



Bodleian Libraries

UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD

This book is part of the collection held by the Bodleian Libraries and scanned by Google, Inc. for the Google Books Library Project.


For more information see:

<http://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/dbooks>

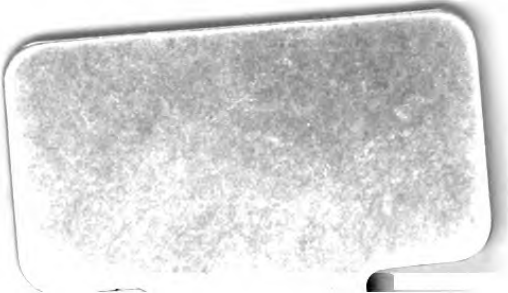


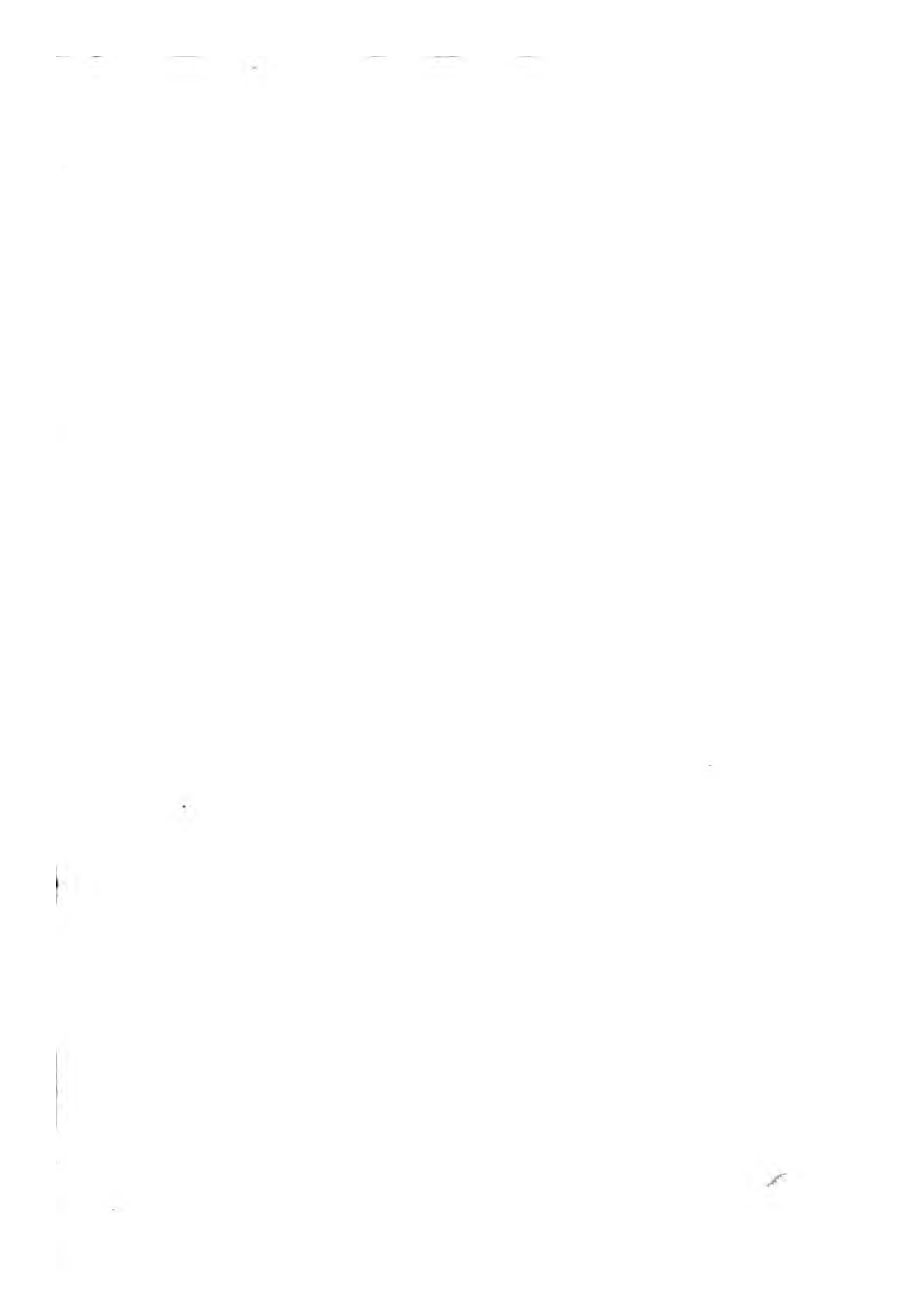
This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike 2.0 UK: England & Wales (CC BY-NC-SA 2.0) licence.

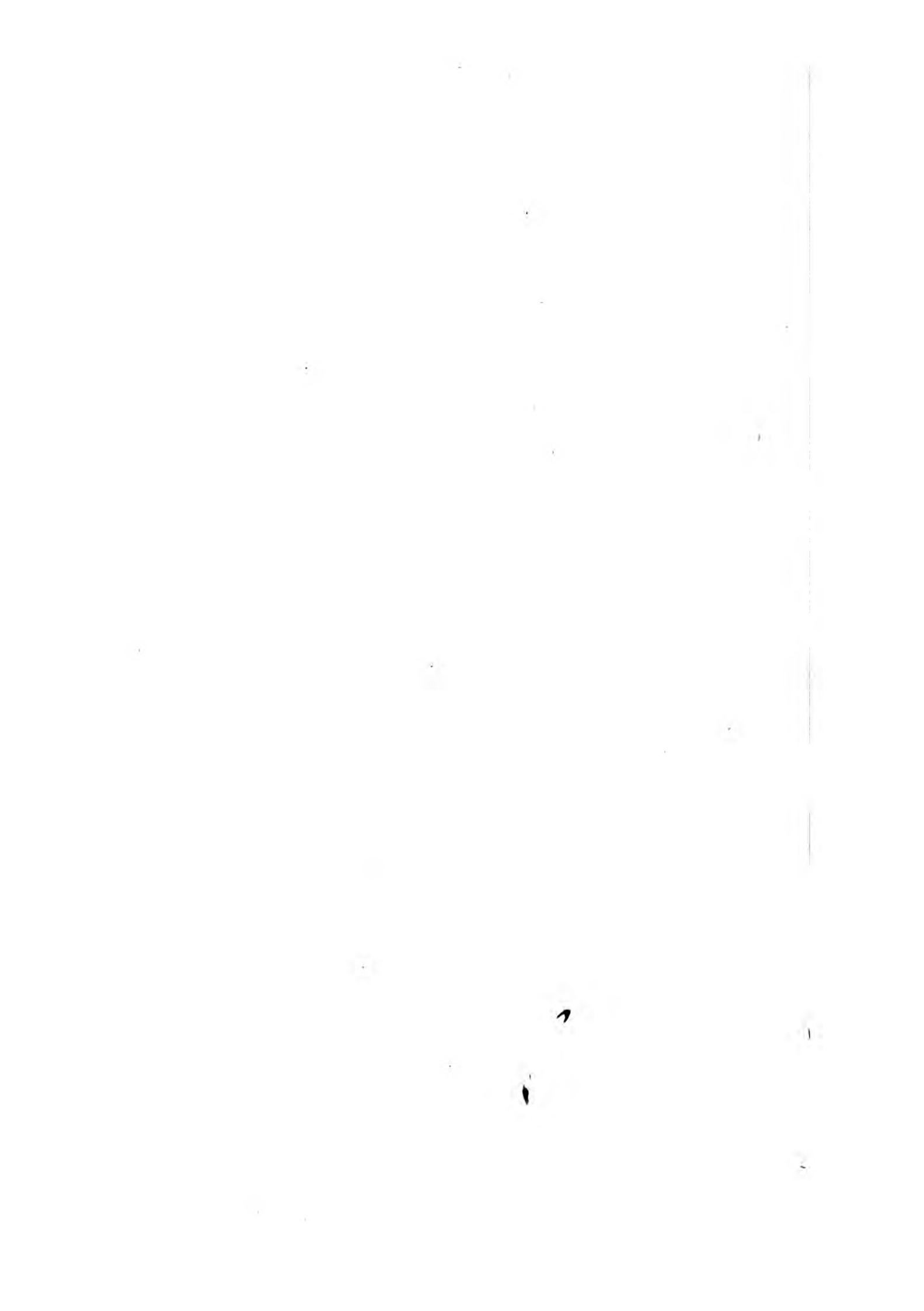
THE
EIGHT CIRCULARS
OF
AUGUSTE COMTE



26784 f. 15







THE
EIGHT CIRCULARS
OF
AUGUSTE COMTE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.



LONDON
TRÜBNER & CO., 57 & 59, LUDGATE HILL, E.C.
1882.

[All rights reserved.]

P R E F A C E.



AT my request Mr. Lobb undertook the translation of these Circulars. At his death two only were found complete; the third and fourth wanted finishing. The last four have been translated by others.

RICHARD CONGREVE.

84, PALACE GARDENS TERRACE, W.

28 *Cæsar*, 94 (*May 20*, 1882).

FIRST ANNUAL CIRCULAR.

REPUBLIC OF THE WEST.

ORDER AND PROGRESS—LIVE FOR OTHERS.

Addressed by the Author of the "System of Positive Philosophy," to each Subscriber to the Voluntary Subsidy exceptionally instituted on his behalf.

Paris, 17 Aristotle, 62.

(Thursday, 14 March, 1850).

SIR,—The noble collective patronage of which I have become the object has now lasted long enough for my gratitude to the public to take its true character. This exceptional protection has always been regarded in the light of a social duty, both by the illustrious colleague who instituted it, and by the honourable fellow-Positivists who willingly followed his generous initiative. Accordingly, I have never hesitated to accept it with proud satisfaction, partly as a legitimate guarantee against the shameful spoliation to which I had been subjected in official quarters, and partly as a pledge of a not undeserved security for the continuation of my philosophical labours. It was sufficient for me to know that this subsidy could emanate from none but those who would recognize in me either the victim of a marked act of injustice or a thinker worthy of lasting encouragement. Now in both these respects my personal position was already clearly enough defined to put an end to all my scruples.

When the ruin of my career at the Polytechnic was effected in 1844, the Minister within whose competency the case fell (Marshal Soult), solemnly denounced in the most energetic terms, after a thorough investigation of all the details, the wrong that had been perpetrated. He refused to let this act of robbery be

consummated until he had exhausted the inadequate resources allowed him by the narrow technicalities of the law. When I failed, in 1848, to secure the reparation which had been universally expected, the new Minister (General de Lamoricière), on whom the reparation depended, freely acknowledged its necessity. In a special interview which I had with him, he fully admitted the reality and applicability of the principle which I invoked, that every public appointment worthily filled constitutes, so long as the function lasts, a property as sacred as a landed estate or a house. But when from this starting-point I went on to bring a charge of robbery against the corporation that had despoiled me, he evaded that inevitable conclusion, forgetting that by so doing he became an accomplice in the wrong which he himself had recognized, and which it was then in his power to redress.

From this first point of view, therefore, I could not be otherwise than proud of a free intervention intended to compensate for a flagrant injustice which, during the space of four years and a half, had been submitted to the verdict of public opinion, especially in the Polytechnic world. This voluntary protectorate against an unjust persecution constitutes, in my eyes, a fitting inauguration of true republican manners. It tends to bring about a suitable revival of the spirit of chivalry, under the form best adapted to the existing state of society, when oppressors direct their chief attacks against a man's fortune, being no longer able to reach his life, or even his liberty. For this reason I shall always congratulate myself upon the fact of my personal misfortune having called forth a manifestation so susceptible of being happily imitated. The only cause I have for regret is that the egotism of the Polytechnic world—and that even in the case of its younger members—should have had too much influence in neutralizing this generous appeal among that portion of the public which was best acquainted with the wrong to be redressed. But this unexpected indifference gives all the greater value to the spontaneous participation of those noble proletaries who have made up for such neglect.

Secondly, having devoted the whole of my life to the task of basing sound Philosophy, and as a consequence true Religion, upon the whole body of the sciences, it was my duty when unjustly reduced to a state of distress, to accept the support of all those who look upon the Positive faith as the only issue from our present anarchy. Their sympathy has, in fact, become the chief foundation of the patronage organized in opposition to a persecution secretly intended to arrest my work of regeneration. So regarded, this measure already inaugurates the manners and habits befitting the gradual installation of the new Spiritual Power. The Priesthood of Humanity must, like the Catholic Clergy, long subsist on the free-will offerings of private liberality before it can deserve and obtain that public munificence which will give system to such offerings when the new faith shall be sufficiently widespread. Were it not for this spontaneous solicitude on the part of all who shall acknowledge the utility of their labours, the new philosophers would be unable to discharge their social office; or at least, in the absence of such encouragement, they would be obliged to subordinate that office either to a private fortune but little compatible with their vocation, or to some accessory profession which would be a clog upon their habitual efforts.

Such are the various reasons that have induced me to accept with gratitude a protection of a completely normal kind, and only exceptional in appearance because all social conceptions are lowered by the anarchical character of our situation. As yet the subscription scarcely amounts to half the annual sum stated to be indispensable in the original circular. Still I doubt not that before long this honourable safeguard will become sufficient, and will remain so as long as the persecution lasts. All who are indignant at the wrong I have suffered, and all who are impressed with the social value of Positivism, will consider themselves under a moral obligation to neutralize, according to their means, an abominable and disastrous oppression. My confidence on this point is such that it is already developing in me habits suited

to a thinker who has become the object of exalted sympathies. Not only has my construction of a religion never been retarded in its progress, as my persecutors especially intended it should be; but, moreover, I have furnished a special instance of the habits of the new Priesthood, by systematically abandoning all personal profit in connection with the approaching publication of my second great work (*System of Positive Polity; or, Treatise on Sociology, instituting the Religion of Humanity*).

The important measure for which I am now offering you my solemn thanks, is one that calls forth the social sentiment simultaneously in those who concur in the measure, in him who is its object, and in all who are acquainted with it. In three ways then its moral influence and also its true dignity increase as it spreads more widely. A philosophy whose main object is to regulate the social advent of the Western Proletariate, must deem it a special honour to secure the sympathies of the people. Hence it is that, while priding myself on the spontaneous support I have obtained from all quarters, I should feel still more proud if my material existence were provided for by subscriptions of one centime a day.

Health and Fraternity,

AUGUSTE COMTE.

10 Rue Monsieur-le-Prince.

NOTE.

I subjoin an account, transmitted by M. Littré, member of the Institute, as founder and director of the subscription, to show what his management of it has been during the year 1849.

M. Littré has received from M. — the sum of — towards M. Comte's subscription for 1849, which subscription amounts in all to 2,928f. 30c.

Paid to M. Comte	2,865f.	} 2,928f. 30c. Equal to receipts.
Various repayments	35 10c.	
Balance	28 20c.	

SECOND CIRCULAR.

Paris, 27 Aristotle, 63.
(Monday, 24 March, 1851).

THE circular of last year, containing the first expression of my gratitude to the public, shows the spirit in which the admirable collective patronage I am the object of was instituted and accepted. A longer experience now enables me to render the view I then gave complete by defining more clearly the source of this honourable protectorate.

It seemed as if it ought to have emanated not only from true Positivists desirous of neutralizing by this means a persecution directed in reality against our doctrine, but also from those who, though devoid of any sympathy with our principles, would in this special case recognize the injustice of the outrage perpetrated upon me at the Polytechnic. Nay more, it might have been supposed that these latter, as the more numerous and richer class, would have contributed most largely to the compensation fund. Natural as such an expectation was, it has not been confirmed by the event. Putting aside some very rare exceptions, the Polytechnic public, though fully condemning the injury inflicted on me, has taken no share at all in providing this safeguard which is my due: not even among my old schoolfellows and numerous pupils has there been any effort on my behalf. What protection I enjoy has come solely from those who, adopting my convictions, have been anxious, in consideration of my social services, to ensure the peaceful continuation of my philosophical labours.

A contrast so well adapted to show where the true social sentiment is at present to be found, will come

out still more fully if we consider the preceding statement in greater detail.

The new universal doctrine now secures two kinds of adhesions; one limited to the philosophical principles, the other extending to the social consequences of those principles; the former kind incomplete though of older standing, the latter more recent yet the only ones that are complete. This distinction is especially marked in England, where the intellectual superiority of Positivism has been long since established more completely than anywhere else by numerous and influential advocates, while there is in that country but a very slight appreciation of its moral and political scope. Now adhesions of the purely philosophical kind have as yet inspired no lasting participation in this noble patronage. That patronage emanates solely from complete Positivists, for whom the new philosophy constitutes not merely the ultimate basis of the re-organization of modern society, but moreover the necessary guide of the transition we are actually passing through.

This incontestable comparison shows how slight is the practical influence of agreement in the intellectual sphere when not conjoined with sympathy in the moral sphere. In the case of the intellect, disagreement on a single point is enough to render the closest conformity of opinions fruitless, whereas the heart easily gets the better of serious differences when there is a common feeling impelling towards a common end. Still these incomplete Positivists in no way contest the social maxim which lays upon the active class the duty of supporting the contemplative class. They even recognize that, in the case of the new Spiritual Power, this obligation must long continue to rest with individuals until public convictions are sufficiently prepared. Yet in this crucial instance they have been as indifferent to my fate as if they rejected my fundamental principles.

