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GENUINE RADICALISM!

AN ADDRESS

BEFORE THE

GOETHEAN AND DIAGNOTHIAN SOCIETIES

OF

MARSHALL COLLEGE, PA.;

DELIVERED ON THE 26th OF SEPTEMBER, 1843.

BY

DAVID H. RIDDLE.

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Marshall College, Sept. 26th, 1843.

DEAR SIR:—

Permit us, in behalf of the Societies which we represent, to tender you our sincere thanks for the learned and eloquent Address with which you favored us this afternoon, and to request a copy for publication.

D. A. WILSON,
D. E. CAMPBELL,
H. C. HERSPERGER,
Committee Goethean L. Society.

A. H. MELOWN,
J. CANBY,
D. J. SCHNEBLY,
Committee Diagnothian L. Society.

Dr. D. H. RIDDLE.

Marshall College, Sept. 27th, 1843.

GENTLEMEN:—

The Address which you request for publication, was designed for your use; and if it will subserve your interests by its publication, it is at your disposal.

Yours Respectfully,
D. H. RIDDLE.

Messrs. WILSON, CAMPBELL AND HERSPERGER,
Committee Goethean L. Society.

Messrs. MELOWN, CANBY AND SCHNEBLY,
Com. Diagnothian L. Society.

ADDRESS.

Young Gentlemen:—

IN complying with your kind invitation to address you, and this respected audience, on this occasion, we have chosen the subject of RADICALISM,—a subject, in which almost every one, especially of the educated young men of our country, is interested, and should be well informed; a subject, about which, you are aware, there has been great diversity of opinion; and in its present relations and circumstances, there can scarcely be such a thing as lukewarmness of sentiment. The reprobation of Radicalism, from one set of men, has been deep and decided; and the praises of it, as hearty, from another. We believe there is a genuine, as distinguished from a spurious Radicalism, which is worthy of all praise and of all acceptance.

This, it is our present purpose to explain and recommend. In doing so, we shall give utterance as plainly and as pleasantly, too, as possible, to our own sincere convictions, the fruit of considerable meditation and some careful observation, which we design, and which we trust will prove for your profit as well as pleasure, in our present brief interview.

The word RADICALISM, in our day and country, has come to be considered nearly tantamount to fanaticism. So odious indeed is it to many minds, that if you desire to ruin an undertaking, the surest way is to attach to it the epithet of Radicalism! “Habet fenum in cornu caveto,” as the Latin poet says. “It is a horned animal; beware of it.” It is Radicalism; shun it as you would the plague, or a viper.

Being ourselves *Radicals* in the true sense of the word, and believing, moreover, that *Radicalism*, properly understood, is the true principle of reformation, this has seemed to us very unfortunate. We shall, therefore, endeavor to redeem the word from this perversion, to

its true meaning, expose the spurious, and recommend the genuine Radicalism, as earnestly as possible.

RADICALISM is usually applied to that department of human effort, concerned in the reformation of evils,—the evils of society, of the state, of the church, or of the world generally. It is either in sentiment or in action, in theory or in practice. The first of these, radicalism of sentiment, though apparently inoperative, is probably most powerful, ultimately, for good or evil. True, a man's esoteric and unuttered views, will not agitate, injure, or benefit the world; but the uttered thoughts and sentiments of the retired and reflecting few, usually occasion the mightiest changes and revolutions of the globe.

RADICALISM is derived, you are aware, from a word in the Latin language, signifying a root,—a definition of which we shall avail ourselves, in discriminating between what is genuine and what is spurious. Genuine radicalism, goes to *the roots* of the evil it designs to rectify, and gives roots to the reforms it projects in the social structure, the political fabric, the moral sentiments or virtuous conduct of men. It aims to take possession of the governing elements of human emotion and action, and to secure right conduct, by implanting right principles. Spurious radicalism, on the contrary, in rectifying evils, begins at the branches, laboring there with great energy and perseverance, leaving the roots untouched, and even strengthened by the outward influence. It tries to rectify principles by attacking practices; and, most unphilosophically, attempts to purify the fountain by means of the streams, as certain physicians,—(for quackery of all kinds has singular analogies, which strikingly illustrate each other)—have attempted to purify the blood by putting medicine into the veins.

The comparative inefficacy of all previous efforts of reform, has been owing to the want of what we have called genuine radicalism; and gives instructive illustrations of spurious radicalism. This world from the beginning, at least since the introduction of sin, has had evils in it, in all the departments already specified, as the peculiar theatre of reformatory measures. There was indeed one brief period when "*it was all very good.*" But since then—account for it as we may—dispute about its origin as we please, and reform it, if we can, "evil, only evil, and that continually," and of all kinds, "*exceptio probans regulam,*" has been the history of the world.

From the beginning, too, men have tried plans of reform; and these have usually been the best men, the heroes and giants of their

and deified by their posterity. They were the true Hercules, called on, as they supposed, to accomplish labors far more important than to destroy the Nemæon lion, or Lernæan hydra, or the wild bull of Crete, or the monster Geryon, or to cleanse the stables of Augeas. Some attempted to reform society, some to reconstruct the political system, and many to introduce reforms into religion.

days, admired and sometimes worshipped by their contemporaries,

These have generally been failures, for the want of genuine radicalism; they neither went to the root of the evils nor gave roots to their reform; they cut off the branches, tried to purify the streams, and to heal, by outward applications, the deep-seated inward malady!

