of logical laws. It will always be found working identically in every system which consists of homogeneous elements, subjecting all orders of activity to their due classification, according to their respective degrees of abstractness and generality. This was the principle of classification in old societies; and we see vestiges of it yet in the military organization, where the very terms of office indicate that the less general are subordinated to the more general functions. It needs no proof then, that, in a regenerated society, homogeneous in its elements, the change that will take place will be found to be in the elements, and not in their classification; for such classification as has taken place during the modern transition has been all in accordance with the principle. The only difficulty therefore lies in estimating the degrees of generality inherent in the various functions of the positive organism: and this very task has been almost entirely accomplished at the beginning of the last chapter, while the rest of the necessary material is furnished by the preceding part of the Work; so that I have only to combine these different particulars to create a rational conception of the final economy.

The idea of social subordination is common to the old and

the new philosophy, opposite as are their points of view, and transitory as is the one view in comparison with the other. The old philosophy, explaining everything by the human type, saw everywhere a hierarchy regulated in imitation of the social classification. The new philosophy, studying Man in connection with the universe at large, finds this classification to be simply a protraction of the biological hierarchy. But science and theology, considering Man each in its own way,—the one as the first of animals, and the other as the lowest of angels,—lead to a very similar conclusion. The office of positive philosophy in this case is to substantiate the common notion of social subordination by connecting it with the principle which forms all hierarchies.

The highest rank is held, according to that principle, by the speculative class. When the separation of the two powers first took place under monotheism, the legal superiority of the clergy to all other orders was by no means owing only or chiefly to their religious character. It was more on account of their speculative character; and the continued growth of the tendency, amidst the decay of religious influences, shows that it is more disinterested than is commonly supposed, and testifies to the disposition of human reason to place the highest value on the most general conceptions. When the speculative class shall have overcome its dispersive tendencies, and returned to unity of principle amidst its diversity of employments, it will obtain the eminent position for which it is destined, and of which its present situation can scarcely afford any idea. While the speculative class is thus superior in dignity, the active class will be superior in express and immediate power, the division answering to the two opposite ways of classifying men, by capacity and by power. The same principle determines the next subdivision of each class, before pointed out in another connection. The speculative class divides itself, according to the direction taken by the contemplative spirit, into the scientific or philosophical (which we know to be ultimately one), and the æsthetic or poetic. Alike as these two classes are in their distinction from the active, they so differ from each other as to require division on the same principle as runs throughout. Whatever may be the ultimate importance and eminent function of the fine arts, the æsthetic point of view can never compare in generality and abstractness with the scientific or philosophical.

Speculative
classes highest.

The one is concerned with the fundamental conceptions which must direct the universal action of human reason; whereas the other is concerned only with the faculties of expression, which must ever hold a secondary place. As for the other leading class, the active or practical, which comprehends the vast majority, its more complete and marked development has already settled the point of its divisions; so that, in regard to them, the theory has only to rationalize the distinctions sanctioned by spontaneous usage. Industrial action is divided into production and transmission of products; the second of which is obviously superior to the first in regard to the abstractness of the work and the generality of the relations. Further division seems to be indicated according as production relates to the mere formation of materials or their working up; and as the transmission is of the products themselves, or of their representative signs, the generality being greater in the second particulars than in the first. Thus we find the industrial hierarchy formed, the bankers being in the first rank; then the merchants; then the manufacturers; and finally the agriculturists; the labours of the latter being more concrete, and their relations more special, than those of the other three classes. It would be out of place to proceed here to further subdivisions. They will be determined by the same principle when the progress of reorganization is sufficiently advanced; and I may observe that when that time comes the most concrete producers, the labourers, whose collisions with their employers are now the most dangerous feature of our industrial state, will be convinced that the position of the capitalist is owing, not to any abuse of strength or wealth, but to the more abstract and general character of his function. The action and responsibility of the operative are less extensive than those of the employer; and the subordination of the one to the other is therefore as little arbitrary and mutable as any other social gradation.