Thus it is that true union depends far more upon the heart than on the mind. Positivism must count less and less upon those who welcome it simply as a potent means of mental satisfaction, connected subor-

dinately with the renovation of society in a distant future. Its triumph can be secured only by those who are willing to link that triumph with the second part of the great Revolution. Now this closing period of anarchy in the West requires two important constructive operations—one in theory, the other in practice, both naturally in close connection—viz. (1) the establishment of a new Spiritual Power, and (2) the regular incorporation of the Proletariate into modern society. The more our situation becomes developed, the more it is felt that this twofold programme is a legacy from the Middle Ages which we cannot reject, and a programme which implies an intimate alliance between true philosophers and worthy proletaries. None, whether theoreticians or practitioners, are genuine Positivists but those who so understand the whole fundamental question, always subordinating in it intelligence to sociability. In brief, Positive Philosophy originates in real science only that it may end in true religion.

Ever since it has been sufficiently clear that religion is the final aim of the new general doctrine, the purely speculative adherents have stood aloof more and more. They will soon become indifferent and even hostile to it, when a decided declaration shall be required of them concerning its religious tendency, in which alone are comprised the whole of its attributes. Whether as men of letters or of wealth, they are indisposed to assist the Positivist Priesthood which is already imposing, in the name of Humanity, incontestable social obligations upon the permanent possession of all forces whatever, and of the forces of talent and fortune most especially. The various powers that be are secretly desirous of prolonging the spiritual anarchy which frees them from the duties of mediæval times, without replacing those duties by any modern equivalent. These powers dread the establishment of the new moral power the more that it will always combine demonstration with feeling, and will support this combination by a formidable public opinion which Positivism alone has the power to organize.

The more generous among these Positivists of the

intellect, after completing their protracted evolution, will at last join the Positivists of the heart in order to co-operate with them worthily in the regeneration of the West. The others, getting the better of their intellectual antipathies, will end by serving as leaders to the theological and metaphysical opposition, with the object of prolonging a system of hypocrisy favourable to their egotism. I apprehend a like issue with several of the so-called Positivists who have refused to take part in a patronage that serves as a distinguishing badge, a patronage always put forward by its illustrious founder as a social duty in the truest sense, and so accepted by all his excellent coadjutors.

This intervention, confined as it essentially is to complete Positivists, could not be otherwise than inadequate at the outset. Although the compensation fund has slightly increased during its second year, it still remains considerably below the estimate made when it was started, and then declared to be indispensable. But my moral security is not impaired by the material embarrassments which I suffer on this account. I calculate upon the complete adequacy at no distant date of a safeguard emanating from those who, as coming forward to impose high social obligations upon wealth, necessarily accept for themselves analogous duties, such duties being independent of all minor disagreement.

This normal protectorate tends towards the gradual development of the habits and feelings that must ultimately prevail, and of these it offers in a partial way a gratifying outline. By its means I renounced last year all pecuniary profit accruing from the publication of my second great work, the *System of Positive Polity ; or, Treatise on Sociology, instituting the Religion of Humanity*. This systematic resolution, a resolution indispensable to the dignity of the new Priesthood, has lately produced an excellent reaction, the result of which is to remove all difficulties in connection with the printing of the first volume, which was brought to a close on the 24th of February, 1850. Since I have, moreover, consented to each volume being sold separately, a devoted Positivist has nobly stood

security for the cost of publication, so that this volume, which is already in the press, ought to appear next July. This fortunate solution, though it removes the pecuniary difficulty in the case of the first volume only, makes me feel morally certain that the three others will be published in their turn.

Hence Positivism is beginning to suffice, by its own resources, for the whole of its essential needs. This aptitude ought to make amends for the special absence of all external protection. Other reconstructive doctrines have always found, in the medium in which they arose, some valuable assistance as well as enormous obstacles. The final religion enjoys the solitary privilege of being developed as we now see without extraneous support. This exception seems inexplicable in the case of a doctrine whose relative character and historical spirit secure for it partial affinities in all the existing schools. But the perfect coherence of Positivism creates a natural disposition to refuse it concessions the area of which it would be impossible to limit, while the vague nature of preceding syntheses gave rise to no fear lest the barriers assigned them should be transgressed. This complete harmony, at once spontaneous and systematic, will soon promote the universal ascendancy of the new general doctrine. But for the present it deprives us of every adhesion that is incomplete. The religion which limits our race to its own providence, was itself bound to arise without any heterogeneous aid.

In spite of this necessary condition, there is now wanting but a single essential foundation in order to complete, on a modest scale, the adequate organization of the whole of the means by which Positivism must be established. It remains for us to institute the *Occidental Review*, a weekly magazine, in which our doctrine will be applied to current intellectual and social questions. This important institution was proposed by me in vain in October, 1848, but now it is provided with a sufficient number of competent contributors, both in France and the West generally. It is only waiting for the pecuniary guarantees indispensable to its complete success, a success which will have the

happy result of rendering my present subsidy useless.

Health and Fraternity,

AUGUSTE COMTE.

10 Rue Monsieur-le-Prince.

NOTE.

I subjoin, as last year, an account transmitted by M. Littré, member of the Institute, as founder and director of the subscription, in order to show what his management of it has been during the year 1850.

M. Littré has received from M. — the sum of — towards the subscription for M. Comte, in 1850, which subscription amounts in all to 3,268f. 75c.

Paid to M. Comte	2,865f.	} 3,268f. 75c. equal to receipts.
Incidental expenses	40 85c.	
Balance	27 90.	

THIRD CIRCULAR.

SIR,—I have sufficiently explained in my previous circulars, first the nature, and secondly the source, of the exceptional subsidy to which you are good enough to contribute. It now behoves me to dwell especially upon the purpose and character of this subsidy which time alone could fully disclose. This noble safeguard, being proposed and accepted as a social duty, of necessity originated exclusively with those who were duly sensible of the injustice of the wrong to be redressed, and of the importance of the service to be guaranteed. But all, including myself, naturally imagined that this collective patronage would be purely temporary, it being impossible to foresee that no reparation or compensation of any kind would be made for such an outrage. It is important therefore to know that an experience but too complete has proved our hope to be groundless, and that this honourable protectorate must now be permanent.

So far from leading to the slightest compensation, my official persecution has just been finally consummated by my being deprived, after a conscientious discharge of its duties for nineteen years, of the minor post that had been left me in a sadly degenerate school, after my principal appointment in it had been snatched away in 1844. This crowning measure of injustice, which I had then foreseen and even announced, was, it may be observed, carried out like the original spoliation, without any real participation on the part of a government which, under various *régimes*, has long since abdicated the supremacy to which it is entitled at the Polytechnic. Both acts emanate solely from the different scientific coteries to which this celebrated establish-

ment has been successively handed over. All these cliques will continue to be inveterately hostile to the only philosopher who can at present unmask academic charlatanism and mediocrity by actively subordinating all works of detail to truly general conceptions. The Director-in-Chief of the unfortunate school has just proved to me by a noble letter, written since this legal robbery was thoroughly completed, how foreign to the nature of practitioners who are worthy of the name are the vile passions by which pretended theoreticians are urged on to such despicable proceedings.

This final blow puts an end to all hope of redress at the Polytechnic. Neither, though the government has always regretted that it was legally powerless to avert my twofold spoliation, has it ever attempted to procure me an equivalent elsewhere. Nor have I been able, thus despoiled of all resource from my official position, to replace my material existence on its original basis of independent private teaching of mathematics. Three years of loyal efforts to resume a profession only suited to my youth, have shown me that it is impossible I should henceforth find in it a resource against my poverty. The high tone of my teaching is in itself a bar to my success, since these fundamental studies have become, especially in France, as degraded habitually by the stupidity of the views advanced, as by the venal motives of their professors.

Such being my definitive situation, I am constrained, at the age of fifty-four, to rest my whole support upon the noble public subscription originally set on foot as a partial and temporary guarantee of it. But the great works which have brought upon me this exceptional fate ensure me also the growing aid of those active sympathies, intellectual and social, which such a doctrine requires.

The whole of my life hitherto has been systematically devoted to the extracting in the fulness of time from real science the indispensable basis of that sound philosophy upon which I was then to found the true religion. The first task was completely accomplished ten years ago, and the second has just been inaugu-

rated by the decisive publication, in July, 1851, of the first volume of my *System of Positive Polity; or, Treatise on Sociology instituting the Religion of Humanity*. By this second work the moral superiority of Positivism will be as solidly established as is its intellectual superiority by my fundamental work; and having thus constituted the only really complete synthesis, henceforth embracing the emotional no less than the intellectual nature of man, I shall naturally obtain adhesions firm and numerous enough to secure me the honourable material security required by my difficult mission.

There is, in fact, a necessary harmony between this unprecedented construction and the revolution equally without parallel which keeps the West in continual oscillation between a retrograde and an anarchical policy, and which can find no end but in the perfect conciliation of order and progress. As this situation develops itself, the final powerlessness of theological beliefs and the peculiar danger of metaphysical doctrines become more evident to the inhabitants of the West, whilst the growing inadequacy of purely material measures of repression makes the universal need of a spiritual re-organization, the only remedy adapted to the true nature of the Western malady, deeply felt. It is in the Positive religion alone that resides the systematic force which can keep in check, not only the retrograde inclinations of the various governments, but the anarchical tendencies of their populations; prescribing simultaneously order in the name of progress, and progress in the name of order.

This double aptitude is already sufficiently felt to obtain for the founder of Positivism a sufficient protection against the infamous persecution by which all his material resources have now been destroyed. The Western public will secure from an unmerited indigence the philosopher from whose works it borrows more and more light, and who may yet, if so protected, serve so powerfully the work of human regeneration. Although the subscription instituted on my behalf falls still far below the sum originally named as indispensable, its steady increase, especially

during this last year, is a guarantee that it will soon be sufficient even to meet the additional demand created by my last spoliation. Over and above the various general symptoms which the recent successes of Positivism bring to light, two unlooked-for manifestations have, in 1851, specially indicated a decisive recognition of its characteristic aptitude to provide equal satisfaction for the most opposite needs. Both concern, though from opposite points of view, the necessary struggle which will put an end to the Western revolution by establishing Positivism in the place of Communism.

The leading Conservatives of the United States of America have nobly invoked the Positive religion as their only systematic defence against the subversive tendencies of that most anarchic of the Western populations, in a society which however is alien to all material repression. The severe moral obligations which the spiritual power will impose upon them they freely accept, in return for the just respect it will inculcate for their free use of a wealth which they consider themselves as holding by and for society.

At this very time, some eminent proletaries of Lyons have irrevocably embraced Positivism as better adapted than Communism to all the true needs of the people. Their fortunate cultivation of family life makes it specially easy for them to appreciate aright the only religion which meets the wants equally of both sexes, and makes the work of modern regeneration to consist principally in the development of domestic life throughout every class.

It is thus that Positivism begins really to satisfy the poor while reassuring the rich; and both by its exclusive aptitude to treat morally some of the pressing questions for which men are vainly but dangerously seeking solutions from politics. Its founder may then count both on the generous protection of a few powerful disciples, and on the still more noble aid of those subscriptions of a centime per diem, for which my first circular expressed a just preference.

The certain extension of this twofold safeguard will justify my quiet resignation to the extreme con-

sequences of a loss honourable to myself. Far from succeeding in its oppressive object, this persecution has given me more calmness and activity by making my devotion to my fundamental office purer and more complete. It has been to me a constant source of progress towards the normal mode of life of the priest of Humanity, who ought to rest his material existence entirely upon voluntary gratitude, first private, and later public; renouncing all personal property as loyally as all temporal greatness. My first circular announces my systematic renunciation of all profits which might from that time forward remain from any of my works, after the printing expenses should have been paid. This religious principle, already acted upon in my recent publication, has now received its natural complement under the special impulse of my last spoliation. Driven by this final blow to abandon myself without reserve to the noble patronage of my real appreciators, I shortly after extended the same rule to our future *Revue Occidentale*, renouncing beforehand all retribution whatsoever, whether as director or contributor. Thus my sacerdotal character becomes completely pure, my various written preachings becoming thus as gratuitous as my oral ones have always been. Diminishing as it does by a fifth the annual sum at which the expenses of this monthly publication were originally estimated, this last development of a noble resolution will, I hope, hasten the institution of a sort of teaching which the present state of the West calls for more and more loudly.

Devotion thus steadily keeping pace with oppression, I have then at last attained to the most homogeneous existence possible to the regenerating priesthood. The ten years of full vigour of brain which, according to the normal order, are yet in store for me, may thus be consecrated without disturbance to the great compositions promised at the end of my fundamental work, a promise which I specially renewed in the recently published preface of the principal of those four treatises. I venture to assert that they will all be fully accomplished if the public of the West does not allow me to be borne down. I therefore await,

with perfect confidence, the sufficient increase of a guarantee merited no less by all my services than by my misfortunes. Those who will take part in it all acknowledge in general the social obligations of the active class towards the contemplative class, and are specially aware that in our days these obligations will long be binding on individuals before they can possibly be recognized as public. Spite of the profound egotism which marks the Polytechnic world, I cherish a hope that my recent spoliation may excite, even in them, some exceptional sympathies, not founded on any philosophic or social adhesion, but on a more special knowledge of the persecution. Yet more strongly must I expect that this unlooked-for consummation of my ruin will reawaken the zeal of those incomplete Positivists, so powerful in England, who accept my philosophy while rejecting as yet the policy which springs from it. But when the sentiments of the consistent Positivists have risen to the level of their convictions, under the combined impulse of my extreme personal need and of the gravest public interest, their intervention, even at their present numbers, will suffice. I enter then without anxiety, on the experiment apparently so perilous which my situation obliges me to make, as to the real efficacy the inspirations which are to regenerate the world have as yet attained in those natures who are freeing themselves from our mental and moral anarchy. Not only will my modest existence be soon placed beyond the reach of material disturbance, but the efforts thus called forth will naturally inaugurate the fair protection due, as a rule, to every true apostle of the universal religion.

Health and Fraternity,

AUGUSTE COMTE.

10 Rue Monsieur-le-Prince.

P.S.—I add, according to my custom, the account transmitted by M. Littré, member of the Institute, as founder and director of the subscription for my use, in order to show how it has been expended during the year 1851.

M. Littré has received from M. —, the sum of — for the subscription for M. Comte for 1851, which subscription amounts altogether to 4,205f. 50c., including two exceptional gifts, one of 500f. the other of 300f., from Philadelphia, direct to M. Comte.

Received by M. Comte	4,130f.	0c.	} 4,205f. 50c. equal to receipts.
Incidental Expenses	. 37	60	
Balance 37	90	

N.B.—In 1849, the first year of the subscription, it produced 2,928f.; in 1850 it rose to 3,268f. In the original circular of the 12th November, 1848, which gave rise to this subscription, the sum named as indispensable was 5,000f. yearly, over and above the appointment of 2,000f., which M. Comte still held.

FOURTH CIRCULAR.

Paris, 3 Homer, 65,
Monday, 31 January, 1853.

THE noble annual subsidy to which you are a contributor, though still inadequate, has now assumed its definitive form. Instituted at first in order to secure a partial and temporary protection, this collective patronage became subsequently the sole and permanent basis of my subsistence, owing to the final spoliation that I suffered at the hands of the Polytechnic coteries in November, 1851, the sympathy of the Government being powerless to avert it. The remarkable increase of this subscription in the year 1852 is an evidence of the attention excited by the decisive appeal which I made with reference to this subject in my third circular.

A necessary change, which completes the organization of the free protectorate, has just been effected in consequence of this, my final situation. Hitherto the subscription has continued under the management of the accomplished writer by whom it was nobly set on foot in November, 1848, and whose active solicitude I shall never forget. But since it has been finally settled that this subsidy must be my only resource, I require, especially while it remains insufficient, to know its successive amounts, and to receive them more frequently than I could through the medium of any treasurer. Thus it is that experience definitively led me, in September last, to take into my own hands the management of this subscription, the partial or provisional centres of which may, however, be multiplied to any extent that shall be required, though without my participation.

This final simplification, required by a material need, ought to bring out into fuller relief the social character of such a patronage, by habitually securing for me direct relations with each contributor. Whoever has a due perception of the actual tendency of the West to a genuine spiritual reorganization, as the sole possible basis of temporal renovation, will soon learn to consider this subsidy as the first decisive germ of a great institution. For it already prepares the way for the independence of the new Priesthood, by rendering the material position of the founder of the Positive Religion as secure as it ought to be. At the close of my last circular I announced that it was soon to be extended to other theoreticians, as their sacerdotal vocation became unmistakably clear. Although the state of things is still unripe for this extension, I can say with confidence that several young and highly promising minds, stimulated by noble hearts, and rendered steadfast by energetic characters, are quietly preparing themselves by vigorous encyclopædic studies for the Priesthood of Humanity. As soon as they have duly completed their difficult initiation, I shall have no hesitation in calling directly upon the vanguard of the Western public to bestow a fitting temporal patronage upon this invaluable germ of the Positive Clergy. It will be sufficient for me when that time comes to appeal to the general principles manifested at the outset in my own case, furnishing, as it does, the first and foremost example of the necessary situation that will for a long while distinguish the new Spiritual Power.