In illustration of our views, it may not be unprofitable to glance briefly at some of those efforts. First of all, poets tried the experiment of reformation. With mystical words adapted to song and music, they attempted to bend the gnarled and twisted oak of man's nature, into the symmetry and sweet symphony of their own. This is the meaning of the beautiful mythical narrative of Orpheus, and the magical effects of his lyre, considering him as the representative of all ancient poets. In plain prose, it means that poets first attempted the work of civilization and refinement. "The tones of his lyre, which bent even Pluto and Proserpine to his will, indicate the accents of musical harmony by which he endeavored to reclaim men from sensual indulgences;" and his fate, as told in mythological story, "torn to pieces, by the Bacchantes, on the banks of the Hebrus," shows the inefficacy of these means, in every age, to restrain the wild and dark passions of men. In vain have poets, from Orpheus down to Woodsworth, Schiller and Goethe, attempted to beautify human nature, and correct human depravity, by flowers of poesy, by giving to "the forms of the imagination a local habitation and a name." These have flitted before the eye of the soul, like fleecy clouds, exquisitely beautiful, but altogether ineffectual for purposes of reformation. This mission of the true poet, though high and honorable, has not been executed, alas, by *mere poetry*,—it is unattainable!

Philosophers also tried the work of reformation. They uttered wisdom, acquired by intensest study, and widest observation and travel in the secret cave, like Pythagoras, or in the porches of the Academy, or as they walked in its groves, as the Stoics or Peripatetics. They contrived systems of social life; constructed schemes of redemption from the ignorance and degradation every where existing;

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they wrote treatises *de officiis* and arguments, for man's immortality, and the supremacy of his moral nature. *But in vain.* Some of these, especially Plato's, "that plank from Paradise," as one calls him, "thrown on the shores of idolatrous Greece," were also equally beautiful—beautiful as Arachne's workmanship, gemmed with dew-drops in the morning sun, equally incapable of restraining the rampant passions, or reforming the actual evils of the race.

Again: The artist, if we may enrol his efforts among the reformatory measures, tried a different plan. He aspired to change the character, as he charmed the senses and captivated the taste of man, by ideals of beauty in marble, or on the canvass, or in splendid creation of architectural grandeur. What the poet breathed in song and music, he breathed from life-like canvass or almost speaking marble, or the witchery of the Coliseum, or Parthenon. It was a splendid theory, on which kindred genius gazed, and by which congenial taste was entranced; but it failed utterly, to elevate man in the mass, to cure evil in the race, or eradicate misery and war, in social or domestic life, or arrest ruin on its broad arena. For these high purposes, forms of æsthetic beauty, and sculptured ideals of excellence and sublimity, are as impotent as the lyre of ancient Orpheus, or the splendid creations of Goethe's pen. The savage became no Apollo Belvidere, in moral beauty. The Helot rose not from his moral degradation, though the works of Apelles and Zeuxis breathed around him, and his chain resounded through the columns of the Parthenon. And woman became a Venus, only in voluptuousness and more terrible power of temptation. Vain effort, though reformers in modern days are again disposed to try its efficacy, and relight its smouldering ashes!

In the same great field was tried the experiment of the legislator. His theory of reform consisted in codes of equity and justice, compacted from the wisdom of all ages. From the code of Lycurgus, down to the code of Napoleon, the principle is, to form a beau ideal of human perfection, and engrave it in laws and pandects, that it may correct the spirit and acts of injustice, and produce the personified excellence of right. Hence, sumptuary laws are made against extravagance—agrarian laws, against accumulation and inequality of property—constitutions are formed, solemnly recognizing the principle of equal rights—Draconic laws, written in blood, to prevent crime—yea, even Divine laws, issuing from thunder, and lightning, and smoke, and the majesty of a manifested Deity. All alike demonstrate the

inherent inefficacy of legislation. Laws, however excellent, implant no principles; they provoke wrath, and bring latent evil often to the surface; but legislation, armed with laws *preceptive*, embodying the very spirit of injustice, and laws penal, pointing to the retributions of an eternal state, works no lasting reformation. It lacks the essential element of genuine radicalism.

Again, men who saw deeply the evils on the surface, and were impatient and indignant in their desires of reform, grasped the attributes of God. Like Mohammed, gave themselves out for prophets, commissioned to utter the voices of the Eternal; or, as Alaric, God's vicegerent, to inflict his scourges; or, the modern man of destiny, to introduce a political millennium; or as another, highest in blasphemy, as God himself, exalted above all that is called God, or worshipped, armed with power to bind men's consciences, and decide their eternal destiny. These reformers, if we may call them such, and thus charitably explain the strange enigma of their history and their ambition, attempted to chain in one all-encircling bond, or to sweep away in one paroxysm of virtuous indignation, all the evils of the world; but with no better success than the poet, the philosopher, the artist, or the legislator!