The Practical classes. When the gradation is once established, it will be preserved from question and confusion, not only by the clearness of its principle, but by the consciousness in each order that its own subordination to the one above it is the condition of its superiority to those below it; and the lowest of all is not without its own special privileges. The abuses attending all inequality will be restrained, not only by the fundamental education common to all, but by

Privileges and compensations.

the more extended and severe moral obligations which press upon members of society, in proportion to the generality of their functions. Again, in proportion as social occupations are particular and concrete, their utility is direct, incontestable, and assured, and the existence of the workers is more independent, and their responsibility more restricted,—corresponding as their labours do to the most indispensable wants. Thus, if the higher ranks are dignified by a more eminent and difficult co-operation, the lower have a more certain and urgent function: and the last could provisionally exist by themselves, without perverting their essential character; whereas the others could not. This difference is not only a guarantee of social harmony, but it is favourable to private happiness, which, when the primary wants are securely provided for, depends mainly on the small amount of habitual solicitude: and thus, the lowest classes really are privileged in that freedom from care, and that thoughtlessness, which would be a serious fault in the higher classes, but are natural to them.

If we consider the successive degrees of material importance, as tested by wealth, we find an apparent contradiction in our statical series, between the speculative and the practical order: for in the first, the preponderance lessens as we ascend the scale, while in the latter it increases. This is owing to a distinction too little attended to by the economists,—between the more general extension and the more direct utility of any public services. Concrete labours, which prove to all eyes their own immediate use, are sure of a special recompense in proportion to their extension: but when the service is highly abstract, admitting of only an indirect appreciation, remote and dim, it is incontestable that, whatever may be its final utility, extensive in proportion to its generality, it will bring in less wealth, through the insufficient private estimation of a class whose partial influence admits of no ordinary analysis. Hence the dangerous error of measuring social participation by wealth, without distinction of the two orders, the speculative and the active,—thus extending to the first the law which relates only to the second. For instance, if the final results, even industrial only, of the great astronomical discoveries which have improved navigation could be estimated in each expedition, it is evident that no existing fortune could give any idea of the enormous wealth which would be realized by the heirs of the Keplers and the Newtons of

society,—be the toll fixed as low as possible. Such a case shows the absurdity of the principle of pecuniary remuneration for all genuine services, by proving that the most extended utility must, on account of the remoteness and diffusion that belong to its generality, find its reward, not in wealth, but in social honour. Even in the speculative class, the same distinction is evident,—the æsthetic order being more in the way of wealth than the scientific,—inferior as their ultimate utility must be,—because they are more easily and immediately appreciated. Yet, in the face of these facts, there are economists who propose that the most abstract labours should be left to the protection of private interest. On the whole, it is clear that the greatest deposit of wealth will be in the middle of the hierarchy, with the banking class, who naturally head the industrial movement, and whose ordinary operations are at once appreciable and sufficiently general to favour the accumulation of capital. These circumstances, at the same time, cannot but render them more worthy of their temporal importance,—whenever, at least, their education shall be appropriate to their function. Their familiarity with abstract and extended enterprises must foster the spirit of generality, and an unusual aptitude for social combinations; so that with them will the temporal power principally rest. It will be remembered that this class will always be the least numerous in the industrial order; for the hierarchy will constantly exhibit growing numbers, in proportion as work becomes more particular and urgent, and therefore admits and requires more multiplied agents.

What I have said of the public character of all social offices under the new organization relates only to their social aspect, and not at all to the mode of their fulfilment. In fact, the more the individual is improved by education, the more freely may the execution of public operations be confided to private industry. The less general and more actual labours,—those which belong to the practical order,—may be safely delivered over to the natural action of individual minds; and, while the prerogative of the central authority is carefully preserved, there will be entire freedom from any regulating spirit which could impede spontaneous activity, on which progression directly depends. In the speculative case, however, the social efficacy is too indirect, too remote, and therefore too little felt by the multitude to

Practical
privacy.

depend altogether on private estimation for aid: and public munificence should protect labours of this kind, the political character of these functions becoming manifest, in proportion as they are more general and abstract. This is the only way in which there can be any distinction between public and private professions; and the distinction will not affect the idea of a common social destination.