The second volume of my *System of Positive Politics* now removes all uncertainty in regard to this fundamental condition. Not only is it hardly possible for the wealthy to go through the normal training of the true Priesthood spontaneously, but, what is more, the priestly function can never be properly exercised except by organs who of their own free will forego all kind of temporal authority. The gradual application of this social principle has at length induced me to accept in regard to my private circumstances, as perfectly regular, and even to extend to the utmost, a

situation which at first seemed exceptional. Disappointed long ago of any patrimony, I was afterwards stripped of my various professional resources one after another, and soon I crowned this preparation for the Priesthood of my own accord by renouncing beforehand any compensation or indemnification whatever. The chief aim of the base and iniquitous attacks upon my material existence was to destroy in its germ an intellectual and social regeneration which is incompatible with the anarchical ascendancy of academic mediocrities. But far from having such a result, this shameful persecution only ended in constituting quite naturally the best personal type of the position of the new Priesthood, by making the whole of my subsistence depend upon the free temporal patronage of my true spiritual clients.

Although it is always as a body that the active class performs its social duty of maintaining the contemplative class, this voluntary co-operation admits of two distinct forms: the one private, the other public. The latter of these forms will no doubt be the prevailing one in the ultimate constitution of the Positive Priesthood, as a consequence of the adequate installation of the universal religion. But the former alone is adapted for the period of transition in the West, and it is desirable that this form should be retained at least until the end of the present century. It is the one which exemplifies most clearly the free assent upon which true spiritual dignity rests; and moreover it is the best calculated to manifest the due subordination of theory to practice, a subordination often ignored by modern thinkers.

So long as this patronage is confined to myself alone, it renders the chief distinction between the two social powers even yet more perceptible by contrasting the spontaneous concentration of the influence exerted by theory with the natural dispersion of the forces that belong to practice. The forces of practice, being in an eminent degree divisible and therefore capable of coalescing, can be always overcome by a sufficiently extensive co-operation. Spiritual authority, being necessarily indivisible, never dreads any

coalition whatsoever. The fundamental office of the Spiritual Power might always be adequately performed by a single brain, were it not that the extent and variety of the applications that must at one and the same time be made of that office, render it necessary for the supreme organ of Humanity to be assisted by subordinate ministers. This opposition between the two powers is about to be exemplified, in a way calculated to make it familiarly known, through the personal relations that will henceforth connect me directly with every one of my annual subscribers. In the intercourse thus habitually established, each contributor will be sensible of the total sum of the services that have secured for me this noble co-operation, while on his own side he will recognize simply a slender participation which, while in no way exempting me from gratitude, will never affect my independence. This decided contrast between merit and number, which can alone afford a satisfactory explanation of the irresistible force of true spiritual authority, will be less conspicuous when the maintenance of the Positive Priesthood shall no longer depend upon private liberality.

In a time of perpetual change, the persistent and steady increase of such a subscription is well calculated to draw attention to its social significance as a first step towards the voluntary establishment of the new Spiritual Power. For it is now impossible to doubt that most of the permanent subscribers so conceive it, more or less distinctly. When it was first set on foot, I thought so well of my contemporaries as to hope that it would find its principal supporters among the public belonging to the Polytechnic school thoroughly cognizant of the iniquity of my spoliation, though regardless of my philosophic services. But a painful experience soon convinced me that I had misjudged that degraded society, from whose members has never come the smallest assistance, whether from my own pupils, my fellow-professors, or even from the more favourably disposed of my superiors. In consequence of this cowardly egotism, deserving of reprobation as an historical fact, the

collective protectorate has always been due solely to the various sympathies aroused by my works. I may even extend this appreciation to the nobly exceptional part taken in it by those honourable American adversaries whom I mentioned in the Preface to the second volume of my *Positive Politics*. For they regard it as a real social duty to secure the material existence of the philosopher whose intellectual and moral worth they have acknowledged more completely than have his own public supporters. Though in the future such cases may become much more numerous, I must never essentially rely on any but Positivist supporters.

These fall now into two general classes, according as their adhesion remains an adhesion to the Positive Philosophy, or is extended also to the religion. This distinction is most frequently the result of the application of Positivism to social questions, especially to actual present politics. The Revolution of the West being first of all intellectual, Positivists living in the environment which is least disturbed, may for a long time limit their convictions to the new philosophy, the better to preserve this rational foundation from the influences of passion. This inconsistency, excusable in the present, will cease of itself when the movement of total regeneration shall have extended, in the West, to the whole of its natural domain. In the face of impending anarchy, these incomplete Positivists, very numerous in England, will feel how vain would be a renovation which should limit itself to ideas to the exclusion of the emotions, which are the only real springs of action. Could they even conceive with sufficient thoroughness the simple problem of mental unity, they would already perceive that its true solution becomes inseparable from the general reconstruction of human unity, the essence of which consists in the preponderance of the heart over the intellect. But it is only under the steady impulse of active social solicitude that this crowning effort will be made. As for those who, living at the very centre of the travail after the new birth, and daily preoccupied with its leading requirements, yet

limit themselves to the Positive Philosophy while rejecting the religion which corresponds to it, I do not hesitate to consider their conversion as a failure. Their inconsistency, thus without excuse, is a necessary indication either of feebleness of mind, or of coldness of heart, and almost always of both. For the Positive Religion, though destined finally for all, is as yet suited only to the highest natures, less rare among workmen than among the literary and wealthy classes.

The sacerdotal character of my subsidy is already confirmed by the support it has received in the West. Although the French subscribers are still the most numerous, the chief part of the subscription comes now from the other countries of the West, as is shown by the statement at the end of my circular. This normal preponderance is sure to increase as the true nature of the Western situation becomes more evident. It will be universally felt that, in the decisive advent of the final doctrine, France has but the necessary initiative of an elaboration common to all the Occidental nations, and destined to spread to the whole of our race. The requirements of order absorbing more and more the tendencies towards progress, the universal efficacy of the Spiritual Power which I have called into existence once and for ever in the metropolis of the human race will soon be recognized. In the midst of our mental and moral anarchy, when governments and populations are feeling blindly after the future without consulting the past, I alone come forward as the worthy representative of the two series of our ancestors and of our successors. The instinct of continuity, the principal attribute of our sociability, was first profoundly undermined by Catholicism, which in its rise brutally cast off all our Græco-Roman ancestors. It next underwent an attack no less serious when Protestantism arose and condemned the whole of the Middle Ages. Completing this anarchical progression, the blind deism of the eighteenth century now leads the Occidentals to reject all historical filiation and insist exclusively on a solidarity which might content a tribe of savages.

In this stormy situation, more or less common to the whole of the West, true conservatives will not be slow to understand the importance of the one doctrine which systematizes the notion and the feeling of continuity. Those whose attention is sufficiently concentrated upon an order so profoundly compromised, will see that the complete, that is to say, the religious Positivists, can alone become its normal auxiliaries, all other parties presenting a character more or less anarchical. It is from this conviction that will proceed as I believe the decisive increase of the Sacerdotal Fund, in which the pure revolutionists will take less and less part, they being at bottom the principal enemies of Positivism. My noble temporal patrons will thus feel more and more closely united with me by a great common destiny, which will move them, in their different countries, under my direction, to take upon themselves, as their convictions become complete, the superintendence of Western affairs. Such is already the spontaneous disposition of true Positivists, even in Great Britain, especially since the recent propagation of my doctrine in Ireland, where the disturbed state of society makes it impossible to rest satisfied with intellectual Positivism.

But at whatever point my various adherents may stop, I am warranted in claiming from them solemnly the aid which is my due. For all the conditions of personal abnegation required for the complete fulfilment of my mission have now been realized; and notwithstanding the material hindrances springing from the insufficiency of my subsidy, a decisive experience has now proved that I am able to make full use of the noble leisure which should characterize my final situation. During the year 1852, the only year of my life during which my time and my strength have been entirely at my own disposal, I composed and published the most decisive volume of my principal treatise. Some months after its appearance, I composed, and satisfactorily, the small exceptional work which I had promised in order to systematize the direct propagation of Positivism. And notwithstanding this double effort, I shall, towards the middle of

the present year, publish the third volume of my *Positive Politics*, the final volume of which will appear next year. After this immense construction, I feel myself capable of executing fully the three treatises, extremely important though not embracing so wide a sphere, which I also promised, when terminating, in 1842, my first life. Though I am now entering my fifty-sixth year, I dare affirm that all these services will be accomplished before the normal time of my wise retreat, provided that I am not disgracefully hampered by my unmerited material poverty.

It is on these grounds that I summon all the inhabitants of the West who are capable of feeling, in any degree, the true scope of my works, to furnish, according to their means, a loyal contingent to the noble protectorate instituted on my behalf. Should the incomplete Positivists persist in representing their blameworthy indifference as the result of partial dissent from the whole of my doctrine, I shall have no difficulty in unveiling the egotism ill-concealed under this vain pretext. For the principles they already accept more than suffice to establish the claim of their founder to a fair shelter from poverty, though all his other labours should be ignored.

Such disdain of a social obligation resting on the most evident grounds is but too often the result of a secret dislike to a Priesthood able to establish at last a real and complete discipline. Positive morals are called at their very birth to the principal trial of their strength:—to overcome the present universal insurrection of the living against the immutable empire of the dead by showing that it is henceforth in the unbroken series of the past alone that unfailing support is to be found. When morals have fulfilled this decisive office, already accomplished in regenerate natures, no doubt will remain as to their power of allaying all perturbations. By a secret presentiment of this rising authority, all evil influences already feel a dread of the power which, constituting itself irrevocably a judge of the dead, will never hesitate to judge the living also, as a necessary consequence of the same principles.

The duty for all who acknowledge themselves Positivists of subscribing to the Sacerdotal Fund has become so clear that I shall soon put it forward as a preliminary condition of that qualification. Though my doctrine be as yet little known, the time appears to me already come to make a formal distinction between its real adherents and those who claim on insufficient grounds a title destined ere long to carry with it public esteem. Therefore it will not be long before those who lay claim to the title of Positivist will have to pass through a system of regular ordeals: of this system my recent publication of the *Positivist Catechism* furnishes the natural basis. But before presenting himself for this ordeal, each individual must pledge himself to contribute in proportion to his means to the Sacerdotal Fund. The absolute inability to contribute, which alone could dispense any one from all co-operation, is extremely rare when the minimum contribution is fixed, as in my first annual circular, at one centime, rather less than half a farthing daily, a subscription I have already known more than once regularly persisted in. The *Positive Politics* has systematically established the social character which material property must now develop as a condition of its attaining a fair consistence. I must, therefore, guard against any future attempt, on the part of those who invoke this transformation, to avoid its normal consequences in their personal relations with the regenerating Priesthood.

Before closing this decisive circular, I feel bound to give my temporal patrons some necessary explanations concerning the present state and future exigences of the fund.

At the time of its institution, the sum of seven thousand francs was fixed as the lowest limit of my total yearly expenses, and this includes an exceptional annual payment of two thousand francs which I regard as a moral obligation. This original settlement I have always frankly accepted, nor shall I ever ask for any notable increase of it. When the subscription exceeds that sum, I shall apply the surplus either to the fair assistance of true aspirants to the

Priesthood, or to the facilitation of my publications, or to any other Positivist purpose, always giving special accounts of the same. But, notwithstanding the regular increase of the fund during the four years which have elapsed since its foundation, it has not yet reached this minimum at first judged indispensable. Now that it has become the sole source of my subsistence, its insufficiency would recently have caused me serious difficulty, but for the unexpected payment of arrears, officially kept back, due to me out of my last salary from the Polytechnic. This casual assistance, which almost filled the gap of 1852, cannot recur, and I have no other to expect. The fund then must suffice from the present time (1853). The figures which I give below show that in order to be sufficient, there must be an increase in the fund this year equal to that of the preceding one. I have ground then for presuming that the patronage will become complete, as a consequence of a situation of imperious necessity, which henceforth urges both peoples and governments simultaneously towards Positivism, as the only systematic guarantee at once of order and of progress.

Positive morals insist on the duty of living openly. I therefore think it right here to give an explanation once for all of an apparent anomaly in my personal expenditure, my apartment, contrary to natural custom, costing me more than my food. As I shall avoid all superfluous details, my true dignity will be in nowise entrenched upon by a revelation of this kind, which will guard against inconsiderate reproaches, and perhaps even against ignoble ill-will.

Though the apartment I have for twelve years occupied is really larger than my material needs require, yet the necessity of quitting it would be to me a profound misfortune, from the crowd of various and incomparable recollections which bind me to it heart and mind. I can never forget that it was here in 1842 that I wrote the decisive volume which terminated my fundamental work by the direct systematization of the new philosophy. But especially sacred did this dwelling become to me three years later, as the scene of the moral regeneration I experienced during one un-

paralleled year under the angelic impulse which will preside over the whole of my second life. The decisive fruits which the West has reaped from this regeneration are such that I should not hesitate to charge with ingratitude all who, participating in the benefits, public and private, of the new religion, would allow the material seat of its foundation to be torn from me. These holy walls, on which is imprinted for ever the image I adore, have helped me in my daily development of the private worship of the best personification of the true Great Being, through the now many years which have elapsed since her glorious subjective eternity succeeded, alas but too soon, to her sad objective existence. Here, under her irresistible patronage, was established such a harmony between my private and my public life, that each amelioration in the one was so promptly extended to the other, as to make the true theory of unity familiar to me long before I had formulated it. And the precincts which first witnessed my own regeneration were soon consecrated by several decisive celebrations of the principal social sacraments.

Those Positivists who, from their too abstract point of view, should be little moved by the evident importance of such an abode to my personal happiness ought at least to consider themselves bound to assist in maintaining it for me as a valuable instrument of work. He who has so far penetrated the nature of the true logic as to perceive that it does not consist in the use of signs only, cannot be blind to the philosophic efficacy of the images and emotions these walls keep ever present with me. It is here that I have just accomplished the principal half of my religious construction, as well as the decisive, though smaller, work in which the subjective participation of her who is for ever my sainted colleague, is already unanimously recognized. Would it be possible for me to complete as satisfactorily in any other place this capital elaboration, or even the less important works which will follow it? I have now reached an age at which I must carefully husband my time and my strength, in order that I may execute, with full vigour of brain, all that

I promised at the close of my fundamental book. In the interest of these works I shall always oppose the blind material economy which would deprive me of a powerful spiritual assistance.

This special explanation would be incomplete if I omitted to add that this anomaly in my expenses consists in a simple inversion of the usual proportions, and in no way affects the whole expenditure, the rate of which was indeed fixed on the supposition of an economy in rent. This rate I continue to accept while retaining the sacred dwelling, enabled so to do by a striking reduction in my other expenses, and chiefly in my food. My fortunate moderation is of use to me doubtless in obtaining this precious result. But it is principally due to the incomparable helper who is already respected and cherished by every true Positivist as my worthy adopted daughter. Thanks to her admirable management we two live upon a smaller sum than would suffice for myself were I living alone. Among the Parisians whose yearly personal expenditure is 5,000f., I am, perhaps, the only one who pays 1,600f. for his apartment. But on the other hand, I am, I am confident, the only one who limits the total cost of the food of his household to 1,000f.

The noble destination of these personal explanations gives me confidence that my true public will not deem them beneath its attention. They prove once for all that an apparent irregularity is but a transposition of two items, and in no way diminishes the austerity befitting my sacerdotal habits. And therefore I am glad to have been led frankly to offer an explanation which will dispose all my contemporaries to respect henceforward a dwelling which, I venture to assert, is destined to be regarded by posterity as sacred.

Health and Fraternity,

AUGUSTE COMTE.

10 Rue Monsieur-le-Prince.

Born at Montpellier, Jan. 19, 1798.

P.S.—The object of the Sacerdotal Fund leads me to request, in general, that each subscriber will send me when possible his subscription in the course of the

first quarter of the year, unless he prefers dividing it, as some have already judiciously done.

General statement of the subscriptions to the Sacerdotal Fund in 1852 :—

40 French subscriptions	2,400f.	{ Min. 5f. Mean 60 Max. 200	
26 other Western sub- scriptions (one a collective one of 650f. from London)	3,455		{ Min. 25 Mean 400 exclu- sive of the collective Max. 500f.
4 anonymous subscrip- tions			
<hr/>			
70 subscriptions	5,600f.	Mean 80f.	

N.B.—During the three first years, the Sacerdotal Fund produced 3,000f. in 1849 ; 3,300f. in 1850 ; and 4,200 in 1851.

FIFTH CIRCULAR.

Paris, 22 Moses, 66,
Sunday, January 22nd, 1854.

SIR,—The year just ended has fairly met the hope which I expressed in my preceding circular as to the inevitable increase of the subscription in which you take part. The statement subjoined shows that the normal minimum of 7,000f., or rather 20f. per diem, was for the first time reached in 1853.