Again: In almost every age, and in none more than our own, the power of education has been tried as *a reformatory measure*. Universal and equal education, diffused through the whole mass, and affording its advantages equally to all classes, has been put forth with great confidence, as a panacea for human evils. Some of the best, and brightest, and most benevolent of the earth, are staking all their reputation as philosophers, and embarking all their energies as philanthropists, in this theory of reform. This is not the place to deprecate education, nor have we any disposition to repress the loftiest aspirings or largest ambition of any youthful mind who is here "inter Sylvas Academi, quærere verum." Education will do much. It has done much, and is yet to do more, when its appliances are perfected. But, for the radical reform of our world, it is insufficient. Science does not sanctify. It reaches not the roots of the evil. It gives energy, often terrible and sublime, and puts instruments of wonderful power into the hands of men; but even if universally diffused, and most perfect in its instrumentalities; even if it made men every where giants in intellect, they might, like the antedeluvians, be giants in depravity still, terrible and baleful, in proportion to their power.

Atheism has also been tried as a desperate remedy for human evils. But atheism, so far from reforming, takes away the radical element of all reform. It loosens all foundations. Under its influence, "the world and the inhabitants thereof are dissolved; and there is none to "bear up its pillars." It laughs at evils as fancies, and despises all remedial agents as unnecessary. This experiment, written in blood; this plan, "*baptized in hell-fire*," as Carlyle says, was tried in the sight of a wondering world and blushing Heavens, on the soil of France. It stands, ineffaceably, on the page of time—one of its darkest pages—an instance of spurious, yea, phrensied radicalism.

The power of public sentiment has also been tried by other reformers! Men have tried to put down vice, in its various forms, by making it unfashionable and disreputable, by demonstrating it to be a losing business, and altogether bad policy. The appliances of this system address themselves to the sense of reputation, and of the morally ludicrous, and to the principle of covetousness. It proposes to crush offenders by an overwhelming public opinion, concentrated through the press, and re-echoed by public lecturers,—to pour over them a storm of ridicule, and withdraw from them all popular suffrage and patronage, till they are reformed. We do not deny that some good has been done in this way, and some evil has been corrected. It is the most plausible of all spurious radicalism. The most popular and apparently successful scheme of quackery. It is yet on trial. But, sooner or later, it will be found to lack the radical elements of lasting reform. Any reformation, wrought simply by means of the sense of the discreditable or unprofitable, the unfashionable or the ludicrous, will only last till the credit, the fashion, the profit, or the laugh turns on the other side!

Once more: the principle of association has been tried, in correcting the evils of the world,—a principle worthy of the study of the philosopher, especially as used for the purposes of reformation. The principle of association is generally, but erroneously, claimed as the peculiar discovery of modern times, and as the philosopher's stone, in questions of reform. Its power is not in arithmetical, but in geometrical ratio to the numbers engaged, and hence its plausibility. But association gives no new element of rectification. It multiplies even geometrically only the individual elements of the body associated. Increase nothing, or worse than nothing, by geometrical progression, and it will be nothing, or worse than nothing, at the last conceivable combination of the indeterminate series.

There is this danger, too, peculiar to associations. An association uses or sanctions measures, from which individuals would shrink. It can perpetrate a fraud, or bear an odium, which would crush an individual, as an arch sustains a pressure, by which the materials otherwise combined would be overwhelmed. As corporations are said to have no souls, associations are seldom found to have any consciences. Association is a moveable quantity, which of itself works no cures, an implement the reformer may employ, but which the demagogue and the anarchist find ready for his purposes. Look at Jesuitism, as illustrative of the power of association, as an element of reform. This was the nonpareil of associated power. Organized by the reputed Head of the church—diffused through all lands—regulated by one leader—ramified from the palace to the hovel—armed with every variety of wealth and power—entrenched in cabinets—installed in schools and colleges, and confessedly aiming at the rectification and revolution of society, it seemed the perfection of reformatory machinery. But an indignant world and insulted thrones repudiated the scheme, after as fair a trial as ever fell to the lot of any system of spurious radicalism. Though now revived, with the fruits of the past experiment, and with large promise of success, especially in this land, its doom will at last be the same.

So of Freemasonry. We do not decide whether it originated in the days of Solomon, or in the times of the revolutionary troubles in England, when guilds or corporations sought refuge from oppression, and aimed at the rectification of social evils by combining their forces and affiliating their branches. Though linked in later years to politics, there is no reason to believe that the original intention was any thing but an effort of reform, growing in extent and mystery beyond the conception of its projectors. It promised much and spoke a mystic language on purpose to combine all nations in a blessed brotherhood, and make a dialect of love every where intelligible, and an atmosphere of charity all-encircling. But notwithstanding all its high purposes, it has been repudiated, almost universally, as an element for reforming the world, and in its old age accused of treasonable designs, and of being perverted to the purposes of party politics. On this point we pass no judgment; but we conceive the demonstration complete, that it likewise lacks the essential element of radical reform.

The same, we are persuaded, will be found true of the latest form of association and folly, i. e., FOURIERISM, when fairly tried.