It can hardly be necessary to point out that there will be perfect freedom in the formation of the respective classes of the positive hierarchy. Practical freedom. The direct effect of a universal education is to place every one in the situation best adapted to his abilities, whatever his birth may have been. This is a liberty which depends more on general manners than on political institutions; and it depends upon two conditions,—that access to every social career should remain open to the capable; and that there should be some means of excluding the unworthy. When order is once completely established, such changes will become exceptional; because it is natural for professions to be hereditary. Few have a determinate vocation, and few social employments require such a vocation; so that the disposition to domestic imitation will have its way; whereas, the quality of the universal education and the state of social manners will be safeguards against this hereditary tendency assuming any oppressive form. There is no room for apprehension of any restoration of the system of castes. Caste can have none but a theological foundation; and we have long passed out of the last social phase that is compatible with it; and its remaining traces are, as I have shown, fast disappearing from amidst the advanced civilization of Western Europe.

It remains for me to point out the connection between such an organization and the just claims of the lower classes: and for this purpose I must ascertain the influence of such a connection, both upon the mass of the people and upon the speculative class.

Any spiritual power must be, by its very nature, popular; for its function is to set up morality to guide the social movement, and its closest relations therefore must be with the most numerous classes, who most need its protection. Popular claims. The Catholic Church was obviously doomed to decay when it forsook its task of enlightening and protecting the people, and inclined to aristocratic

cratic interests: and in the same way, the inherent nullity of Protestantism appeared in the impotence of its puny authorities to protect the lower classes: and in the same way again, we recognize the empiricism and selfishness which spoil the speculative elements of our modern society in the strange aristocratic tendencies of so many *savans* and artists, who forget their own humble origin, and disdain to apply to the instruction and protection of the people the influence they have acquired,—preferring indeed to use it in confirmation of their own oppressive pretensions. There must be, in the normal state of the final economy, a strong sympathy between the speculative class and the multitude, from their analogous relation to the possessors of the chief temporal power, from their somewhat similar practical situation, and from their equivalent habits of material improvidence. Yet more important is the popular efficacy of the speculative authority, on account both of its educational function and of its regular intervention as moderator in social conflicts, through its habitual elevation of views and generosity of disposition. Without at all quitting its attitude of impartiality, its chief care will always be directed towards the humbler classes, who, on the one hand, are much the most in need of a public education such as their private means cannot attain; and, on the other hand, are much more exposed to constant injury. Even now, vast benefit would ensue if, in preparation for the system to come, positive knowledge and philosophy were sedulously brought within reach of the people. In the educational direction, the intellectual expansion would be much greater than is now easily believed: and the advantage in the other respect, in protecting them from collision with the governing classes, would be no less evident. The positive philosophy would teach them the real value of the political institutions from which they are apt to hope so much, and convince them of the superiority of moral over political solutions. All evils and all pretences derived from social disturbance would thus be obviated: quacks and dreamers would lose their vocation; and no excuse would be left for delay in social reform. When it is seen why wealth must chiefly abound among the industrial leaders, the positive philosophy will show that it is of small importance to popular interests in what hands capital is deposited, if its employment is duly useful to society at large: and that condition depends much more on moral than on political