In agreement with my former judgment, so decisive a result shows this patronage to be a social creation which has arisen in the natural course of things, notwithstanding the existing anarchy, with the object of consolidating the advent of the new Spiritual Power, which alone has power to close the Western Revolution. So long as the intervention of society seemed solely destined to make up for an infamous act of robbery, it remained very much below the sum required, owing to the lack of energy of civic feeling peculiar to the present day, especially in the profoundly selfish *milieu* in which the persecution took place. The protection given me has become sufficient only since I directly connected it with the main want of our time. Even the honourable opponents, whose exceptional participation in this subscription I must always regard with respect, sympathise, in fact, with the mission to which I have always devoted my life, although they differ with me as to the means to be used. *A fortiori* is this co-operation obligatory on those who, without accepting the policy and religion of Positivism, have adopted sincerely my philosophy, unless where inferiority of the moral nature is combined with an illogical mind.

To complete Positivists, and it is to them that the

Sacerdotal Fund will more and more owe its principal support, this co-operation constitutes a social function in which each regenerate spirit contributes, according to its means, to prepare the final *régime* by seconding the initiative of the Spiritual Power. When I published the small work which gives a systematic form to our propaganda, I represented directly the servants of Humanity as coming forward in the fulness of time to take the direction of the whole of human affairs, basing their action on the fundamental distinction between advice and command. This unexampled announcement has been for the last fifteen years spontaneously ratified by the complete silence of all existing parties, each one of which has tacitly acknowledged the natural supremacy of the Positive solution. No one at the present day can dispute either the necessity of establishing a reconciliation between order and progress, or the exclusive adaptation of Positivism to effect this reconciliation. Therefore, it is that an empirical government of repression is involuntarily led to respect the continuous growth of the regenerating doctrine. Whoever can place himself sufficiently at the point of view of posterity must already look upon the reorganization of the West as having really begun from the time that the main features of the universal religion were fully proclaimed. By furthering the rise of complete convictions in the midst of a situation alternately anarchical and retrograde the Priesthood of Positivism will soon lead the governing classes to transfer in all cases the government to the only practical men who can avert that dissolution which is always imminent.

Such is the holy league which the growth of the Positivist subscription organizes, as a natural consequence, between the two forces of society, the active and the speculative powers which must preside, with different functions, yet with a common aim, over the reconstruction of modern society. Devoted to this grand object, all the nobler spirits will gradually rally round Positivism to control the nineteenth century, as the stronger minds directed the eighteenth century under the inspiration of encyclopædism.

Some such co-operation as this is alone able to free them from the extraordinary oppression in which they are plunged by an anarchy which is exclusively favourable to every species of mediocrity. Now the first condition of this result consists in always deserving by our feelings and by our conduct, as individuals, as members of the family, or as members of the State, that preponderating influence which our doctrine openly summons us to exert. The final *régime* of society has for its object above all to regulate aright all the forces of man, private as well as public, sufficiently developed during the preparatory evolution of the race. It requires then, that those who are worthy to be its promoters should first experience themselves the general efficiency of the Positive discipline.

Already the faith which is demonstrable has everywhere asserted its intellectual superiority to the chimerical beliefs of theology, which are no longer recommended by virtue of their reality, but solely on account of their utility. To complete the ascendancy of Positivism it must show by a continuous experience that its moral and social efficacy is in perfect harmony with its intellectual capacity. So it is that all true Positivists may concur in forwarding the gradual advent of their religion, first by fulfilling better than the several theologians their special duties, then by their more judicious participation in the general economy of society.

This superiority will everywhere procure them habitual respect without their being ever compelled to lower a morality which always enjoins upon them to live openly. The invariably relative character of their doctrine ought moreover to preserve them from any misplaced hostility towards the beliefs from which they are irrevocably emancipated, although it is not for them to expect the same justice from opponents who are under the guidance of those absolute opinions.

Not only is this attitude in itself the highest privilege of Positivism, but it becomes indispensable for those who would regenerate the West; for though

their task is to bring a remedy to the partisans of anarchy no less than to those of reaction, they cannot hesitate from this time forward to prefer the latter. Since the French Revolution has in its natural course brought forward the question of the organization of society, the revolutionary party has irrevocably lost its temporary office, especially in France, where its interference can henceforth do nothing but hinder in every respect the final working out of the problem. On the contrary, the Conservative party, whilst they maintain material order, also preserves some discipline in souls for whom the most benighted convictions are preferable, even intellectually, to pure scepticism. Whilst never yielding to supernatural beliefs, a preponderance which is irreconcilable with the solution required by the West, Positivism can only be the successor of Theologism on the condition of at all times paying honour to its previous services, and respecting those it may yet perform in spite of its radical insufficiency. We must, then, abandon the system of hypocrisy, and substitute for it a system of toleration, preferring the retrograde state to the state of negation in a generation whose leaders only can attain the normal state.

This attitude of Positivists towards the existing parties was sketched out as early as 1826, when I published a small work on the spiritual power, which instantly excited the reproaches of the deists and the praises of the Catholic party. Suspended but not abandoned during the time that I was working out my philosophical foundation, it has been developed with a growing energy in proportion to the growth of my religious construction, especially rapid since the abolition of the Parliamentary system in France. My recent volume on the Philosophy of History sanctions once for all this disposition as being destined to be the habitual distinction of our age as compared with the preceding one. I shall give the particular grounds for it when I am led to characterize the future of Humanity and the final stage of the transition in the concluding volume, which will be published towards the middle of the present year.

So evidently is it the mission of Positivists to govern the West, that they ought already to be preparing their systematic dictatorship by seconding in their own way an empirical concentration of power which is provisionally necessary for the maintenance of order. Their aid alone can guarantee that liberty of exposition which is required for the working out of the Western problem, by transferring the active defence of the principles of society to the only doctrine which is competent to disperse all destructive utopias. By stripping the Revolutionary party of the prestige of persecution, Positivism will prove this party the most retrograde of all, in an age necessarily devoted to reconstruction.

These reflections, which have been suggested by the marked increase of the sacerdotal fund, are in full conformity with the true nature of my annual circulars, in which, for the future, I have to address timely counsels to the better adherents of the religion of Humanity. The explanations I gave last year will always dispense me from returning to the question of my personal wants, with all those who feel how much more important is the economy of strength than the economy of materials, or even that of time. The increase of the fund having sufficiently seconded that necessary introduction, I may now for the future devote this periodical communication to its social purpose, without mingling with it any private explanations.

The better to estimate the value of the increase, we must observe that it is especially due to a larger number of subscribers, the general average continuing much the same. This increase in the number of contributors would be more marked were it not that strict accuracy of statement forbade me to include in it those who, without abandoning their participation, were prevented by passing obstacles from furnishing it in 1853. But the increase is above all decisive in that it has been accomplished notwithstanding the final retirement of several subscribers who were always more revolutionary than Positivist. The esteem which already attaches to this last name should lead us for the future to reserve it carefully

for the true adherents of the universal religion to which our philosophy leads, and from which our policy emanates. Were we to continue to give the name to those whose moral evolution is incomplete, we should have to consent to its being taken by those whose minds are given up to Positive specialties. For their blind repugnance to every generalization and systematization is only the full development of the unconscious inconsistency of those pretended Positivists who would hinder the new philosophy from issuing in the true religion. He who does not rise to this final synthetic conclusion can have in regard to Positivism but partial sympathies, too weak to withstand the slightest shock in practical life, whether public or private.

The practical weakness, and even the intellectual instability, of these incomplete convictions became most clear to all in the dictatorial crisis of 1851, when it was only the religious Positivists who were able, notwithstanding their passing emotions, to judge events as posterity will judge them. I was at that time abandoned by all my other professed adherents, who will doubtless die regretting the Parliamentary system. This spontaneous purging of the society increases the consistence of the true Positive party, and we see that it has not impeded its extension.

Nothing is better calculated than this purification to disperse the prejudices which, at least in France, divert the greater number of Conservatives from the only doctrine which sanctions and gives systematic form to their aspirations. For want of such a basis, those who for the last sixty years have been sincerely bent on reconciling order and progress are only perpetuating, at one and the same time, anarchy and retrogression, in order to oppose the one to the other.

Thus it is that Positivism, equally disengaged from all mistaken sympathies, and from the blind antipathies which it at first naturally excited, for the future tends towards the direct regeneration of the actual policy of government by becoming the doctrine of all systematic Conservatives. Those who have mastered it will thus be able, some by advice, others by

command, to prevent new catastrophes in the Western centre, and to preserve the adjacent peoples from an agitation naturally confined to the nation with which rests the initiative of modern change.

My estimate of the subsidy of 1853 would be incomplete were I not to state that the increase of the number of subscribers would not have been sufficient to attain the normal minimum had it not been for the exceptional zeal of several contributors. An appeal to them, which was drawn from me by an unforeseen pressure, excited in the last quarter of the year an enthusiasm which secured this decisive result, but by an effort on which I cannot habitually count. Still the full amount of the subscription seems to me for the future certain, because the continuous growth of the number of subscribers must now obviate the necessity of any supplementary exertion. As those who contributed from favour or whim have fortunately withdrawn, I have now no patrons but those who look upon their action as a real duty, always to be extended in proportion to any increase in their means. I therefore mention this generous exception solely in order to express publicly my gratitude for it, and especially in order to show the capacity of the Positive Faith to excite even in this early stage the feelings which its social object requires.

In conclusion, we ought to look upon this symptom as harmonizing with the other indications which, during the same year, have implicitly shown the moral power of Positivism. A critical test has specially shown the influence of the true religion in the perfecting private duties by a noble instance of the observance of the law of eternal widowhood, and of the rule which enjoins the man to maintain the woman. At the same time, the elimination of the revolutionary members has allowed veneration and fraternity to be generally developed amongst us, whereas hitherto they were checked by the distrust and insubordination which characterize merely negative doctrines. New celebrations have confirmed the natural aptitude of the Positive worship to

give a profound sanction to all the family ties. The public growth of the regenerative doctrine has corresponded with its extension in private life, especially by the creation of a nucleus in Ireland, which may already compare with the noble band which for the last eight years has been developing in Holland.

All the features, both intellectual and moral, of the movement of Positivism are fortunately united in a decisive step which terminated the year 1853. An unexampled work, in which conscientiousness and talent are constantly united, has given new life to my fundamental work, which for the future ought, in most cases, to be studied by preference in this remarkable translation. Although it is meant especially for the population of Great Britain, this valuable publication will soon become common to the whole West, so as everywhere to systematize the instinctive tendencies towards Positivism. The natural effect of this work ought, moreover, to be increased by the noble dispositions which led to it and completed it. At its outset, a patronage, which has been interrupted by death, generously supplied all the cost of its publication. After it had been fully written, my eminent colleague, not aware of my final abandonment of all profit whatever from any of my writings, reserved for me, without being asked, from a feeling of delicacy, a share of the profits equal to her own, so as to give a new instance of the superiority attaching to the Positive way of viewing questions.

Be the importance of this event what it may, the manner in which it has been accomplished must then render it more valuable, especially as it emanates from a woman. Her assistance will soon put an end to the prejudices of pedants as to the philosophic capacity of the sex which is the best disposed to place itself at the only point of view admitting of complete universality. Thus, in the natural course of things we see rising the fundamental alliance between the affective sex and the theoretical class, the object of this alliance being to give due direction to the reorganization of the West. My religious construction began under an angelic impulse, the enduring efficacy of which,

strengthened and perfected by death, is becoming more and more deeply felt. I shall now bring it to its close, after having gained the active aid of a woman of truly superior nature, whose noble initiative will soon find worthy successors, as we may hope, from the growing co-operation of the affective sex in the protection afforded me by society.

From the whole of the preceding indications, the advance of Positivism will for the future tend to realize the generalization I made last year so far as concerns the destination, in the first place for the supply of my own wants, of the subscription which I have always spoken of as a sacerdotal subscription, in order to make clear what I consider ought to be its normal extension. As my own subsistence is now insured, the approaching conclusion of my main work will permit me to give a due completion to my career by the peaceful execution of all the works which were promised at the close of my Philosophy. During this final elaboration, I must be actively preparing the formation of the priesthood which is fully instituted in the construction which I am just ending. On the one hand, it is necessary to secure the support of the young theoreticians of whom I have already spoken as seriously devoted to the formation of the Positive clergy, as they now present a sufficient harmony, both of moral amelioration and of training in the encyclopædic course. At the same time, it is right that we should now proceed to organize the action of the permanent committee, for which, since 1842, I have reserved, under my own direction, the gradual systematization of the transition of the West. These two requirements justify me in calling upon all to give the utmost possible extension to the sacerdotal fund. I am the better warranted in insisting upon this point since I proclaimed last year my resolution never myself to exceed the sum which has now been realized, as will be proved by the publicity of all my actions.

Health and Fraternity.

AUGUSTE COMTE.

10, Rue Monsieur-le-Prince.

Born at Montpellier, 19 January, 1798.

NOTE TO FIFTH CIRCULAR.

General statement of the subscriptions to the Sacerdotal Fund, in 1853:—

70 avowed subscriptions	{	48 French subscriptions 3,720f.	{	Min. 3f. 65c.
			{	Aver. 78f.
			{	Max. 300f.
		2 other Western sub- scriptions 2,850f.	{	Min. 25f.
			{	Aver. 130f.
			{	Max. 500f.
		21 anonymous subscrip- tions from various nations 830f.	{	Min. 4f.
			{	Aver. 40f.
			{	Max. 200f.

Total 91 subscriptions . . . 7,400f. Aver. 82f.

N.B.—The subsidy, begun the 12th of November, 1848, amounted to 3,000f. in 1849, 3,300f. in 1850, 4,200f. in 1851, and 5,600 in 1852.

SIXTH CIRCULAR.

Addressed, by the Author of the "System of Positive Philosophy" and of the "System of Positive Politics," to each contributor to the Fund freely instituted on behalf of the Priesthood of Humanity.

Paris, Monday, 15 Moses, 67.
(January 15, 1855).

SIR,—The financial statement subjoined shows that the past year has not realized the hope which I expressed in my preceding Circular of a very considerable increase of the noble subsidy in which you take part. The institution has not yet begun to extend itself beyond its original purpose. Though the normal minimum demanded by its primary aim has again been literally reached in 1854, this result has been attained only by the generous renewal of some exceptional efforts which I had thought would have been limited to 1853.

The collective patronage of which I am the object, seemed at first merely destined to repair the infamous spoliation I had suffered. But from the very beginning it was felt that this persecution was chiefly directed against a philosophy, which, while it completed the scientific preparation of the race, gave such final predominance to synthesis over analysis as to throw discredit on all actual theoreticians. And thus it was that the protectorate which in all cases came from those who are interested in my works, without any participation from those who were particularly well-informed as to the injustice committed, took so thoroughly social a character. Thanks to this noble

protection, the blow aimed to crush me has led me to consecrate my time and my strength exclusively to my special mission, and the final development of that mission strengthens the patronage under which it was carried on. Nevertheless, the Positivist Fund will only then be fully appreciated as a social institution,—one destined to be the foundation of the independence of the Priesthood which is to regenerate the world—when it shall have considerably exceeded the sum which is sufficient for myself.

This increase must soon result from the religious construction which I have just finished, which could not be sufficiently understood as a whole before the recent publication of the last volume, which alone directly institutes the universal synthesis. After explaining the past, Positivism has so determined what the future is to be, and so regulated the present, as to satisfy the wants of society as fully as it satisfies the demands of the intellect. Some judgment may thus be formed of its capacity to terminate the Western revolution by binding together and by regulating all higher souls by the only faith which admits at once of universality and perpetuity. The formation of the Positive Priesthood, which hitherto has existed only in the person of the founder of the religion of Humanity, becomes then the first condition of the regeneration which is as indispensable for order as it is for progress. This necessity, which tends to be more and more deeply felt, must quickly stimulate a subsidy, without which it will be impossible for the contemplative class to arise in its proper dignity, and it is that class which, free from all temporary ambition, will everywhere inspire a wise policy, a policy founded in all cases upon the whole course of human affairs, past, present, and future.

We must not be surprised, still less must we be alarmed, at the, as yet, slow growth of this guarantee, for, though its origin was perfectly spontaneous, it was impossible that it should become systematic before the complete termination of my religious construction. The power of Positivism to command the future, even the immediate future, raises against it in

the present very powerful obstacles ; for from its very birth it has to contend directly with the mental and moral anarchy which, on the contrary, was the condition of existence of those ephemeral aberrations whose easy success has been the shame of the nineteenth century. In truth, Positivism calls openly upon its worthy disciples, whether theoretical or practical, to take upon themselves such authority, spiritual or temporal, as is required by the progress of human regeneration. But their necessary ascendancy can only rest upon a true superiority of heart, of intellect, and of character, presupposing a difficult preparation, and enjoining upon them a conduct as individuals and as members of society always in conformity with the normal type which they put forward. Such a sway cannot as yet have very great attraction even for those who shall possess it, and it must be profoundly distasteful to men who are destined to submit to it. Although the reorganization of our intellect and of our moral nature is generally desired, its complete triumph naturally kindles active antipathies amongst those who would be thus forced to regulate their conduct and to lower their claims.