Now, granting that all the schemes at which we have now glanced, from Orpheus and his lyre, down to Fourier and his associational plan, have originated in sober and earnest desires for reform. Granting, even by the largest stretch of charity, the honesty of their purposes, their inefficacy must also be allowed. The world is not cured of its evils or its wretchedness, in society, in the state, or in the church. The world sometimes reminds one of John Bunyan's slough of despair. The efforts of past ages have only deepened, instead of drying up the mire; and as a man possesses the idiosyncrasy of Democritus or Heraclitus, he will weep or laugh at the past history of spurious radicalism, and especially as he perceives the essential features of the most ancient, preserved in the most modern phases. He may indulge in the cold sneer of Carlyle, or the everlasting *persiflage* of Voltaire, or be tempted to pray, as Luther is said once to have done, that God would put an end to the world, as it is too bad to be mended; or predict, as modern prophets, its speedy physical conflagration, by which God's omnipotence is brought in to destroy those evils which his wisdom has failed to cure.

But this is all wrong. *The evils of the world* are to be abolished. A long Sabbath is to succeed its cycles of confusion and unrest. The bad working of all wrong plans hitherto, should not discourage our faith or our efforts. True philosophy teaches us that a thousand experiments, with disastrous results, on wrong principles, do not in the least degree weaken the reasons for trusting confidently in the success of efforts conducted on right principles. Even this long list of failures would be valuable, if thereby the essential error of all spurious radicalism were demonstrated, and its advocates were brought to acknowledge and practice the genuine principle of radicalism.

One thought here may be appropriate and encouraging. There has been, heretofore, a great patron of evil and promoter of all forms of spurious radicalism, whose wiles have prevented the success of previous schemes of reform. He has always urged the best men, in all ages, to energy and action, on the wrong system, so that when the splendid reformatory machinery, like our modern appliances of locomotion, goes out of the track, as sooner or later it will, the wreck and devastation and discouragement, are in proportion to its velocity, and power, and promise of success. With this view, he swells the loudest praises of the temporary triumphs of wrong plans. He bribes men to noble sacrifices and heroic martyrdom, in prosecution of mis-

guided schemes of philosophy. ^{anthropology} He urges to almost superhuman energy and to demoniacal effort and extravagance, that when the ultimate result is disastrous, and the evil dammed up, bursts out with increased fury, or in other forms, contempt may be cast on the schemes of reform, and discouragement on all future efforts of doing good.

Being aware of his devices, we ought not to be deceived by this master-stroke of policy from the great patron of evil; but instructed thereby, to investigate more fully the principle and operation of genuine radicalism.

In accordance with the definition already given, genuine radicalism is discriminated from that now illustrated, by going to the root of the evils it designs to rectify, and by giving root to all the reforms it projects. Now it is obvious that the roots of all evil, however multi-form their external manifestations, are in the heart of man. The evil, if ever radically cured, must be attacked there, and there also the good, if ever valuable and permanent, must be incorporated. The heart is the great reservoir of motive power for good or evil, in man's fearful machinery; and no genuine Reformer ought or can afford to overlook this truth. To illustrate our idea of genuine radicalism, as the true reformatory principle, let us examine for a moment, this moral anatomy. Let us see, in the perverted passions of the human heart, the sources of these evils, against which, spurious radicalism, for so many ages, has spent its energies in vain. Here genuine radicalism purposes to labor *at the root*.

For example: In the heart is "the love of money," "the root," as scripture testifies, "of all evil." And why, even in our investigation of this subject philosophically, should we reject such important testimony? What a flood of light is poured, by this single expression, on the distinctive principles of spurious and genuine radicalism; and what a mass of instruction on the right method of reform! Let the root be destroyed, and the branches must wither. Let the branches be attacked, or even pruned, and the root may be only invigorated by the process. From this source, come the most of those specific evils, against which good men, on wrong grounds, have been laboring from the beginning. It is an ancient evil, which never becomes superannuated; producing bitter fruits, in all ages, of ever-varying forms. In our day, swindling—defalcation in public offices—bank robberies, forgeries—infamous speculations—and others, too numerous to men-

tion in detail. Hence have sprung systems of oppression, making immortal men mere working-machines, in the manufactories of England, and in the cotton-fields of the South; systems of monopoly, making the rich richer, and the poor poorer; systems of individual and associated unrighteousness, at which humanity shudders. Against these outward manifestations, the efforts of spurious radicalism have always been specially directed. Here the associated energies of this age, and the restless agitation of this land, roused by indignant appeals, and sustained by fervid eloquence, have been directed with little success comparatively, as might have been expected, though to the great wrath of the offenders, because not directed to the source of the evil. The root left untouched, possibly undiscovered, by these attacks, rifted more deeply, as the branches are tossed with outward commotion, would reproduce some other, possibly more fearful outward form of evil, if all these were destroyed by spurious radicalism. When we go to the root, but not before, these forms of oppression and institutions of unrighteousness, will be abolished, with the feudal system of the middle ages and the despotism of antiquity. The man who undertakes to rectify human evils, without investigating and attacking their roots, in the heart, is weak, as a philosopher; pitiable, as a philanthropist; and will always be inefficacious, as a reformer. While the present exaggerated estimate of wealth is continued and sanctioned, the numerous branches of this great root of evil can never be destroyed; for thus the love of money is strengthened in the heart by the unrivalled power it bestows, and the incomparable influence it secures.