methods. No jealous legal provision against the selfish use of wealth, and no mischievous intervention, paralysing social activity by political prohibition, can be nearly so effectual as general reprobation, grounded on an ascertained principle, under the reign of positive morality. The new philosophical action would either obviate or repress all the dangers which attend the institution of property, and correct popular tendencies by a wise analysis of social difficulties, and a salutary conversion of questions of right into questions of duty.—In its impartiality it will make the superior classes participate in the lesson, proving to them the great moral obligations inherent in their position; so that, for instance, in this matter of property, the rich will morally consider themselves the depositories of the wealth of society, the use of which will not involve any political responsibility (except in extreme cases), but should lie under a moral supervision, necessarily open to all, from the indisputableness of its principle, and of which the spiritual authority is the natural organ. Since the abolition of personal servitude, the lowest class has never been really incorporated with the social system: the power of capital, once a means of emancipation, and then of independence, has become exorbitant in daily transactions, however just is its influence through its generality and superior responsibility. In short, this philosophy will show that industrial relations, instead of being left to a dangerous empiricism and an oppressive antagonism, must be systematized according to moral laws. The duty to the lower classes will not consist in alms-giving, which can never be more than a secondary resource, nor made reconcilable with any high social destination, in the present advanced state of human condition and dignity. The obligation will be to procure for all, suitable education and employment,—the only conditions that the lower classes can justly demand. Without entering on the perplexed subject of wages, it is enough to say that their settlement will be largely influenced by the same agency. We need not inquire whether any political institutions will in course of time embody social securities of this kind: it is enough that the principle will remain eminently moral, in as far as it will be efficacious and harmonizing.

Such will be the effect on society of the philosophical preparation for the new system. It is very observable that the reciprocal action on phi-

Reciprocal effects.

losophy will be no less beneficial. In such a combination, the people will give to the philosophers more than they will have received from them. The popular adhesion will be the safeguard of the spiritual power against aggression from the temporal, such as will be instigated by human passions under the positive system, as under every other, notwithstanding its milder practical activity, and the increased sway of reason over conduct. On the one hand, the rich men may show their pride of wealth on occasion of the material dependence of the speculative class; and these again may manifest the disdain which men of theory are wont to feel towards men of practice: and then will the people become the regulators of their conflicts, more even than in the Middle Ages, being indebted to the one power for education and moral influence, and to the other for employment and material assistance; and always holding the balance between them, as of old.

Preparatory
stage.

If such be the prospect of the normal condition, it is easy to describe the preparatory stage which is near at hand. If popular participation is necessary to the new spiritual authority in its established condition, much more must it be so as a help to attain that condition. The wise permanent advocacy of popular interests is the only means by which the people can be taught the importance of the philosophical action which statesmen scoff at: and, when the spiritual power has become strong enough, its intervention in the collisions which must happen frequently in the absence of industrial system, will make its value more felt, and its function better understood, perpetually, by all classes. The classes which now recognize the supremacy of wealth alone will then be led by decisive, and sometimes very painful experience to implore the protection of the spiritual authority which they now regard as purely chimerical. The same causes which will make it the arbiter in collisions will make it the moderator in the social controversies in which already the need of such an influence is sorely felt: and on such services will rest its power, because they will command free assent and allegiance. There is nothing to be hoped from the political controversies which agitate the upper classes. Their disputes about the substitution of persons, ministerial or royal, have little interest for the bulk of society, and have no organizing tendency. The popular point of view is the only one which naturally offers a survey sufficiently large and clear to connect

the present with the whole of the past, and to give an organic direction to the general mind. No agitation about political rights will meet the popular need, which can be satisfied with nothing more restricted than security of Education and Employment; and these can be obtained by no means short of social reorganization. This is the strong bond between popular needs and philosophical tendencies; and by means of it, the true social point of view will prevail in proportion to the share borne by the claims of the lowest classes in the great political problem. When the positive philosophy shall have penetrated that class, it will doubtless find a readier and happier reception than in any other; and the reaction that will ensue upon the higher classes will be no less fortunate, as enlightening them, in the only possible way, in regard to the whole social situation. In the midst of the painful conflicts which must recur till the conditions of order and of progress are fulfilled, the true philosophers who will have foreseen them will be prepared to exhibit the great social lessons they afford, and will convince the hostile parties that political measures are altogether inadequate to the cure of social evils. These few remarks may direct the reader's attention to the connection between the systematic development of the positive philosophy and the social establishment of the popular cause,—exhibiting the alliance that is needed between a great idea and a great force; and I could not close my general estimate of the spiritual re-organization with a more emphatic statement.