Here we have the main source of the secret obstacles which, especially in England, oppose themselves to the further development of Positivism in most of those who at first cordially welcomed its philosophical basis. If, renouncing the mission which my fundamental though smaller works had made so clear, I had directed my labours towards an object of a purely intellectual character, the sympathies which I originally acquired would have soon spread to great numbers, and would have been therefore as favourable to my security as they would have been to my immediate renown. For without imposing upon freethinkers a difficult and laborious reconstruction, I should thus have allowed them to carry the work of the eighteenth century into the middle of the nineteenth, whilst I freed them from the yoke which the logic of reaction laid upon them when once their weakness for construction was recognized. But it was impossible that I should forget that the whole of the past, and espe-

cially the past history of France, imposed on me a social mission, and that my philosophy was only the systematic basis of that mission. When my main purpose, after due preparation, was directly put forward in my writings, the affinities that I had at first found were changed into antipathies in men who would have limited my career to the phase which I had always represented as purely introductory. I am bound however to allow that a similar disposition may at times merely indicate an insufficiency of development, especially in cases where society around gives little prominence to the urgency of the social change. Still it is a fact that all those who claiming to be Positivists call themselves intellectual Positivists aim only at continuing the situation in its revolutionary condition, and therefore it is that they abstain from co-operating in the subscription which is destined to support me, though the duty is one which is sufficiently pressed upon them by the services which they acknowledge me to have rendered.

Be the influences of these various obstacles what they may, the slowness of the progress of Positivism is above all the result of the fatal circumstance that it necessarily arose in the *milieu* least favourable to its development. From the very beginning it was my duty to attack the principle of revolution on more systematic grounds than had ever been possible for any reactionist. And yet I could only obtain success at first in the revolutionary camp, for there alone were found men open to the possibility of changes in philosophy and society. Owing to the blind inertia of empirical Conservatives, the doctrine which is the radical reconciliation between order and progress is thus rejected by those who are naturally the best fitted to carry it out. The conversions which Positivism has now effected in some of the best of the revolutionary party have tended to make it suspected in the opposite camp, for as yet they cannot see in these conversions an indisputable proof of the organic power of the new synthesis.

Thus we see that in order to hasten the growth of the regenerative doctrine, it is our immediate task to

make it known amongst the Conservatives, for they alone have the dispositions and the habits demanded for its installation in society. Notwithstanding their mere empirical objections to it, they cannot, in the absence of dogmas suited to their position, avoid opening their ranks to every competent defender of the fundamental institutions of society, which are as much endangered by retrogression as they are by anarchy. It is on this claim that true Positivists will rest in transplanting their faith amongst the Conservatives, for that faith alone is able to give real consistence to counter-efforts which hitherto have been radically insufficient.

Notwithstanding their revolutionary origin, all those who are sincerely converted to the Religion of Humanity are by that fact transformed into systematic Conservatives, destined to become the true chiefs of the party of order which they will free from its inconsistencies. They alone are as emancipated from every tendency to anarchy as from every disposition to reaction, because they conceive of the regeneration of mankind as consisting, above all, in directing aright the forces which have been slowly evolved during the spontaneous preparation effected under the sway of the ancient faith. Attaining the objects of all parties so far as they are attainable, and setting aside their claims when they are absolutely irreconcilable, Positivism overcomes the hypocrisy of theologians, as degrading to those by whom it is exercised as it is oppressive to those who have to endure it, and that without giving any encouragement to the hypocrisy of metaphysicians, which is both more hurtful and less excusable. When it calls upon its nobler disciples to govern the world it proclaims that their political ascendancy must first be preceded during a period of twelve years by a purely philosophical influence, which will dispose the actual chiefs of society to hand over to them wisely their power. In this way there will everywhere arise a class of real statesmen, a class especially wanting in the centre of Western Europe, be it on account of the peculiar difficulties of the task which has devolved upon France, be it as a result of

the whole course of our previous preparation. The march of events everywhere brings out more and more the close connection between all the populations of the earth, so as to show the danger of the irrational policy which treats each people by itself. Now Positivism alone can complete and consolidate this regeneration of all social views, by extending to the whole of the ages the connection which is thus felt to exist between the different countries.

From their inability to embrace the order of society on this great scale, theology and metaphysics have never been able to suggest a policy of a truly rational character: that task was necessarily reserved for the Positive spirit, the main characteristic of which has been the construction of sociology. By establishing unity in spiritual matters, and by putting an end to all the aberrations respecting unity in temporal matters, the Positive religion will everywhere give the first place to considerations of human affairs as a whole, without impairing the spontaneous character which will attach to particular impulses. It transforms Paris into the adopted country of the nobler spirits, and the new faith thus founds the ascendancy, both intellectual and moral, of the universal metropolis, on its due renunciation of all material power, even within the limits of the French nation.

In order to put an end to the Western revolution, we must once for all finally establish that fundamental division of the two powers which was somewhat prematurely sketched out in the Middle Ages under an inadequate doctrine. It is the principle of revolution everywhere to absorb the spiritual power into the temporal, the different temporal powers acknowledging no other speculative authority than the reason of the individual, so far at least as the most important and most difficult questions are concerned. All the existing parties thus deserve to be equally termed anarchical and retrograde, since they agree in seeking from law the solutions which can only be given by custom and opinion. So universal and profound is this perturbation that the best friends of liberty never hesitate to have recourse to material methods to gain a victory

for their opinions, whatever they may be. So it is that the theoretical power necessarily has its rise in a brutal society, in which the slightest disagreement always exposes it to meet with a refusal of all money assistance, a refusal which in the normal state of things is limited to the chiefs who conduct the practical affairs of society, and is limited further to certain exceptional cases.

The Priesthood of Positivism has, then, to overcome obstacles which are almost as much moral as they are intellectual in character, inasmuch as the disturbance of ideas has seriously impaired all sound feeling. Doubtless it is true that the revolution of modern times is in the main an intellectual revolution, whereas that which was worked out in the Middle Ages was essentially a social revolution. But during the five centuries of our Western anarchy, and especially since the explosion of the great crisis which is to terminate that anarchy, the disorder of the intellect has more and more affected the heart. It is by this latter development that for the present we must define the revolutionary disease, consisting, as it does, in the continuous over-stimulation of pride and vanity, as the natural result of a tendency which is eminently contagious towards the infallibility of the individual. It is through this doctrine that a direct attack is made upon the leading result of the whole of the theological *régime*, the development, namely, of veneration, the only basis of true discipline, and the indispensable guarantee of the two other instincts of sympathy. Positivism must found its highest claims to the spiritual government of mankind upon its power to reawaken this noble quality, more essential to our well-being and more weakened than any other. Such an achievement can only belong to the universal religion, since all the beliefs of the past have really but increased the disorder, without any exception for Catholicism, which limits its veneration to a growth of ten centuries, and that growth confined to one half of the Roman world.

Thus the disease of the West requires for its treatment attention rather to the affections than to the

intellect, now that the intellect has accomplished its main office by constructing the Positive philosophy on the foundation of sociology, which in its turn rests on the whole of the preliminary sciences. Although originally Positivists were forced to proceed from faith to love by an upward course, for the future they should prefer the more rapid and more effective method which descends from love to faith. The feelings being less disturbed than the intellect, it is on them that will especially depend the re-establishment of order in the West. The heart alone can complete and consolidate the convictions which have their rise in the intellect, and it can also dispense with those convictions in many respects, at any rate so far as regards the general support demanded by every great construction. I shall not consider that the Positivist Fund has acquired sufficient consistency till such time as it shall rest mainly upon sympathetic impulses, instead of depending upon intellectual adhesions, always wavering at the very slightest shock.

Appealing as I do to the heart rather than to the intellect to give firmness and increase to this rising institution, I must enlarge its basis by asking for the participation in it of all those who, whatever be their faith, have a due sense of the need of some spiritual reorganization. By continually increasing the number of those who thus partially agree with us, can we alone preserve the Western world from the degradation to which it is tending more and more in its pursuit of material progress to the neglect of moral culture. But this agreement in point of sympathy can never be presided over by any theological beliefs, because their absolute character renders them irreconcilable one with the other. Whereas all can be subordinated to Positivism, for it, being always relative, naturally honours each in its own time and place, considering all as so many provisional institutions which Humanity called successively into spontaneous existence to direct the long course of its initiation. Though theoretically of no value, they still preserve in different degrees a moral influence which the Positive religion honours at once

and developes, recognizing that the most imperfect have at the present day become, so far as they succeed in rallying men, preferable to the scepticism which isolates them. As there is in our day no fanaticism which disposes men to neglect the end for the means, all really religious minds may unite against the universal dangers which attach to irreligion. Wisely respecting the provisional reserve of their various solutions, Positivism can utilize their dispositions to organize by employing all in concert in overcoming revolutionary tendencies.

I am thus led to end this circular by venturing to place the Positive subscription directly under the sympathetic patronage of those sincere theologians who look upon the advent of a spiritual power as the first need of our time. After having satisfactorily fulfilled all the intellectual conditions required henceforth by so vast a construction, I have also fully realized its moral conditions both in private life and in public. A career which from the outset was devoted to the re-organization of the spiritual order was in due time completed by the perfect regeneration peculiar to the influence of woman; and this influence, which death only strengthens and ennobles, I owe to a true angel. My independence of thought is fully guaranteed by my final renunciation of every species of official existence, by my renunciation of every pension, and even of the material profits of all and every of my works. The complete power that exists in my doctrine to pay honour to every age and every country, which has already been made clear in my abstract appreciation of the past, cannot be disputed since I drew up my concrete systematization of the Western commemoration.

And so it is that I may now hope that truly religious minds, disposed by sympathy to synthesis, will soon be able to rise above their differences of dogma, and to encourage the sole effort of our age to found a universal religion. At the beginning of my career the celebrated writer who was then defending Catholicism manifested this noble affinity with my aim, and did not cease to manifest it till he became

most regrettably an auxiliary of the anarchical doctrines. The development of my career has naturally given rise within the Protestant sects to similar manifestations, which have found fitting expression in a noble co-operation in the Positivist Fund. At the same time I myself have directly proved my active sympathy with all useful and sincere religions by a solemn engagement to subscribe to the Catholic budget when it shall rest exclusively upon voluntary subscriptions. Thus on all sides we see the essential germs of the great alliance which the principal wants of the nineteenth century must soon develop between all religious souls as against the irreligious instincts.

An entire generation has now passed away since my fundamental discovery of the laws of sociology in 1822, and it has ended with the construction of the Positive Religion in 1854. This long birth has naturally excited, as regards the universal synthesis, sympathies and antipathies which could only be provisional. Now that it can be appreciated as a whole, it will soon excite certain final dispositions to which I shall subordinate the advent of the Priesthood of Humanity. Overcoming by veneration every secondary divergence, true Positivists, placing the heart above the intellect, will know how to develop actively all fundamental convergences. Everywhere becoming the systematic directors of order and progress, they will leave those who dissent to fall more easily than the mass of mankind into a barren series of empirical fluctuations between the extremes of anarchy and of retrogression. The conflict of the two must soon give to every element, individual or collective, of the Positivist subscription, a moral persistency which shall be practically equivalent to the legal fixedness nobly instituted by the unfortunate Wallace. In the case of a co-operation where the smallest subscriptions are received, want of persistence can only be due to instability of conviction, and that in turn must be the result of shallowness of feeling.

The preface of my last volume has made it clear that the present year will be devoted partly to the

rest required for my religious construction, partly to the preparation of the three treatises which are to complete that construction, the first of which is announced for 1856. But over and above the course of lectures which I have already promised, and which perhaps will be tolerated, I shall interrupt this period of leisure by publishing towards the middle of the present year a small exceptional work of about a hundred pages in octavo. This *Appeal to all true Conservatives* has been prepared by my letter to the Russian Tzar, and has for its object to state more fully the principal considerations which the present circular can only indirectly allude to.

Health and Fraternity.

AUGUSTE COMTE.

10, Rue Monsieur-le-Prince.

Born at Montpellier, 19 January, 1798.

NOTE TO SIXTH CIRCULAR.

General statement of the subscriptions to the Positivist Fund in 1854.

53 French subscriptions	3,360f.	{ Minimum, 5f. Average, 63f. Maximum, 300f.
21 other Western sub- scriptions	2,480f.	
Plus five anonymous sub- scriptions from various nations	1,164f.	

Total, 79 subscriptions 7,004f. Average, 89.

N.B.—The Positivist Subsidy, begun the 12th November, 1848, amounted to 3,000 francs in 1849, 3,300 in 1850, 4,200 in 1851, 5,600 in 1852, and 7,400 in 1853.

SEVENTH CIRCULAR.

Paris, Tuesday, 15 Moses, 68.
(15 January, 1856).

SIR,—The inadequacy of the Positive subscription already pointed out in my preceding circular, has become still more marked during the year which has just ended. Although the normal minimum was strictly reached, still this is a result which, besides requiring the noble repetition of some exceptional efforts, has especially drawn upon the generous patronage of one of my most eminent disciples, who, as soon as he knew my distress, quintupled his large habitual subscription. The total number of contributors is but slightly less, but this is because thirteen new subscribers have nearly replaced the seventeen former ones who have lapsed.

My sixth circular had foreseen this diminution as being natural in an exceptional year, in which the close of my religious construction would naturally extinguish some of the adhesions which had been gained before the time when Positivism could be sufficiently judged. Although the greater part of those whose convictions preceded this period have stood this test so firmly that these convictions may now be considered final, still these have not as yet sufficiently regenerated the habits of those who hold them, even in those cases in which the feelings have been really modified. The subscribers who, whether poor or rich, really contribute in proportion to their means, constitute barely a fourth of the whole number, and four-fifths at least of the various adherents of Positivism stand quite aloof from the voluntary protectorate.

This double contrast is most particularly marked in that part of the West in which the new synthesis has had the most notoriety. The whole of the Britannic world, both American and European, furnishes but nine subscriptions, which altogether are not equal to the annuity left me at his death by the noble Wallace. And in this combined effort the two literary men whose fame chiefly rests on their introduction to the English public of the Positive Philosophy, take no part. I had at first hoped that the torpor of the English world would have been broken by the just success of an unrivalled translation. But this event has not roused it from its apathy, notwithstanding the noble conduct of my powerful auxiliary.

In accordance with the explanations of my preceding circular, the general slowness of the establishment of Positivism must be attributed more than anything else to the fatality by which it had its birth in the *milieu* least favourable to its rapid growth. A doctrine, the very essence of whose destination it is to reconstruct order, has as yet obtained only among the partisans of progress. This false position leads to a wrong judgment of the Positive subsidy, and its inadequacy is especially the result of an imperfection in its original institution.

Founded as it was in too narrow a spirit, notwithstanding that the time was one of large aspirations, it was at first put forward as a guarantee of an individual existence, and even as a simply provisional guarantee, having for its object to neutralize an infamous persecution. It is still regarded from this point of view only by most of those who subscribe, even by those who consider it as a social duty. This ground seemed at first amply sufficient, considering the injustice of my spoliation, the merit of the services both particular and general which I had already rendered, and the importance of those which might yet be expected from me. But experience has shown how weak is the sense of social duty at a time when the radical dissolution of public morality everywhere paves the way for the triumph of individualism, especially in that systematically degraded

circle which, by its position, was best fitted to form a judgment on the case. The noblest misfortunes can at the present day inspire a lasting solicitude only when connected with the general needs of the Western situation.

Hence it is that I have always endeavoured from the very beginning of these circulars to represent the positive subsidy as having above all a social purpose, to form, that is, a permanent guarantee of the independence necessary to that Priesthood whose advent can alone put an end to the modern revolution. But these efforts of mine have not as yet been able to give sufficient weight to this view, because so long as the institution of Positivism remained incomplete, it could only find a hearing among that party which it will eventually either overcome or transform, and the chiefs of which are necessarily hostile to it. The new doctrine was, it is true, soon looked upon as the most advanced form of human progress, but it could only excite rare or feeble sympathies amongst the existing generation of the party of progress. For they limit their ideas of perfection to the breaking up of the ancient discipline, whilst the new doctrine makes it consist in regulating all forces according to their natural laws. Nevertheless, had the intentions of our revolutionary party been in general more pure, they would have been quick to welcome the doctrine which alone could rekindle and give strength to the spirit of emancipation by disengaging it from the retrograde yoke which, in the present position of things, presses upon all sceptics. This affinity, however, was not strong enough to overcome the repugnance inspired by the birth of a universal law, a rule of life never to be set aside because ever demonstrable. The shameful success which has for a time been obtained by two sects of equal immorality, the one more corrupting, the other more degrading, has completely proved that revolutionary activity has its source in the present day in the egotistic instincts, at least in the case of the leaders.

In France, the position of affairs led the literary world to feel that my Positive Philosophy, with apparently a merely intellectual purpose, yet tended

to found a new spiritual power, the necessary advent of which had been plainly announced to them in my early essays. This is the reason why, from the very beginning, their silence, as much concerted as instinctive, endeavoured to crush a doctrine which was absolutely incompatible with the usurped credit they owed during the last century to the absence of all theoretic guidance. The conditions of encyclopædic training, which they could neither avoid nor fulfil, naturally increased their antipathy by taking from them every hope of becoming members of the new Priesthood. Less stimulated and less clear-sighted, less forewarned also, the literary class in Britain yielded to the temptation which Positivism offered to emancipated spirits of freeing them from the oppression of the Anglican faith. Their acceptance of my doctrine had, even in France, broken up the conspiracy of silence before they had become sufficiently awake to the social object of a philosophy which was yet more hostile to every form of metaphysics than to every form of theology. They only turned against it when the decisive opening of my second construction revealed to them that my labours had always had for their end the termination of the Western Revolution by the reconstruction of spiritual discipline. To escape from the difficulty which was the result of their early approval, they introduced the sophism which consists in representing the development of my career as a deviation from its original object.