Another root of evil in the human heart, whose outward manifestations have filled the earth with mourning, lamentation and wo; manifestations against which spurious radicals have eloquently declaimed and fiercely fought, hitherto with little success, is the love of power. From this source have sprung war and conquest, and all that fills that dark page of human affairs, devoted to the history of ambition, from the ambition of an Alexander grasping the world, and weeping for another to conquer, to that of Napoleon, self-consumed, in his sea-girdled prison, in our own day. From this source, also, have sprung those inequalities of rank; those wide and unnatural severances of the component elements of the social fabric; severances too wide for mutual regard and sympathy, which we trace along the page of history, and which we can discern even in our own republican land,

These evils are real, substantial, and to be deplored and abolished. The trophies of ambition, wreaths of victory and banners of triumph, to the eye of sanctified fancy, drop perpetually with blood. The monuments of a conqueror's glory, are haunted with widows' tears and orphans' groans, and echoes of demoniac rage. The history of war is full of horrors, from the time of Sesostris to the retreat from Moscow, amidst the snows of Russia. Imagination shrinks from the aggregate of lives lost in actual battle, and calculation almost staggers to carry out the collateral effects through centuries of almost uninterrupted carnage.

These are the branches of this bitter root in the heart. The most praiseworthy and persevering efforts have been made against these specific outward manifestations. Eloquence and benevolence have poured out their burning torrents against war. Peace societies have argued and explained,—suggested a congress of nations,—and called for kings to be arbiters and umpires of all national disputes,—but to how little purpose practically, though the judgment and conscience of all civilized nations are convinced. When the pride of power, or the voice of false natural honor, calls to the ensanguined field, all these considerations are snapped asunder, even as the cords that bound the strong man of Gaza. While the power of ambition is left untouched in the heart, all efforts to suppress war, will be like Hercules striking off the heads of the Lernæan hydra, without “burning the root of the head he had crushed to pieces,” and thus drying up the reproducing life's-blood of the monster.

So, also, there have been eloquent treatises and grave constitutions framed against social inequality; and revolutions, socialism, agrarianism, mobs and moral volcanoes, have been directed against these *incubi*. But all in vain, because directed only against the outward form of the evil, while the root is left to rankle. Till the fever of ambition and false honor is checked, these outward manifestations, varying possibly the form, but essentially the same, will continue to afflict the social body. These outbreaks or revolutions, along the history of the past, seem to have cycles of recurrence, when human endurance is exhausted, like fabled Enceladus under Etna, when wearied with the pressure, he breathes his impatience in volcanic explosions.—Revolutions in the social, are like volcanoes in the natural world, safety-valves, or breathing places, but for which, the pent-up fires below might shiver the whole to fragments.

Once more: A root of evil which has, in all ages, produced its progeny of outward manifestations, and which specially characterizes our nation, if not our age, is the *love of excitement*. Protean and fantastic forms of manifestations in different ages, owing to varying circumstances, may be traced to this source. Some ludicrous,—others pitiable,—others disgusting and abominable. Hence come the gilded pomp and pageantry, shows and spectacles, that pass us in dark succession along the shadows of the past, like the phantasmagoria of some long protracted dream. For example, the barbarous games of gladiators of ancient times; the tilts, tournaments and crusades of the age of chivalry; bull-baiting and horse-racing; shows for the people, got up by political wire-workers; log-cabins and liberty poles; and then, in all varieties, theatres, circuses, balls, masquerades, for the world; and new measures, Mormonism and Millerism, for the church, when the tide of excitement dashes amidst the professed temples of the Most High.

Against all these, possessing as they do, a chameleon-like capacity of adaptation to surrounding influences, spurious radicalism has vigorously contended on its erroneous principle. Oceans of tears have been shed by *the Heracliti* of reformers; volumes of sound morality, and volleys of polished weapons have been discharged against the grosser forms of manifestation; sometimes by the very persons who were unconsciously cherishing in themselves, by these very efforts, the root of evil, against whose specific fruits of outward manifestation they contended. Such efforts can never do more than repress some particular form of the evil, to have it break out in other more pleasing shapes, or more popular apparatus of gratification. While the love of excitement remains undetected and undestroyed in the heart, it is useless labor to demolish all existing appliances of its gratification. Destroy them all to-day, or close them by legislative enactment. Forbid theatrical amusements; banish circuses; proclaim Puritanic penalties against dancing, and all other kinds of luxurious excitement; put a censorship on the press, and crush in embryo all forthcoming novels and trashy newspapers; and you will have accomplished nothing, if the fever rages within the heart. If the restless, change-loving, sight-seeing, pageant-performing spirit of Americans remains unchecked, they would invent other, possibly more awful means of indulgence. While the root of the evil remains, men and women will have food for their fevered passions, if they have to go to Tophet for it, as we

are informed that the most fashionable Parisian comedies are founded on the employments of the damned in perdition. This is the present food of that populace, who, to gratify the same appetite, once feasted on the thrilling, and ever-repeated horrors of "the reign of terror." Men may throw away, as the world advances, the puppetry of its childhood,—the barbarism of its gladiatorial shows,—and the puerilities of its pageants; but unless this passion for excitement is cured, it will find other means of gratification suited to the manhood of its energies. In politics, or in traffic; in pushing measures of reform, or pursuing objects professedly religious; in putting down evils, or even in putting down excitement, they will gratify this imperious passion. Even in laboring professedly to convert men to the gospel of peace, and prepare them for the rest of heaven, they will lash themselves to the acme of physical agitation, and when the exhausted energies and sensibilities, under such treatment, refuse to be stimulated by less powerful means, they will predict, like Miller, or portray, like Millenarians, the final scenes of the world's conflagration, as the only remaining unemployed material of new excitement.