To the reader's mind it may be safely left, to compare the conditions of order and of progress in the existing state of things, and in that which is to come. The new philosophy takes up the disorder at its source, and reorganizes opinions, which are next to pass into morals and manners, and lastly, into institutions. It adopts positive methods as well as doctrines, transforms the position of existing questions, the way of treating them, and their preparatory conditions: thus affording a triple logical security for social order. Subordinating the spirit of detail to that of generality, and therefore the notion of right to that of duty, it demonstrates the moral nature of the chief social difficulties. It substitutes the relative for the absolute spirit, and thus regards the whole past as a gradual evolution of the human mind and destiny, preparatory to present and future action. Lastly, it educes the science of Sociology, and assigns its po-

sition in the scale of human knowledge, under indisputable conditions, which exclude the incompetent from interference, and devolve these lofty contemplations upon the rare order of minds that are competent to them. Such is the promise with regard to Order. As to Progress,—the revolutionary party, which alone is progressive, is by no means obliged to desert the great rules which have advanced it thus far; but only to strip them of their absolute metaphysical character, and to accept and use them as relative: and in fact, when the ancient system is fairly discarded, and the new order is steadily growing up, the dogmas of the progressive party will acquire new strength, and admit of a bolder application than ever. Whatever demolition remains to be effected will be done with the avowal that it is a transitional act, necessary to open the path of progress. We have seen that the critical spirit, while duly subordinated to the organic, is rather favourable than hostile to its social efficacy; and in its renovated and clearly defined state it must become a genuine aid to progress, by exposing the impotence of metaphysicians and legists as a governing power, and by making war with the intellectual and moral vices which impede the growth of the new social elements. Thus will the positive philosophy fulfil the conditions laid down at the beginning of this volume. Without effort, and without inconsistency, it will show itself to be more organic than the retrograde school, and more progressive than the revolutionary, so that it may be described indifferently by either attribute. Tending to unite or to dissolve all parties by the satisfaction of all their reasonable desires, the positive school may hope to gather disciples from every class. Among the clergy, there may be some who can appreciate the restoration of spiritual authority, amidst the change of conceptions on which it must be grounded. Among the military class, there must be some who can rightly understand their existing function of preserving material order till it is systematically provided for. The scientific and æsthetic classes must hail a philosophy which will elevate them to the highest social rank and rule. The industrial leaders would appreciate, if their education did but admit of it, the protection to be afforded them against popular collisions, and the award of temporal supremacy. And I have shown why the positive school is likely to have the emphatic support of the lowest class of all. Among the equivocal and anomalous orders which can be included in

none of these, there must be individuals who would gladly enter the positive school;—metaphysicians who see the virtue of generality in contrast to excessive speciality; and literary men, and even lawyers, who might find stimulus and scope for the exercise of their particular talents of exposition and discussion. I have never concealed my conviction that no collective adhesion can be looked for during the stage when men's prejudices and passions will be hurt more sensibly than their best desires will be gratified. The empiricism and egotism that belong to our anarchical condition are but too congenial to the youth of society: and every class resists the proposal of a new classification: and thus, all accessions will be, for some time, of individuals. But from all quarters due support will arise. If, in the last century, the negative philosophy, with all its anarchical tendencies, found support even from kings, because it corresponded with the needs of the time, we may surely hope for an equivalent reception for the positive philosophy in the nineteenth century, when from it alone we may hope for what we need,—the re-establishment of a normal condition in the most advanced state of society, and the extinction of the collisions which are occasioned by intellectual and moral anarchy, and which are spreading with its propagation.

I have adhered throughout my survey and speculation to my original limitation,—speaking solely of Western Europe, and taking no notice whatever of the rest of the human race. Such must be the course of the positive philosophers, who must leave the Asiatic tribes, and even those of Eastern Europe, to work out for themselves their preparatory conditions, and enter into the most advanced, as the circumstances of a future age shall determine. It is not our business to decide by anticipation what that preparatory course must be, nor when it shall terminate; nor to suppose that each race or nation must imitate in all particulars the mode of progression of those which have gone before. Except for the maintenance of general peace, or the natural extension of industrial relations, Western Europe must avoid any large political intervention in the East; and there is as much to be done at home as can occupy all the faculties of the most advanced portion of the human race.