Coarse as the line adopted is, it has hitherto succeeded in a *milieu* which is but little stirred with social aspirations; those even who are most occupied by such aspirations are as yet ignorant of the existence of my *Positive Politics*. This second conspiracy of silence has been better arranged than the first, because the literary men of British origin, especially in Europe, standing aloof from the political rivalries which distract their French colleagues, are better able than they to consult the interests common to the whole class. Under their spirit of emancipation we can always discern their special tendency to prolong

for an indefinite period a spiritual interregnum which favours their claims without imposing any check upon their tastes, except that of an adhesion at least passive to the hypocrisy of Anglican belief. This disposition is clearly indicated in the scandalous falsehood solemnly formulated by the most intelligent and boldest of those who espoused my cause in England.

In spite of their dislike for theology, metaphysicians in the United States as in England will second its resistance to Positivism till such time as the needs of society have everywhere driven men towards the only doctrine which is able to surmount the anarchy of modern times. This is without doubt the reason why of late there has been a cessation of the noble co-operation given me during three years by two of my American opponents: antipathies of sect have finally prevailed over personal nobility of character.

We may affirm, however, with confidence that this second conspiracy will have less success, and be less durable than the first, since the leaders of the press both in Britain and in America cannot long prevent their public from coming to the knowledge of the only doctrine really in conformity with its social desires. The *littérateurs* in France were able during half a generation to divert their readers from a philosophy which seemed at first to deaden the spring of renovation by representing the French Revolution as rather a spiritual than a temporal crisis. But their Britannic colleagues will vainly endeavour to hide the social application of a system which they have brought home to the intellect. To overcome their skilful tactics, all that will be required perhaps will be the English translation of the Positivist Catechism, and this has actually been effected by one of my best disciples. I venture at any rate to affirm that their efforts to mislead would not resist the worthy realization of the project already formed to translate separately the third volume of my *Politique Positive* under its proper title of *Philosophy of History*. Such a publication can alone rectify the official opinion which represents the English Revolution of 1688 as sufficient to preserve England from the crisis common at the

present day to all the West. By explaining the failure of the true English Revolution, the sound historical theory will produce a general feeling that its indispensable sequel is to be found in the French Revolution which is destined to realize the regeneration prematurely attempted under the great Cromwell.

It is in this way that an end will soon be put to the anomaly which renders that country in which intellectual Positivism met with the best reception, the most hostile to social Positivism. This contradiction is quite in the spirit of the system which stands most opposed to the separation of the two powers, and yet the true theoreticians in England will not be slow to develop religious aspirations, shared as these would be by a sex which is secretly wearied of the dryness of Protestantism. The people among whom materialism, in science, in art, and in policy, has been carried furthest must be best able to appreciate the only religion which overcomes that materialism in its very principle. Even before the proletaries of England have shaken off the mental torpor resulting from Anglicanism, complete Positivism will penetrate amongst those readers in England who are already familiar with its philosophical basis. Still it will never be able really to take firm root in England till it passes beyond the intellectual public, and noble practical men, roused by the stimulus of social anxieties, shall call upon it to display its power of organization. In order to feel the superiority of these practical adhesions, it is enough to contrast with the extremely small amount of the English subscription the noble liberality of the seven Dutch subscribers who furnish by themselves the sixth part of my usual subsidy, not to speak of their co-operation in all exceptional efforts. Apart from all personal merit, this zeal and perseverance in a society by no means favourable to the new doctrine are the result of a situation which causes philosophical doctrines to be judged by their social efficacy and represses all pretensions incompatible with spiritual subordination.

Having thus obtained in defiance of the influences of Protestantism successes which are clear proofs of

its power for organization, Positivism, now purged from the revolutionary character of its origin, is destined to find a reception still more conclusive with the populations who yet remain Catholic. It alone has hitherto appreciated aright the whole of the services rendered by Catholicism, and at the present day it puts forward the daily importance of these services, whether to resist the disposition to subvert everything, or to maintain that moral cultivation which, however imperfect it may be in itself, is yet far preferable to its complete abandonment. From both these points of view, Positivism must soon become the systematic defender of the habits of Catholicism against the various impulses of Protestantism, the reaction of which impulses whether in point of theory or of practice, has already ceased to offer any compensation for their mental inconsistency and their moral danger. In the Catholic world, more normal in its character, where the sentiment of unity has never been wholly lost, the Positivists, giving further development to the rudimentary construction of the Middle Ages, will easily produce the conviction that the revolution of the West can only be closed by the establishment of the universal religion. They will find themselves there no longer under the necessity of refuting the predictions of Protestants or deists of the rise of a religion without a worship, and without a priesthood; as though the spirit of sociology were not still more opposed than that of biology to the existence of functions without organs. Whilst Protestantism gives a mistaken importance to dogma, the instinctive tendency of Catholicism is to place the worship highest, for to the worship has Catholicism become almost entirely reduced in the case of the southern nations. Positivism systematically adopts this empirical preference of Catholicism, in which the moral instinct overcomes the intellectual view of theology, and must therefore soon excite active sympathies among those populations whose supremacy in the Western world it re-establishes.

We regard then the influence the universal doctrine has obtained in the name of progress as a necessary

preamble to its real object, order. It alone is able to defend order at once against retrogression and anarchy. It was destined to obtain the first result at a time when it was in a purely philosophical state; the second result it can only realize by becoming fully and entirely religious. This final form is the one which for the future must guide us in our propagation of Positivism, which is now sufficiently elaborated to satisfy our main want, namely, the systematic reconstruction of the spiritual order, whilst material order is maintained, though without any system whatever by the Governments of Europe. At the opening of my religious construction I represented the servants of Humanity as coming forward nobly to seize the direction, manifestly vacant, of the whole of human affairs. The tacit assent of all parties during the last four years has ratified this conclusive announcement, the germ of which may be found in my earliest works, and which has been justified by the complete institution of the Positive unity. There is little reason to be surprised that the defenders of Catholicism preserve on this point that respectful silence which is induced in them by the constantly organic bearing of the new synthesis. But it is worthy of remark that the metaphysicians, the only real enemies of the universal religion, have not protested against this Positivist proclamation, even in their ignoble attack in January, 1855.

The declaration was one which required to be completed by my late publication, the *Appeal to Conservatives*, in which the present attitude of true Positivists is directly established by breaking up their acquisition of the direction of society into two necessary phases, the one spiritual, the other temporal. Their purely consultative action in the inauguration of the organic transition, will lead to their final ascendancy in the centre of the West by putting an end to all political rivalry as regards the new religion. If, to regulate an existence which is one and indivisible, the necessity of subordinating all views on questions of detail to the general conception of the whole is unmistakeable, equally impossible is it to contest the exclusive

superiority of Positivism in establishing the true unity. By virtue of this superiority, when the true believers shall be worthy of their mission, they will soon obtain the confidence and the respect both of the governed and the governors, who are equally at a loss for any true principles of conduct. This want has recently become particularly marked as determining a Western expedition to effect a partition as faulty in principle as that which it was meant to prevent; and in a puerile exhibition intended to give encouragement to material productions in a part of the world suffering already from their excessive development. However irreproachable was the intention in both cases, they have not even had the effect of compensating for their political or moral defects by drawing tighter the bonds of union between the different members of the Western world; since these events have but increased the unhappy tendency which exists in the centre of the West to prefer the north to the south. All the movements of our time, whether they spring from the populations or from the governments, make us feel that the world in which we live can only avoid error by abstaining from action till such time as the spiritual interregnum has come to its proper end.

To give due weight to a discipline which can regulate nothing except on condition of embracing everything, it is necessary, now that Positivism is sufficiently instituted, that the Priesthood of Humanity should no longer be confined to me only. Now the new priests cannot obtain sufficient independence and dignity unless they are exclusively consecrated to functions which are such moreover as will soon require their whole time and still more their whole strength. This is a condition which demands such an increase of the Positive subsidy as shall permit the High Priests of Humanity to ensure the subsistence of those who like myself are entirely without personal property, as will ordinarily be the case, especially at the present day.

So long as Positivism remained purely a philosophical question, I was able without any incon-

sistency and without any degradation to provide for my material subsistence, by discharging in the present condition of society secondary functions, either of a practical or theoretical character. But this possibility was ended when my doctrine, having become once for all a religious doctrine, took for its direct object the regulation of the life of man by the institution of a power able to discipline the will instead of acts, the end assigned by me from its very beginning to the whole of my career. Then, any practical office would necessarily have put me in permanent contradiction with the fundamental principle of the Positive *régime* as to the normal separation of the two powers. The contradiction although less evident would yet have been still more real, had I accepted, by taking some theoretical function, a subaltern incorporation into the three-fold official spiritual power which we now suffer under, theological, metaphysical, and scientific, and from which I came forward to deliver the West. Without freeing me from this yoke, private teaching would have added to it a double degradation by subjecting me to the caprices of individuals in the endeavour to sell services which I have systematically proclaimed ought to be gratuitous. One can in this way estimate the justice and sincerity of those who, living in the midst of subscriptions, yet oppose any subsidy in my case, as contrary to a dignity which they cannot understand because they confound it with pride. A like judgment awaits the pretext which is most common in France, where in obedience to the national habits the government is expected to provide me a support incompatible with my real object, whilst those who express these wishes in no way contribute to secure me for the present the means of livelihood.

Those who have plundered me then have only succeeded in driving me to adopt from necessity, more completely than I could have done it by choice, the mode of existence which is most in accordance first with the construction and then with the establishment of the rational and social religion. At the same time another consequence of my poverty soon

led me to make this my personal attitude fully consistent, by adopting the best method for the publication of my writings. That method tends to disengage me as far as possible from the ignoble habits which the revolutionary system has gradually introduced, and in France more than anywhere else, with reference to what is called literary property. To obtain this result I have been led, by the impossibility from the earliest period of my religious construction of finding any publisher whether private or public, to abandon all personal profits from any writings I might issue, devoting their proceeds entirely to defraying the expenses of printing. I have scrupulously adhered to this engagement, which I took upon me systematically in 1850, in order to approach as nearly as was possible in the present transition the manners and habits of the normal state. Thus it is that I have gradually established for myself such a printing credit with an honourable printer, M. Thunot, as to overcome the last resource of an infamous persecution which, finding itself unable to destroy my person, hoped, at any rate, to reduce me to silence. Limited originally to each volume sold separately, this security soon became a mutual security for the different volumes of the same work, and I have finally rendered it mutual with regard to all my publications of whatever kind, including those printed before the adoption of this method.

The Positive Subsidy and the Positive Printing Fund are thus the two bases, thoroughly and closely connected, of my normal existence, both in its private and its public aspect. Rightly to understand this arrangement, we must extend each of its conditions to all my permanent helpers. As a consequence of the general course of human destinies, I have been forced in an exceptional way to combine two offices which as yet have been imperfectly distinguished, the one my main office and yet a temporary one, of founder of the universal religion; the other my subordinate but continuous one as High Priest of Humanity. If I should live as long as Fontenelle or Hobbes, or even only as long as Voltaire, I shall make this distinction fully

evident by my long wielding of the second office, when after seven years more have elapsed I shall have fully discharged the first. It is only in the second that I can and must have a successor, who will be found I hope among the better theoreticians whom I shall be able to consecrate to the universal priesthood: the first office admits only of some helpers, temporary like itself, but in the actual circumstances necessary.

My religious construction requires the synthetical complement I am about to begin, and yet it is already sufficiently worked out to be perfectly applicable at a time when it is so urgently needed that, since the very beginning of my principal work, my labour as a founder has been from time to time suspended by my functions as a priest. For the future these will be often needed, and even now they require special organs, able under my direction, not only to teach and preach, but above all to consecrate and discipline in the name of Humanity. As founder also, I want assistants duly submissive to me, capable of furthering the natural course of the establishment of my doctrine by lectures and by books, of a general and perhaps still more of a special character, the object and the plan of which I would point out to them. Such apostles in the province of art or in that of science may do much to facilitate the regeneration of the West, without, however, forming part of the Positive Priesthood when they are not able adequately to fulfil its encyclopædic conditions. They will at the present day be representatives of the class of pensioners in the normal state, with these two differences: that their office will now be more important, and their merit of greater value, their deficiencies in point of science being ordinarily due rather to their situation than to their nature.

In this way the Positive Subsidy and the Typographical Fund ought now to ensure me two classes of permanent auxiliaries, nobly devoted to aiding, the one the founder of the universal religion, the other the High Priest of Humanity. As Positivism cannot before the end of the present century convert more than a thousandth part of the heads of families, a

number in itself sufficient to reconstruct the Western union, the corporation which is to regenerate the West will require during that period but fifty philosophers, including both apostles and priests. Small as this number appears, its proportion to that of true believers is double the normal rate, and this large proportion is indispensable at the present day for a service more difficult in itself, and receiving less help from without. Supposing my life to be sufficiently prolonged I shall oppose any greater extension being given to the Positive clergy, in order that all its members, indirect or direct, over and above their suitable preparation, may be in heart, in intellect, and even in character, fully equal to the mission which I assign them in the name of the Great Being. Thus we may fix the amount required for the Positive subsidy till such time as it becomes the central budget of the Universal Priesthood, and this will take place when both the governors and the governed shall have been sufficiently converted to the true religion.

With regard to the Typographic Fund, all that is required is to complete it by extending to all authors holding the regenerating faith the reciprocity which I have now established between my own writings. This final step does not depend immediately on myself, but yet I hope soon to introduce it, so evident are the advantages which it will at once secure to the literary community, for I shall contribute much more than I shall at first gain by it. Thus disengaged from all dependence on booksellers, and from journalism, Positivist authors, over and above the dignity which will follow their renunciation of the mercenary spirit which has attached to the revolutionary party, will obtain an independence which at the present day is incompatible with sordid bargaining, always an obstacle to the true control of publications. Since the Printing Fund is now sufficient for its purpose, it will naturally continue to meet the demands upon it in proportion as these shall increase; for our resources in this case will, more than in any other of real reciprocity, increase at a rate necessarily more rapid than that of our wants. Destined, like the Positive subsidy,

for the organic transition, it is equally well-fitted to prepare the normal state by gradually instituting under the form of books, a fund which the universal pontiff will be able to draw upon for all publications of merit.

At this point I may make it clear that, with regard to these two closely connected institutions, the zeal of the group which surrounds me is at present below the services that might be rendered by my true auxiliaries, were they sufficiently supported. The apostolate, and even the priesthood, might at the present moment be instituted in their essence on a certain scale; for I have already found for each of them a functionary who deserves to be maintained under my own responsibility by the Positivist contributions. And I am also able to state that several writings, which have been already planned at my suggestion, might usefully aid in the regeneration of the West, if their authors had the necessary facilities for working them out and publishing them in the proper form. With regard to the most difficult and most important creation, I venture to announce, on a careful consideration of the state of my best theoretical disciples, that in a few years I shall find amongst them seven worthy members of the universal priesthood, so that I shall be able to establish the first Positivist college, though consisting of full priests only. A second encyclopædic group might even already have been begun had I not recently lost, in his thirtieth year, an eminent disciple, whose talents, rather poetical than philosophical, sprang from a noble heart, although he was wanting in energy of character.

It is under an impulsion of this kind that I now think it opportune to lay down the system of philosophic tests which must ever be the security both to the pontiff and to the public for the theoretical capacity of those who aspire to the priesthood of Positivism, when their moral worth shall have been sufficiently proved. That system consists in seven printed theses, on mathematical, astronomical, physical, chemical, biological, sociological, and moral science, to be presented successively at intervals of from one to three months, and

each to be followed, seven days after its reception, by a public oral examination on the particular science, in question. The peculiar difficulties of the present transition may exceptionally demand, lest I should pass over remarkable excellence—especially remarkable moral excellence—that I should dispense under my own responsibility with some of the theses which treat of cosmology, though I doubt my being ever able to dispense with the three extreme theses. I hope to live long enough thus to bring forward true philosophers, able to terminate the more and more revolutionary movement, which was fated in the West to separate during thirty centuries the initial theocracy from the final sociocracy. So long as it remained under the guidance of priests, philosophy was directly applied to the practical destination which its name recalls, and from which its speculative preparation, of necessity without discipline, tended gradually to divert it. For the future it must resume, and with greater efficiency, this its great office of regulating human life, and the laws of that life are sufficiently appreciable now that we have attained to an adequate knowledge, first of the laws of the world, and then of the laws of Humanity, to which the laws of individual existence must ever be subordinate. But the office is one which demands priests who are able to rise above the materialism of the intellect, by giving to the more noble studies their normal preponderance, both in logic and in doctrine, in a world which is wholly taken up with the most vulgar speculations.