Such is a specimen of this moral anatomy, the knowledge of which is essential to genuine radicalism, and the neglect of which is the philosophy of the failure of all schemes of spurious radicalism.—From Orpheus, down to the so called radicals of our age and country, their plans have manifested ignorance of *the roots of evil*.

Genuine radicalism goes to these roots. Genuine radicalism also gives root to the reforms it projects. It therefore requires an instrumentality which can correct the perversity, without destroying the vitality of man's affections; which will work out the wrong passions from which the fearful list of specific evil springs, and at the same time inspire principles which will secure an antagonist style of conduct. Stoicism, which strips us of affections altogether, cannot do this; nor can monkery, which in cowardice abandons the conflict; nor materialism, which declares that these passions, because natural, are therefore virtuous in their most lawless exercise.

This instrumentality must embrace a standard of measurement, and an exemplar of character, by which wealth shall be seen and appreciated in its intrinsic value and its true purpose. It must embody some higher and intenser motive, which will mortify the love of power and the principle of false honor, and calm the fever of excitement in the human heart. It must be something which will inspire

the love of the true, the tranquil, the enduring, instead of the showy, the shadowy, the noisy, the glittering, the agitating. In a word, something which will bring eternity, with its elevations, tranquillities, and satisfying influences over the soul, and make its realities consciously felt, as present principles of action, to give, not a varied, but still diseased activity, but a functionally healthful exercise to the affections of man.

Such an instrument, prepared for use and designed for this very purpose, is found in the truth and motives, and scale of measurement, and objects of hope and love, presented by christianity, and embodied and exemplified in the character of its Author; a searching, ethereal instrument, which can reach the roots of evil, and at the same time, and by the same process, impart nobler principles. This is, therefore, the true and only instrument, not only of qualifying men for heaven, (an aspect of the subject not appropriate to this occasion,) but of correcting the present evils, which afflict our common humanity. True, "these are only incidental blessings Christianity scatters along her magnificent path to immortality;" but yet these are precisely the blessings which no other instrumentality, ever yet employed, has been able to accomplish. Amidst all the other schemes of reform, proposed and tried, this is the only one that professes to reach and rectify the roots of evil in the heart. All the rest,—poetry, philosophy, æsthetics, law, education, association, work from the surface, inward. This works from within, outward. The leaven placed within is designed to work through the mass, and mould every thing by its influence. "The incorruptible seed which liveth and abideth forever," planted in the heart, germinates in new and nobler affections, to spread loveliness at last over the whole character, and qualify it to enjoy and diffuse the purest earthly happiness, as well as that which is eternal above. This, therefore, answers all the demands of genuine radicalism, as an adequate instrument of reform. It can reach the roots of evil. It secures right practice by incorporating right principles. It purifies the stream, by purifying the fountain. It mortifies the branches through the roots, while it makes no war on outward manifestations, or specific forms of evil. It sanctions no system of external morality; repudiates, as deficient, all virtue which has no root; and pronounces all reforms unsubstantial and comparatively useless, which are accomplished by addressing any of the superficialities of man's nature, however glorified by obvious

results, or attended by unparalleled commotion. It esteems the victories gained by appealing to wrong principles and low passions, as more to be deplored than even defeats, suffered in a righteous cause. The true reformer, therefore, uses this instrumentality for rectifying evils, with the utmost confidence, notwithstanding the failure of other schemes. It can reach the wrong passions of the heart, and put in their place, right principles of equal permanency and power. For is the love of gold, stronger than the love of God? Is the love of power, more operative than the love of heaven? Cannot false honor be displaced by true, and the fever of unnatural excitement, by the tranquillity of faith and hope? Surely none will venture to say this. You have admired, probably, the picture of true nobility of soul. "His eye, even fixed on vacancy, beams bright with honor;" yet, is it equal in sublimity and power to this,—“Enduring as seeing Him who is invisible?” The heroism which seeks “glory at the cannon’s mouth and the imminent deadly breach,” is it equal to that which says, “I count not my life dear unto me, that I may please Him who loved me and died for me?” The calmness of despair, “like Marius amidst the ruins of Carthage, meditating to be the tyrant of that country that would have him for its deliverer,”—is this as great as the calmness of Faith, meditating in the energy of manhood, and amidst all earth’s ingratitude, to be its benefactor; or of Hope, at the approach of Death, pluming its flight to the presence of God? Is any panacea for tranquillity, or specific against the love of excitement, equal to this,—“The mind kept in perfect peace, being stayed on God?” These are specimens of the new affections, which this instrument of genuine radicalism puts in the place of those passions, from which the specific evils of our world have sprung. By implanting such principles, by introducing such reforms into the heart, we can successfully cure the evils against which spurious radicalism has contended in vain, in all past ages, and with all its varieties of instruments.