National participation.

Though the five nations of Western Europe are essentially homogeneous, there are differences among them all which

affect the reception and establishment of the positive philosophy and organization. The survey that we have made of the negative and positive progression affords us materials for a judgment as to the aptitude of each, all local prejudice being, as far as possible, discarded. France is pointed

France.

out by all evidence as the chief seat of social reorganization, from the decomposition of the old system being earlier and more complete there than elsewhere, and the various kinds of scientific and æsthetic evolution being, if not more advanced, of greater social influence than in other countries. Industry, if not specially developed to the greatest extent, has carried up the temporal power to an unparalleled political position; and there is a national unity in France which is remarkable for its completeness and permanence. The disposition of men of science, philosophy, and art, all over Europe, to regard Paris as a common country, is as significant as the subordination of all France to Paris, in showing that the foremost place, which has been so hardly acquired, is

Italy.

likely to be maintained. I am disposed to think that Italy comes next, in spite of her want of nationality. The military spirit is more nearly extinct there than anywhere else; the theological emancipation is complete, as regards cultivated minds: and there may we find the strongest traditional sense of the division between the spiritual and the temporal powers. The scientific and industrial evolutions are almost as much advanced as in France, but with less social effect, from the extinction of the theological and aristocratic spirit being less popular. Both are nearer however to their final ascendancy than in any other nation. The æsthetic evolution is, as I need hardly say, so nearly complete and universal, as to have sustained speculative life in even the lower order of minds. The want of nationality must keep back Italy from such a political leadership as is reserved for France; but the propagation of the original movement is not hindered by this. On the contrary, the spiritual reorganization may be thereby stimulated, as a result both of the special presence of Catholicism and of the greater eagerness for a European unity, from the impossibility of establishing an Italian one; that European unity being obtainable only through intellectual and moral regeneration.

Germany.

German nation, because the military or feudal, and even the religious spirit, while less thoroughly exhausted than

in Italy, is not so dangerously incorporated with the movement of modern society as in England. Nor is the political influence of Protestantism so inwrought and universal ; nor has the temporal concentration of power assumed the aristocratic form, but the far more favourable one of monarchy. The great danger is from the metaphysical spirit, which is doubtless more prevalent there than anywhere else ; but it is certainly rapidly on the decline. Apart from that, the positive evolution is, in nearly all its departments, more advanced than in England, and especially in regard to the social influence which belongs to it. Though the philosophy may be mistaken, the philosophical spirit of the Germans disposes them to general meditation, which compensates largely for the dispersive tendencies of our scientific specialities. The industrial evolution, while less developed than in England, is nearer to its ultimate destination, because its expansion has been more independent of aristocratic rule. The want of nationality, occasioned mainly by Protestantism, may be of a different character from the Italian ; but it acts in the same way as a stimulus to the positive regeneration which is to be the common inheritance of Western Europe. The English nation seems to

England.
be, for reasons already exhibited, less prepared
for such an issue than any other branch of the great family, except Spain, where retarding influences of a special kind have been at work. We have seen how the feudal spirit, and the theological also, have preserved a dangerous political consistence, by means of the modification which they have gradually undergone,—a consistence which is compatible with partial evolutions of considerable duration, but is a serious obstacle to final reorganization. The retrograde, or at least the stationary system had been organized there with unusual strength, in both its spiritual and its temporal province. The English constitution is as hostile as Jesuitism itself to human emancipation ; and the material compensation which has been offered as a bond of incorporation with the modern movement has become, amidst a great excitement of industrial activity, a serious political hindrance in many ways,—among others, by protracting the sway of an aristocracy which stands, in virtue of a military principle, at the head of a practical movement ; by vitiating the mental habits of the people at large, through an exorbitant prevalence of concrete and utilitarian views ; and again, by encouraging, to the injury of the national morals