I have now to complete this circular by mentioning the various advances made by the Positivist movement during this last year. It has been as for myself, exceptional—a time of rest, but not of inertia, in the Positivist world; for that world, missing the annual stimulus, which up to that time had been the result of a new volume, was, again like myself, led to apply itself to the work of judging what had been done, and of preparing for the future. This halt has enabled us to grasp as a whole my religious construction, each part of which, published as they were in succession,

had suggested reflections which were too exclusive. All Positivists have thus felt, as their leader has felt, the confidence which is excited by the completeness and homogeneity of a doctrine which has at length succeeded in putting forward, upon all great questions, capital solutions always in harmony with one another. And the power attaching to this superiority in a state of society which is subject to profound divisions has become, in my best disciples, quite consistent with those conciliatory measures which are demanded by the anarchical and retrograde state of the West. Thus is the way prepared for that noble ascendancy of the higher minds, who, purified from all selfish aims and in harmony with one another, will soon realize the universal empire which Mahomet promised to the true believers, and the reign of the saints proclaimed by Cromwell. Fettered in antiquity by the principle of priestly and military heredity, the normal domination of higher natures was seen in its rudimentary form in chivalry and in the papacy; Positivism establishes it, realizing the presentiments of Jesuitism and Jacobinism, by combining and guiding the true leaders of mankind.

The coalition is one which really began when the Positivist subsidy led to a sufficient number of noble acts of devotion, by giving them a purpose which was direct, precise, and continuous. At the price of some suffering I have been able, according to the naïve remark of my adopted daughter, the better to judge of those souls which are destined to have the pre-eminence, and even to attach them more warmly to myself than if I had had the position of Buffon, Cavendish, or Lavoisier, and so been surrounded by flatterers. Seven years of continuous trials have brought me the certainty that the universal religion has already rallied some higher natures whose mutual fraternity of feeling and common veneration require, in order to obtain an irresistible strength, nothing more than that intercourse with one another which is the natural result of an identity of devotion.

Posterity will look upon the normal state of Humanity as having begun spiritually during the year

which has just ended, since the Positive religion, fully established in the preceding year, was then applied to the political inauguration of the final transition. Although my *Appeal to Conservatives* has only as yet been of advantage to Positivists, some important adhesions have already allowed me to hope that it will soon reach those readers to whom it was specially addressed, without waiting till the regenerating doctrine be directly invoked in the support of order. It demonstrates the advent of the Western power, enlightening national governments as to the course to be followed, if they would overcome at once the retrograde and the revolutionary party by utilizing each according to its nature. In it I reduce the direct appreciation of Positive regeneration to this general and indisputable fact: *If we refer everything to Humanity, unity becomes more complete and more stable than if we insist on referring everything to God.* But the work further evidences the veneration which the old synthesis inspires in the philosopher who might limit his library to the poem of *The Imitation*, only adding for greater completeness the epics of Dante and Homer, thus contemplating the advance of Western civilization in the religious condensation which best represents it. This small work gives expression to my constant disposition to respect the government, in whatever hands it may for the time be, although I must ever feel it my duty to recommend a better course of action, which would principally consist in keeping to its actual mission. That mission is simply to resist and not to excite, till such time as the spiritual reorganization shall have sufficiently corrected aspirations that aim at destruction, and enlightened such inspirations as tend to construction.

This unbroken respect for the temporal power takes the character of a special obligation for the spiritual power which, seeking to establish the idea of a Western unity, should therefore at the present day regard itself as implicitly in alliance with all the Western governments, and especially with that of the French people. It can only worthily regulate human life by offering in its own conduct an anticipation of the

normal habits to a world profoundly troubled and which it wishes to regenerate. From a more special point of view, the Positive clergy ought at the present day to feel that every political disturbance is a hindrance to the religious reorganization, by always giving the predominance, first to anarchy and then to retrogression, till the return of calm allows the course of the preparation, which had been suspended, to be resumed. Besides, the nature of their respective missions animates both powers by a common antipathy, instinctive or systematic, to that radically subversive class which begins its career by constituting itself the judge of all things. In possession of entire liberty of exposition and discussion, the priesthood which is the most favourable to the advancement of the intellect would soon have delivered the West from the scourge which the material pressure has perpetuated and fostered during the last forty years.

Over and above this general step towards the advent of the sound policy, Positivism has recently made some valuable progress in the application and the spreading of the true religion. It is scarcely three months since I consecrated for the first time between two noble proletaries the preamble of three months' voluntary chastity by which I had just completed the Positivist theory of marriage, of which it furnishes a characteristic as decisive, and more common than the corresponding widowhood. Every one can thus feel how deeply Positivism has already affected the two necessary elements of the immense whole upon which it must especially rest; although journalism and literature are obstacles to contacts fatal to their anarchical influence. Nothing will soon be able to hinder the people from feeling that Positivism ensures the happiness and dignity of the workers better than Communism, at the same time that it encourages the preponderance of the capitalist. Equally will it be impossible to hide from women the final advent of the only religion which, without withdrawing them from the sanctuary of their home, sanctions their just ascendancy, and realizes all their higher aspirations both in art and in morals. In proportion as

intercourse shall be established, women will see that Positivism systematizes the twofold cultivation of feeling, so as to give it always the pre-eminence, especially with the people, amongst whom will be found the highest type of women. The proletariat of both sexes ought in heart and even in intellect to be better prepared than the literary class to accept the true philosophy of history by their appreciation of the affective transition which under Catholicism and Feudalism, both united in chivalry, brought into full existence the two chief elements of the ultimate form of society.

At the same time that Positivism was perfecting its worship as a domestic institution in the metropolis of the world, its power as a religion was beginning to show itself amongst the most anarchical of all the Western nations. By a special delegation I was able recently to confer on the other side of the Atlantic the first social sacrament on a little girl, whom a regenerate couple have just presented to Humanity. Thanks to the continuous zeal shown by an eminent apostle, our nascent American church has already taken up a decisive position, particularly since the time that it has been enriched by the adhesion of a noble proletariat in the very centre of Protestant divergences and the agitation of mercantile life.

Whilst Positivism was showing on a limited but conclusive scale its normal power to regulate human life, both private and public, in the two principal elements of the ultimate order, it was also manifesting its power over the classes of a more transitory character. Without dwelling upon those which are destined practically to disappear, it will be enough for me here to consider that class which is the most favourably disposed of all those upon whom the Western regeneration imposes merely the duty of transforming themselves by becoming more noble. From its very birth the systematization of Positivism has always found increasing sympathy—at first merely passive, then becoming active—amongst the medical profession, especially in France, where the absence of any collective discipline renders easier the evolution of the

individual. This affinity has been most marked in men in actual practice, more susceptible than those who claim to be purely theoretic of feeling the nature and conditions of the medical synthesis which is normally inseparable from the reconstruction of society. These alone can so appreciate the disturbances of the brain and the constant relations between the physical and moral nature of man, as to perceive how greatly Positivism ennobles their office by rendering man always inseparable from society. Renouncing the academical positions which are ordinarily obtained by men whose very wealth degrades them, real medical men, especially in France, are eminently capable of seconding the regeneration of the West, and will probably furnish some worthy priests of Humanity. I have recently seen accomplished the noble transformation of a naval officer into a Positivist medical man, able to join with others, previously ready for the work, in constituting a synthetical School of Medicine, soon to be strengthened by several members now actively engaged in preparation.

This exceptional year has strengthened the whole progress of Positivism, for it shows an increase in the demand for my principal work, which is encouraging with regard to the fund for the support of its author. The blameable silence of the English and French press has not prevented the *Positive Politics* from acquiring at least five hundred readers—readers who are the more important that this very silence has naturally preserved me from all frivolous or hostile notice. When the convictions of these readers shall be strong enough and their sympathy sufficiently stimulated, we may calculate upon half of them becoming regular subscribers to the Positivist subsidy, which will, by their assistance, soon suffice for the maintenance of the regenerating clergy. When the difficulties of those who would reform society are pecuniary ones only, they will rapidly disappear, especially at a time when the state of society is everywhere and constantly putting forward the need of some doctrine, and the completeness and opportuneness of the system which has arisen. If my difficulties excite less devotion

than those of my predecessors, whose life and liberty were habitually threatened, they require also in those who support me less self-denial, and open to them a larger sphere of assistance.

Reassured by this conviction, I turn with perfect calm to the completing of my intellectual career, after which, discontinuing all writing, I shall give myself to my social office, hitherto confined to the direction of the nascent clergy. My *Subjective Synthesis*, or *Universal System of the Conceptions proper to the normal state of Humanity*, will continue my *Positive Politics*, as that work was the prolongation of my *Positive Philosophy*, the necessary starting-point of my great trilogy. If in the normal progression which is formed by those three terms of equal grandeur some sophists have denied the continuity of the second, I venture to affirm that nobody will contest the continuity of the third. It has three necessary elements—the theoretical, the moral, and the practical, and it is only the second which will have more than one volume devoted to it. I am about to begin the first, my *System of Positive Logic* or *Treatise of Mathematical Philosophy*, and it will, I hope, be published in October. This work will be followed by another year of repose, essentially devoted to the special preparation of the second and principal part of the synthetical complement of my religious construction.

Seeing that this last half of my second life as a theorician is at hand, I naturally closed the exceptional year by making the Will, the general principles of which I laid down at the end of my *Positive Politics*. The satisfactory accomplishment of this duty has renewed my strength and consolidated my hopes, even my hopes of the length of life desirable for my mission, inasmuch as it perfects my unity by enabling me to form a truer judgment, public and private, of my final subjective existence. I have not been able, it is true, notwithstanding my efforts and illusions, to fulfil the principal object of this act by instituting a successor, for he is not yet found, but I have satisfied all the other conditions attaching to it, as will be seen when it is finally published. My thirteen executors are so

chosen that their wise representations will enable me to realize in my will the leading improvements which it might receive from a more extended criticism which would be less thorough and less pure. This operation places me in a new attitude, which I thus define: "Speaking by anticipation from the tomb I shall hereafter occupy, I shall for the future hold to the living language purified from the various prejudices, especially the intellectual prejudices, by which our successors will be untrammelled." Hitherto I have spoken necessarily in the name of the past, though with a constant yearning after the future; now it is to that future, manifested as the irrevocable outcome of its various preparatory forms, that I must call the attention of the Western public, that the present may bow to the discipline imposed by reverence for the future. Without ceasing to live with our noblest ancestors, I shall henceforward live chiefly with our descendants, till such time as I shall live again in them and by them, after I have lived sufficiently for them.

Health and Fraternity,

AUGUSTE COMTE.

10, Rue Monsieur-le-Prince.

Born 19 January, 1798, at Montpellier.

General statement of the Subscriptions to the Positivist Subsidy in 1855:—

54 French subscriptions	3,796f.	{ Min. 5f. Aver. 70 Max. 400
18 other Western subscriptions	2,740	
3 anonymous subscriptions	520	
<hr/>		
75 subscriptions	7,056f.	Aver. 94f.

N.B.—The Positivist Subsidy, begun on the 12th of November, 1848, amounted to 3,000f. in 1849; 3,380f. in 1850; 4,200f. in 1851; 5,600f. in 1852; 7,400f. in 1853; and 7,604f. in 1854.

REPUBLIC OF THE WEST.
ORDER AND PROGRESS: LIVE FOR OTHERS:
LIVE OPENLY.

EIGHTH CIRCULAR.

Addressed by the Author of the "System of Positive Philosophy," the "System of Positive Politics," and of the "Subjective Synthesis," to every Subscriber to the free Subsidy voluntarily instituted for the support of the Priesthood of Humanity.

Paris, Thursday, 15 Moses, 69
(January 15th, 1857).

SIR,—After seven years' gradual and laborious preparation, the Positivist subsidy has, in the year which has just ended, sensibly exceeded the minimum required. Although still due to some exceptional efforts, chiefly, as usual, on the part of our Dutch supporters, this fact gives promise of a durable improvement, and the promise is specially confirmed by the circumstance that in the mass the subscribers are permanent, allowing for some very few changes, and those generally for the better. It may therefore be presumed, that material difficulties will no longer hinder the development and establishment of the regenerating doctrine, if only the extension of the voluntary protectorate keep pace with that of the priesthood and of the apostolate. I have only to request each subscriber to facilitate the management of the Fund by forwarding, if not the whole, at least one-half, of his annual contribution during the first six months of the year.

The result I here announce follows so immediately on the decisive explanations relative to the social destination of the Positivist subsidy given in my Seventh Circular, that I am led thereby to appreciate

more correctly than I had previously done the chief source of such a patronage. Some subscriptions yet preserve the character of a sort of personal favour, more burdensome than gratifying to me; but they are but few in proportion to the whole, and will gradually disappear altogether. Nearly all who co-operate, and especially the principal subscribers, have essentially in view to aid in the establishment of the new spiritual power, which alone can put an end to the Western Revolution.

My exceptional exertions on behalf of a large number of private pupils during a whole generation (from 1816 to 1849) have never given rise to the smallest contribution to the voluntary protectorate. Nor has it been otherwise in the Polytechnic world, although the iniquity of the spoliation which closed my nineteen years of loyal service (from 1832 to 1851) could there be fully appreciated. Among the numerous hearers also of the various public courses of lectures which I have given gratuitously during twenty-one years (from 1831 to 1851), I have experienced as little gratitude. Nor has the widely-spread knowledge of my *Positive Philosophy*, powerfully aided by an incomparable translation, and the original edition of which, consisting of a thousand copies, has long been out of print, been more fruitful in its effects upon those who have stopped at this, the beginning only of my great work. If these various forms of ingratitude manifest the spiritual anarchy which Positivism will finally overcome, they make equally evident the social nature and religious character of the noble patronage which seconds the regeneration of the West by a union of chivalry with the priesthood.

We may thus consider the Positivist subsidy as having already acquired a really normal consistency in 1856, under the spontaneous combination of two growing influences—the one theoretical, the other practical. In the first place, the recent termination of my religious construction began at that time to produce its natural effect, by showing the social efficacy of a doctrine fully able to direct the present in its task of peacefully working out the future. At the same

time, the aspirations after regeneration, which had been suspended by a grave military episode, have been, especially in the central nation, reawakened by its close.

These two impulses will soon acquire a further development from their becoming systematically united, as the natural connection between social improvement and political tranquillity becomes more strongly felt. Already the real friends of progress perceive how incompatible are aspirations after a better order with disturbances in foreign relations. A similar judgment must still more obtain with regard to home politics, every change in which puts a check on aspirations after regeneration by reawakening anxieties of a blindly conservative nature. Positivism consolidates these spontaneous tendencies by systematizing them, for the reign of peaceful activity is repugnant to any violent seizure of power. It disposes the governed to consider political disturbances as direct hindrances to the elaboration of social questions, the true solution of which is principally religious. At the same time it shows the governors that the right prevalence of aspirations after regeneration constitutes the best guarantee of material order, for such aspirations exclude metaphysical agitations as a consequence of the predominance of duties over rights. And thus it becomes evident that any and every restraint upon free speech and discussion tends to maintain the revolutionary situation, by veiling the fact that it is the temporary interregnum of all religion which has produced and still maintains it.

Personally, I must here render a special tribute to the present dictatorship of the central people, well characterized by an eminent Positivist of Great Britain as *Imperial Socialism*. Had parliamentary and demagogic socialism prevailed for the time, I could not have accomplished my religious construction with the full liberty which has been its appropriate accompaniment, and which of itself prevents any attempt at oppression. But although all my own writings and those of my veritable adherents have now accorded to them the requisite liberty, I must still request that it be equally extended to my various adversaries, not

excepting the most anarchical. Universal freedom of the press, and even of speech, is henceforth indispensable to the spiritual reorganization, in order that the usurpation of the domain of theory into which the practical power has more and more drifted since the Middle Ages, may be put an end to. This enfranchisement requires that, with due consideration for individuals, all the existing clergies be placed on the same footing as the new priesthood—*i.e.*, be supported only by the voluntary contributions of their respective adherents.

Such a provision, far from being prejudicial to Catholicism, is the only mode by which its real organs can preserve the independence they require for the performance of that social mission which the faith of the Middle Ages must direct until the close of the Western transition. The material situation in which I have placed myself for the rest of my life is now in harmony with the ordinary conditions of all spiritual dignity. It is thus that Positivism will institute the religious league which must gradually overcome all irreligious tendencies, by drawing together for a common object Catholicism, Islamism, and even Protestantism. No other doctrine would have the power to keep spiritual considerations always paramount, at a time when rulers and peoples agree in one point only : in seeking purely political solutions for questions which are essentially moral. Positivism alone restates, and carries out by virtue of its having a sounder basis, the universal programme never again to be set aside—the programme sketched by the Middle Ages—*viz.*, to regulate human existence, private as well as public, by placing under the guidance of feeling, that intellect and that activity which the moderns have been cultivating to its exclusion.

The evil under which the West labours, an evil successively developed by Protestantism, Deism and Scepticism, consists in the continuous revolt of the reason of the individual against the long line of man's antecedents. Springing from the inevitable decay of the beliefs peculiar to the Middle Ages, it has its original seat in the speculative region of the brain.