This instrumentality of genuine radicalism is adapted for its purpose by its persuasive influence, also, as well as its power over individuals. It can reach the mass, and radicate its reforms in the foundations of the social structure. It is adapted alike for all. All cannot be philosophers; and comparatively few can respond to the power of many of the appliances of reform already described. But all have hearts. Affections are the common, indeed almost the equal heritage of men,

irrespective of rank or station. As poor Burns said, with a pathos which derives emphasis from the recollection of his troubled career of genius and misfortune,—

“The rank is but the guinea-stamp;
The gold’s the man for a’ that.”

Beneath the rags and amidst the hovels of poverty, often slumber, unelicited and unexercised, affections as deep, and rich, and capable, if rightly directed, of giving happiness, as beneath the purpled magnificence of a throne, or beneath the breast-plate of the mightiest warrior.

Genuine radicalism goes down to these foundations of society, the masses and millions, for whom philosophy never made provision, and of whom history scarcely deigns to make mention, not to excite their envy, or stir up their rage, or rouse them to abortive revolution, but to make them happy and contented; rich in the noblest possessions, notwithstanding the continuance of social inequalities, the distinctions of temporary rank, or the adventitious importance of wealth. It is eminently gospel to the poor; glad tidings to the suffering; comfort, yea, living fountains of joy, beyond the reach of earth’s utmost desolation, to the needy, the exile, the stranger for whom no man careth. The true reformer, the genuine lover of the people, therefore, unseduced by the temporary triumphs, which more direct and obtrusive agencies seem to secure, and undeterred by the imputation of sloth or mysticism, which may attach to him for his preference and his practice, trusts to this instrumentality for accomplishing the great ends to which his life and labors are devoted, believing that when it is heartily and universally employed by sincere philanthropists and reformers, and made co-extensive with the evils of our race, this world, in many respects, would resemble paradise. Contented and happy in all the necessary gradations of society, “kindly affectioned one towards another,” “in honor preferring one another,” “nothing would be done through strife or vain-glory;” covetousness, pride and envy would alike be expelled. The pageantry and paraphernalia of excitement would pass away, and a Sabbath of quiet happiness would encircle the globe, and shed its perennial blessings on contented millions, in all lands and languages.

The nature of this instrumentality requires that the operations of the true reformer should be characteristically quiet and unobtrusive. “Every battle of the warrior is with confused noise and garments

rolled in blood;" and all spurious radicalism is noisy and presumptuous; "but this is not so." His theatre of special effort is below the surface, out of the sight, and often beyond the comprehension of the multitude. Results, though blessed and permanent, are not always traced or traceable, to his efforts. We know where he has labored, as we know where some rivulet has been flowing amidst the meadows, by the increased verdure which marks its otherwise hidden meanderings. He applies, patiently and in faith, to the roots of evil, the only means of radical cure, addressing individual hearts, and working through individual affections and influence, rather than through masses. He labors under a sense of individual obligation, rather than associated irresponsibility and eclat, to be the permanent, even though the unacknowledged and unrewarded benefactor of others. He resembles the coral in the solitude of the ocean, laying the substratum of a future continent, whose beauty shall bloom and happiness be enjoyed, centuries after the laborer has ceased from his toil, rather than Etna pouring its periodical and astounding lava-flood into the sea, forming a barren and unblest island of gloomy grandeur in a single night or by a single eruption.

His recompense, also, is peculiar. Generally it is long postponed, often too long, to be enjoyed on earth. His self-sacrifice, the moral heroism which his labors demand, are not calculable, the subject of pity or possibly of contempt, by those mentally or morally incapable of appreciating their worth. His reward consists not in the plaudits of the populace, the hosannahs of the multitude, or even the gratitude of the benefited. These gather the fruit and enjoy the shade, and forget the hand which planted the tree. They reap with shouts of joy, the bounteous harvest, forgetful of the patient toil of the ploughman and the sower. His reward, is the consciousness of doing good, of deserving praise,—the hope that posterity will appreciate and heaven will terminate and recompense his toil. Even should he escape the slow martyrdom of self-consuming mental labor, (as your beloved Rauch, like thousands of earth's brightest lights, perished in his manhood's prime,) the tardy memorial of regard is often only raised over his grave. But as he labors for future and permanent, rather than present and obvious results, he is not thereby disappointed or disheartened. Satisfied from himself and assured that others will be ultimately benefited by his labors, and heaven approve his motives

and measure his character, he can afford, without fretfulness or envy, to see the more obtrusive efforts of others crowned with popular applause and noisy acclamations.

These views of the true principles and proper instrumentality of Reform, which we have thus tried pleasantly to discuss under the style of *Genuine Radicalism*, are not theoretical; for they have been tried. Nor are they merely speculative; for we desire them to shape your future efforts on that great field of exertion for which you are now preparing, and in which we have seen so many splendid experiments, and alas, so many mournful failures!