and manners, a pride and cupidity which tend to separate the English people from the rest of the European family. This disposition has impaired, as we have seen, the development of science, and also of art, with the exception of Poetry, great as are the individual examples of achievement in both: and the social influence of both is more immature than in France, Italy, or Germany. All this is no hindrance to the new philosophy finding more effectual help from individuals in England than anywhere else, except in France, prepared as such minds are by the social state in which they live. They are saved from the chimerical hope, so fatal on the continent, of redemption by means of a universal imitation of the British constitution, whose transitory and inadequate character must be better understood at home than on the continent. Again, if the practical spirit be exorbitant, it brings one advantage with it,—that, while it does not check general meditation in minds to which such contemplations are congenial, it gives them a character of clearness and reality which is not to be found elsewhere. Finally, in consequence of the inferior social importance of scientific bodies, individual *savans* have more originality than on the continent, and can better withstand the dispersive tendencies that belong to the *régime* of speciality, the philosophical conversion of which will probably encounter fewer obstacles in England than in France. There is no occasion to justify at any length my assigning the last place to Spain. Though the retrograde system is in reality less substantial than in England, it is more repressive, from being badly administered. The extreme enforcement of Catholicism has been less favourable than in Italy to mental emancipation, and to the maintenance of the political habits of the Middle Ages in regard to the separation of the two powers. In the last respect the Catholic spirit was much impaired through a too close incorporation with the system of government; so as rather to excite vicious theocratic tendencies than to promote a rational co-ordination between the moral and the political power. These considerations however do not impair the claims of Spain to admission into the great European commonwealth, where former connection is an all-sufficient reason for present inclusion, notwithstanding some incidental embarrassment, philosophical or political, that may thence arise. The resistance of the Spanish people to the oppressive invasion of Bonaparte testifies to a moral

energy and political tenacity which, in that country particularly, reside in the mass of the people, and guarantee their fitness for the final system when their special liabilities to retardation shall have been outgrown.

We see that the preparation for the positive system is unequal among these five nations: and it follows that in the working out of the scheme their respective advantages should be laid hold of, and converted into means of fulfilment. This must be done by the co-operation of the best minds in each nation, who should systematize the intellectual and moral offices which are declined more and more by the European governments, and delivered over to independent thinkers. Such thinkers may form a positive Council, under one form or another, and act either by reviewing and renovating all human conceptions; or by instituting seats of education for the advancement of positive knowledge, and the training of fit coadjutors; or by regulating the application of the system through unremitting instruction of all kinds, and even by philosophical intervention in the political conflicts which must arise till the old social action is exhausted.

Co-operation
of thinkers.

By the review of the former social states of mankind, and the sketch of the future organization of society which I have now completed, I trust I have fully redeemed my promises, as offered both at the beginning of this work, and at the outset of the sociological portion. At a time when moral and political convictions are fluctuating for want of a sufficient intellectual basis, I have laid the logical foundation of firm convictions, able to withstand discordant passions, public and private. At a time when practical considerations are excessively preponderant, I have restored the dignity of philosophy, and established the social reality of sound theoretical speculations by instituting a systematic subordination of the one to the other, such as is essential to social stability and greatness. At a time when human reason is liable to be frittered away under an empirical system of dispersive speciality, I have announced, and even introduced the reign of the spirit of generality, under which alone a universal sentiment of duty can prevail. These three objects have been attained by the institution of a new science, the last and most important of all, which is as positive and

Results of the
Sociological
theory.

logical as any of the other sciences I have treated of, and without which the system of true philosophy can have neither unity nor substance. The future progress of Sociology can never offer so many difficulties as this original formation of it; for it furnishes both the method by which the details of the past may serve as indications of the future, and the general conclusions which afford universal guidance in special researches. This scientific foundation completes the elementary system of natural philosophy prepared by Aristotle, announced by the scholastics of the Middle Ages, and directly proposed, in regard to its general spirit, by Bacon and Descartes. All that remains for me to do is to co-ordinate the elements which I have passed under review, in the form of six fundamental sciences, under the heads of Method, Doctrine, and the general unity of the positive philosophy.