But its principal danger lies in the way it spreads to the affective region by over-stimulating pride and vanity, at the same time that it weakens veneration, and, as a consequence, the two other sympathetic instincts. Thus developing in each individual presumption as regards himself, and distrust as regards all others, its characteristic results are, in the three divisions of the brain, listlessness or ennui, doubt, and irresolution, which Positivism alone can remove. Far from being confined to revolutionists proper, the evil extends to the most complete reactionists, who, without accepting the dogma of personal infallibility, involuntarily act upon it with regard to the principal questions of daily concern. This tendency they have specially shown by their increasing support of journalism, which, itself the result of the religious interregnum, tends in its turn to perpetuate it. True Positivists alone abstain from actively employing, and even from passively supporting, an institution which is radically anarchical, appreciating the intellectual and moral havoc it makes whilst they seek by a right use of spiritual liberty to rid the West of it.

Such are the principal motives which, increasing in force as the character of the nineteenth century becomes more pronounced, cannot fail to secure for the Sacerdotal Fund a growing consistency. The inadequacy of the supernatural beliefs as a social power, in private as in public life, secures universal respect for the system of morals, always demonstrable, which, untrammelled by anxiety about Heaven, brings sanction and discipline to all human relations, in harmony with their own special laws. Since the close of the Middle Ages, those who have emancipated themselves from the ancient faith have shown an unconscious superiority, not merely of intellect, but also of character, in exposing themselves to the various penalties attached to such emancipation. It was this which earned for them the appellation habitually given them in the eighteenth century. But the name they had previously and long borne showed how fatally moral corruption was bound up with emancipation in theoretical and practical affairs, as a consequence

of the disuse of all cultivation of the affections. Such discord could only be completely put an end to by the religion of Humanity, which restores to feeling its normal preponderance, while it develops intellect and activity in a far higher degree than the revolutionary stimulus. Thus it is that Positivists worthy the name are the only really emancipated members of the West in a century when the need of some construction or other drives all sceptics to the most degrading hypocrisy, both theological and metaphysical.

I must now point out the principal developments, private as well as public, by which Positivism has specially evinced its opportuneness, both socially and morally, during the year just ended.

Under the first category I must first mention the spontaneous beginning of religious practices, which, by building up the true unity, can alone ensure the full efficacy of the regenerating doctrine. Although it is difficult to institute private worship in the midst of an anarchy which often alters the character of those who should be our types, some worthy Positivists have already resorted to those private daily practices to which, for eleven years, I have owed all my principal ameliorations. These decisive effects must indirectly furnish the best indication of a custom little open to direct verification.

With regard to domestic worship—the only worship as yet fully appreciable—the year 1856 has worthily completed the first really normal instance of the peculiar power of Positivism to consolidate and perfect the fundamental tie. A second instance of fulfilment of the characteristic condition of religious Positivist marriage—an introductory period during which chastity is observed—has specially manifested the tendency of regenerated minds to adopt the habits of wise conciliation which their social mission requires. A worthy couple has borne a noble testimony to the deference as citizens which the universal religion prescribes towards all local and temporary forms of worship, by submitting to the Catholic introduction to a Positivist marriage, thus avoiding serious family differences.

Many precious adhesions, even of women, have of late confirmed the opinion that Positivism tends to rally together all the finer natures, by a sufficient agreement of feeling, of convictions and of destinations. I have been especially struck by the complete regeneration, personal and social, of an eminent young revolutionist, who will henceforth devote to the work of construction the noble ardour long spent in subversive agitation. This decisive conversion seems, moreover, to promise the new religion a poetic organ fully qualified by an encyclopædic education.

This same year furnishes a second practical proof of the noble resolution by which my incomparable translatrix constituted herself the best actual type of literary morality. Her two remittances, of 1854 and 1856, have fortunately defrayed the third of the printing expenses of the last volume of my principal work. This scrupulous behaviour on the part of a person of note long unconnected with Positivism, is the best reproof that could be given to the two writers whose reputation is chiefly due to their introduction to English readers of the new synthesis.

Towards the end of 1856 the Positivist evolution made a fundamental advance by the publication of the first volume of my *Subjective Synthesis*. In this, its decisive commencement, my final construction has directly characterized as the necessary complement of the religion of Humanity, the systematic incorporation of Fetichism when properly developed. The peculiar destination of this opening volume proves the aptitude of Positivism to discipline the intellect by its regeneration of the science most repugnant to any philosophical subordination. Besides its normal efficacy with regard to its own science, this synthesis of mathematics, a direct product of the universal religion, must soon produce a reaction indispensable to the whole of the organic transition by destroying the last stronghold of scientific prestige. Fully emancipated from theology, and even from metaphysics, the best Positivists, especially theoreticians, are yet, as I myself was for a long time, under the dominion of science properly so-called. They cannot

direct aright the reorganization of the West until they shall have shaken off this last yoke of the intellect, more fatal than any others to the just preponderance of synthesis over the spirit of detail. This final emancipation must be specially facilitated by a treatise which demonstrates, in the most decisive case, the inanity of science, when isolated on no rational ground from her social mission, and thereby reduced to the construction of one unrealizable programme after another.

Three small but characteristic publications have successively marked the year 1856 as the natural period at which Positivism, already fully instituted, should directly inaugurate its ascendancy in the West by calling forth noble apostles, first practical, then theoretic. The central population, still absorbed in vain political strivings, has no part in this triple manifestation; it comes from those countries which have been the scene of the three partial convulsions which, themselves the result of the modern revolution, paved the way for the great crisis. In Holland, in America, in England, the proved inadequacy of those preliminary convulsions makes the opportuneness of the religious construction which distinguishes Positivism clear to the advanced minds of those nations. It is doubtless true that the regeneration of the West must eventually find its chief support amongst the Southern populations, whose women and proletariat, by escaping Protestantism and Deism, have best preserved the sympathetic and synthetic traditions of the Middle Ages. But the faith which is to regenerate had need of a preliminary and special assistance, for the apostleship as for the subsidy, from noble types belonging to those nations which had been prematurely disturbed.

From the noble Dutch centre which for ten years has given Positivism its best support, moral and material, the first public act of homage to the universal religion has spontaneously emanated. An eminent practical man has shown how opportune he considers the theoretical organization by announcing

his willing subordination to a power of which he does not aspire to be a member. Apart from the powerful reaction such instances cannot fail to exercise on a sceptical public which is but passively opposed to the regenerating faith, they prove that the most energetic characters will now become the most amenable to discipline, so as to deserve the ascendancy which will in the normal state be theirs.

The valuable theoretic work in which, towards the middle of 1856, the Positive religion received, under too modest a title, its best actual appreciation, naturally came from the eminent founder of our American church. The general situation of a country like America is directly calculated to show the essentially religious nature of the true Western solution, by exhibiting the social inanity of the political remedies the preachers of revolution most loudly insist on. Destitute of antecedents of its own, this colony of the whole world must feel most deeply the need of attaching itself to the whole of Humanity. American conservatives are, by their position, free from the illusions peculiar to our own, as to the political value of State clergies and standing armies. At the same time, the partisans of progress in America have no difficulty in seeing that the suppression of this twofold burden leaves in full force the social difficulties everywhere peculiar to the Western proletariat. The rich in that country, excluded from power by the literary classes and the lawyers, must, whether active or passive, engaged in business or living on their incomes, be the better judges of a religion which gives its consecration both to capital and labour, whilst it offers the poor the best reasons for abstaining from an agitation by which the talkers alone benefit. All these advantages of the American situation will soon receive a fresh impulse from the continuous labours of the worthy apostle who has begun to distinguish himself there, and of the noble proletariat whom he fully associates with himself in the work of regeneration.

It is from an English source that I should naturally

expect the memorable political pamphlet which has been the latest Positivist publication of this decisive year. In it, one of my best disciples, profoundly imbued with my historical theory, inaugurates Positivist diplomacy by a most happy application of it. Social Positivism can never gain a footing amongst a people with whom details have so obscured large views, whilst it is known to them only by a general exposition directly opposed to the official confusion of the two powers. A system which represents the Anglican dynasty as having been the special means of preserving England from the great Western crisis, must as yet be hostile to all internal renovation. But it is not, therefore, less accessible to a remodelling of its foreign policy, at present absolutely without a plan. The anarchy of the West having first affected international relations, it is upon these that the new spiritual power should begin to exert its social influence. In politics as in logic, the most important principles must be first applied to the simplest questions, and Positive diplomacy must first assert itself in the least complicated cases. Such are the principal motives of this valuable little work, which seeks to raise the policy of England by condemning, after a striking comparison, the outrage which has been inflicted for a century and a half on the most energetic of the Western nations.

A space of less than two years, then, has been sufficient to realize the final prevision of my principal work; that there would soon arise amongst regenerated spirits some noble Positivist apostles, practical as well as theoretical, who should make us independent of the dangerous assistance of all mere literary people. The formation of our priesthood is less advanced because it requires, in addition to a difficult encyclopædic preparation, a harmony rarely to be met with between the heart, the intellect, and the character. Still I do not abandon, even with respect to the priesthood, the hopes I expressed in my Seventh Circular. When it is sufficiently developed, its services, public and private, will be rather moral than intellectual, and will take an oral rather than a

written form, notwithstanding the exceptional case of its founder.

In order to complete this notice of the several steps Positivism has made during the most important year of its existence, I must call attention to the fact that all have been inevitably limited to a few regenerate natures, without any active participation on the part of the mass of true believers. The human planet already contains at least 500 Positivists, who receive my circulars with their copies of my works. Thus the smallness of the Sacerdotal Fund is chiefly due to the circumstance that, of these Positivists, four-fifths never contribute to it, no excuse of personal inability to contribute being admissible when the yearly subscription may be limited to five francs. It is in this manner that the greater number of my adherents take a part, though an involuntary one, in the only form of persecution yet possible in a society which secures the life and even the liberty of true reformers. Not only do my constant readers acknowledge the social obligations attached to personal wealth, but they all moreover admit the separation of the two powers, and the material debt which the active classes owe to the chosen few who form the contemplative class, who must depend on voluntary contributions for their support, till such time as a universal conversion secures it them from the State. If they consider the rise of Catholicism they may draw from it the inference that my contemporaries will be judged, individually and collectively, by their conduct towards Positivism: two personal condemnations have already shown that, on this point, I do not hesitate to take upon myself the office of posterity. I am therefore obliged to attribute the culpable inertia of most of my adherents to the fact that their conversion has stopped short at their intellect, not reached the heart, the principal mover of the conduct; and so we may hope for a speedy amelioration, in proportion as the true theory of unity enables them to estimate the office of feeling more correctly.

Considered from the synthetic or religious point

of view, the first object of the reorganization of the West must be to reawaken in the weak a spirit of veneration towards the strong—their normal attitude—by an exceptional devotedness on the part of the strong towards the weak. Such a constant self-abnegation can only emanate now from the Positivist priesthood, with which all my true disciples, practical as well as theoretical, will naturally be associated, until the various governments shall have voluntarily yielded the command to statesmen who have adopted the regenerating doctrine. Besides that the normal patriariate cannot immediately arise, the personal power inseparable from it would prevent it from being a satisfactory type of social devotedness, able to stimulate veneration without being based upon it. True Positivists can only obtain influence by developing in themselves in order to excite in others, the three allied instincts, to have systematized which is the principal triumph of their faith. This is why it was necessary for me at the beginning of my religious construction to reject, at all risks, any official position, and even any sort of pension, though deriving no personal advantage from my different works, in order that I might depend solely henceforth for my support on a voluntary subsidy, for many years inadequate. All those of my adherents who continue to avoid the easy obligation imposed on them by their convictions, will soon be ranked with those false Positivists, who whether they belong to the literary or the wealthy classes, reject spiritual regeneration and discipline from a preference for immunity from moral discipline. I may then hope that the subsidy of the regenerating faith will soon admit of a systematic establishment of the priesthood as it should be, and of the theoretic apostleship.

A spiritual reorganization is so urgent, that in its efforts to effect it Positivism must soon obtain the support of all truly religious men, and especially of all women, who, without sharing our faith, will second our efforts to preserve the West from the universal materialism which prevails. They can already see how necessary it is that human life, private as well as

public, should be systematically regulated at a time when order is only secured by political empiricism in the material world at the expense of order in the moral world. Let true Positivists show themselves constantly worthy of such assistance by bringing their lives—personal, domestic and civic—into harmony with their faith; unprejudiced people will not be slow to yield them an admiration which will soon extend from the believer to the belief. They will thus stand forth as the only complete men our Western anarchy can produce, and their social eminence, first religious, then political, will cease to be contested. But this inevitable superiority exposes us to the danger which is already apparent, of developing in ourselves a perennial excitement of pride and vanity by our very efforts to overcome them in others, in consequence of the exaggerated opinion we are thus led to form of our own merits. To avoid such a failure should be the chief study of all true Positivists. They would long since have gained eminence had they been sufficiently united and disciplined: it is their moral deficiencies alone which retard the social triumph of a doctrine perfectly adapted to the situation. This obstacle they will gradually remove as they learn to appreciate more justly their destination and their belief, both of which concur in prescribing to them before all things moral improvement, the only source of real unity, and as such of dignity as well as happiness.

The special moral improvement now required is to reawaken the spirit of veneration in the chosen few, alone susceptible of discipline in an anarchical generation, which can only be, if not transformed, yet impressed, by the direct renovation of these advanced spirits. Worthy Positivists should then furnish a constant example, not merely of religious subordination towards their spiritual leader and his delegates, but also of a citizen's obedience to all temporal authorities, whatever their origin. In the midst of aimless agitation, they will systematically insist on the importance of keeping both authority and wealth in the hands of their present possessors, who cannot

sincerely devote themselves to the working out of the social future, so long as they are necessarily pre-occupied with anxiety about their own present.

The accidental insufficiency of the fund, supported by and for the benefit of the West, would be but partially understood, if the advantages, even intellectual, but still more moral, which have hitherto compensated the private and public inconveniences arising from it, were overlooked. It has been a special defence to me against pride, the ordinary failing of a power naturally inclined to vanity; its influence outside has enabled me the better to judge those around me, according to the simple remark I quoted in my Seventh Circular. It is my desire even that the necessary increase of the Sacerdotal Fund may not be more rapid than that of the class for whose support it is intended. Positivism is so thoroughly adapted to the present need, that at each social disturbance its adherents have expected it to acquire a considerable ascendancy, and, owing to the confusion of the two powers, have expected this ascendancy to be rather temporal than spiritual. Often the zeal, sometimes even the subscriptions, of some of my adherents have proceeded from the hope of thus obtaining the distinction they aspire to, or, at least, the ease and esteem which they desire without meriting. Had the subsidy been larger, they would perhaps have deceived me. However this may be, I feel now sufficiently on my guard to guarantee the Positivist public that they will find as little to regret in my distribution, always with a full sense of my responsibility, of the generous material support with which they have aided my social mission to others, as in my own use of it. Should the Sacerdotal Fund more than meet its direct object, collective as well as personal, I shall apply the surplus to the desirable extension of the Printing Fund, which by its nature allows of unlimited additions, though not of any diminution.

In terminating my Eighth Circular, I must specially declare that the slowness of the social progress of

Positivism is to be imputed to Positivists themselves rather than to the Western public, and especially rather than to the present governments, least of all that of the central nation. The doctrine which builds up the universal religion upon the subordination of the intellect to the heart, having its origin necessarily among the revolutionary party, there to effect a renovation which is intellectual rather than moral in its character, has as yet reached the feelings only through the understanding. Better suited to the south than to the north, more easily appreciable by women and by working men than by the special classes, it has hitherto only converted individuals who have come exceptionally from unfavourable situations, and rather by conviction than by persuasion. The results obtained by this method sufficiently prove how great will be the rapidity of the success when Positivist preaching shall, by taking a poetic rather than a philosophic form, have directly assumed its normal character, and be following its natural destination. Thanks to the noble tolerance of the dictator who uttered the most valuable dictum of the nineteenth century, the liberty accorded to my larger works is extended to the smaller ones, and even to my Circulars, in which the Republic of the West is proclaimed each year with the Imperial stamp affixed to it. It has been felt with spontaneous wisdom that this regular frontispiece is characteristic of the necessary preponderance of a peaceful spiritual reconstruction over a stormy temporal movement. Recently invoked in a case of special need, the union of the West can never really be re-established till it rests, more completely than it did in the Middle Ages, on a continuous combination of political independence with identity of education, of religion, and of priesthood.

Health and Fraternity,

AUGUSTE COMTE.

10, Rue Monsieur-le-Prince.

Born the 19th January, 1798, at Montpellier.

General statement of the Subscriptions to the Positivist Subsidy in 1856 :—

52 French subscriptions	4,102f.	{ Min. 5f. Aver. 79 Max. 520
15 other Western subscriptions	2,697	
6 anonymous subscriptions from various nations.	1,447	
<hr/>		
73 subscriptions	8,246f.	Aver. 113f.

N.B.—The Positivist Subsidy, begun on the 12th November, 1848, amounted to 3,000f. in 1849; 3,300f. in 1850; 4,200f. in 1851; 5,600f. in 1852; 7,400f. in 1853; 7,004f. in 1854; and 7,056f. in 1855.