The success of this plan, contrasted with the failures of all others, gives lustre and interest to the records of early christianity, and demonstrates its incomparable efficacy in the work of reform. Especially do they give attractiveness to the exemplification of all these principles, in the person of their great Author. Amidst higher objects, indeed, and having in view eternal issues, he came into the world to destroy its present evils, by eradicating those roots of bitterness from which, in all ages of antecedent time, they had sprung. He came, after the experiments of four thousand years, when social misery was at its acme; when Paganism, perverted Judaism, Barbarism, Polytheism, superstition, despotism, oppression and ignorance, were rampant and regnant on earth; when the love of money and of power; when false honor and furious excitement, were all in full tide to make men wretched and the world irretrievably ruined. *What was his course?*

Though in native right possessed of infinite riches and the highest rank in the universe, he became in birth and through life a poor man, the son of a carpenter; thus illustrating by his example, the folly of the love of money, and of the pride of life, and the hollowness of the adventitious distinctions which wealth is usually supposed to confer. He gave utterance to the great truth, that men are all brothers of one family, made of one blood, partakers of one heritage of wretchedness and heirs alike of endless existence, in the light of which all other distinctions fade into insignificance, and before the consequences of which, if fully realized, the love of power and the spirit of oppression would be effectually withered in the human heart. He hushed the tide of human excitement, not by fulminating penalties or flinging sneers, nor by setting in motion antagonist excitements, but by

bringing over human agitations, and the stormy billows of human passion, in all their furious or fantastic forms, the tranquilizing sense of eternity, an ocean-thought, capable of absorbing all minor feelings of excitement or sources of tempestuous emotion. He uttered these voices with uniform serenity,—so socially, that he was called a glutton; with so much sympathy, that he wept over the tomb of a friend; so gently, that he took up little children in his arms and blessed them. He cast these seed wherever he found a soil; gathered around him a few, whose minds he fitted to receive, and whose hearts he qualified to transmit them to others. He was not fretted when they were ungenerously and ungratefully received. He resorted to no violence of speech or action; used no force, arrayed no association, lent himself to no existing party, formed no secret, mystic brotherhood, and operated through no public sentiment. He sowed the seeds of truth; and when the enemy sowed other seed, the elements of discord, of evil, of hell, in the same field, he stormed not,—he strove not,—he did not “lift up or cause his voice to be heard in the streets,” or organize agencies to crush the evils, but let each grow till the harvest. He put leaven into the mass, to work its way and accomplish its revolutions. And when his voice was violently hushed, and his opportunity of utterance murderously taken away, he meekly poured out his blood to nurture the seed he had sown, and evidence the reality of the truths he had uttered, and encourage others in every age, by his example, to patience, perseverance, and if necessary, to martyrdom, in the work of reform.

In the same spirit his followers, the first apostles of christianity, scattered the seed—deposited the leaven—echoed his calm and pregnant utterances—embedded his truths, the principles of humanity, the feeling of humility, the power of faith, the hope of glory, the love of God, in human hearts, every where that persecution or Providence scattered them. They attacked no specific forms of evil; turned aside to no Guerilla warfare with petty adversaries. They gathered up no crusades, formed of every species of moral material, and amalgamated only in a single point, against the rotten structures of the social fabric; though a word of Peter, the apostle, would have thrilled more hearts and caused more swords to gleam and eyes to flash, than the phrensied voice of Peter the hermit.—They aimed primarily to qualify men for enjoying heaven; but in so doing, they qualified them for adorning earth also. They proclaimed

spiritual "liberty to the captive;" but in so doing, they broke the yoke of oppression. They sought to make woman meet, by the light and love of truth, for an equal heritage with man, in the "house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens;" but in doing so, they made her what no system before ever did, the equal and companion of man; yea, a blessed halo around his home, the "bright particular star" of his transient and troubled dream of life. They pointed men to a world of everlasting tranquillity and peace, and brought its power over their hearts, and thus calmed the feverish source of wars and fightings, and their concomitant sorrows and tears and griefs and woes. Thus they applied an effectual influence to the roots of human evils. They planted a tree, whose leaves ever since, as far as they have been wafted by the winds of heaven, or carried by the benevolence of man, have been for the "healing of the nations;" whose fruit has been for food to happy millions; and amongst whose ever-widening branches, though but a mustard-seed when sown, have been sung in every age, the sweetest of earthly harmonies.

The early success of this reformatory measure, is matter of authentic history. Even the infidel historian, who denies the divine origin of the instrumentality, acknowledges the splendors of the result. Alas! very soon various forms of spurious radicalism were engrafted on this system, and prevented its destined operation.—From almost the first age of christianity till the present time, faith in its energy and success has waxed feeble, and only a "few noble" have been found ready to trust to it alone, to accomplish the great reforms which our world's exigencies demand.

In our age and country especially, we have been plagued with *spurious radicalism*, the reproduction of the effete experiments of other ages. The pensive student of history is indignant and amused by turns, at these Protean forms of ancient experiments, heralded as the discoveries of the age and the panaceas of our world's redemption. But we hope the days of quackery and spurious radicalism are almost numbered. Good men and true, are multiplying. Experiments are demonstrating great principles. Disappointments are leading men every where to look deeper; and we entertain stronger hopes from year to year, notwithstanding all the dark aspects of this most vital subject, that the principles and instrumentalities of true radicalism, will yet, yea, will soon, be triumphant.

If our present effort, in answer to your kind invitation, Young Gentlemen, shall in the smallest degree contribute to this result, to make you true and valuable Reformers, in your future and various spheres, our labors will be abundantly compensated, and our highest ambition fully gratified!