

effect and cause of confused, and the cause of erroneous, conception.⁶³ Under the vague term “Happiness” there are three kinds of states of being confounded, and as the term can by no means be taken as a [f43] summum genus having the other as its subgenera, it would be most desirable to confine it to the sense included in its etymon.⁶⁴ “Hap” originally designated not mere chance but a fortunate chance, as is the case with the word “Fortune” itself and our own anglo-saxon “Luck”. “Fortunate”, “lucky” imply good luck, good fortune; to express the contrary, we must add the epithet by which the contrary is ^kexpressed. And^l in like manner “hap”, “happy”; the simple negation “hapless” expresses mishap, and “unhappy” [. . .] has the like force. Happiness, therefore, is the aggregate of fortunate chances; but our birth, wealth, person, natural talents, opportunities of cultivating them, health, country—and with the other *circumstances* (of man,) quicquid homines circumstat,⁶⁵ are all prizes in the lottery of life. These, therefore, are all so far “haps”; and the aggregate, and the state that results therefrom, are in [. . .] “Happiness” in the only proper sense of that word. The more reflecting who reject alike the notions of chance and of fate are accustomed [f44] to express the same meaning by the words “favorable providence”. And even so in the greek, the epicurean would express our “happiness” by “εὐτυχία”, the Stoic or Platonist⁶⁶ by “εὐδαιμονία”. Those, therefore, who have not so far entangled their better mind as to have rejected the belief that man is a responsible agent, and who consequently must adopt the division of Epictetus⁶⁷ of the τὰ ἐφ’ ἡμῶν, or that which appertains to our Will as our

^{k-l} ms: expressed: &

⁶³ “Notice how easily men slip from improper use of words into errors about things themselves’ This was a favourite maxim of Coleridge’s: he copied it into a notebook early in 1801, used it as a ‘text’ for ‘a sort of sermon’ in the third of the four philosophical letters he wrote to Josiah Wedgwood (Feb 1801), and had more recently resurrected it as one of the mottoes for Essay III in *PGC* (1814). *CN* I 911 and n; *CL* II 961; *BL* (1907) II 228” (W. Jackson Bate).

⁶⁴ In the *Philosophical Lectures* C, in speaking of Greek philosophy, says “Happiness is everywhere stated as the aim of man” (*P Lects*—1949—140) and complains about the confusion induced by lack of distinction in usages: “I know not a more impressive instance than this

of the word ‘happiness’. There are four perfectly distinct states” (*P Lects*—1949—141).

⁶⁵ Tr: “whatever surrounds men”.

⁶⁶ “It is one of my Objects to prove the difference of the Christian Faith from Platonism even in its purest form—but so is the Xtn Moral System different from the Stoic—but as no one on this account denies the resemblances & coincidences in the latter, so neither ought we to do so in the former” (*CN* III 4316).

⁶⁷ Greek Stoic philosopher (c 55–135 A.D.). Originally a slave, was freed and taught philosophy in Rome, from which he was expelled by Domitian in 90 A.D. Epictetus left no writings, but his philosophy is contained in the *Discourses* and *Enchiridion* of his pupil Flavius Arrian.

proper self, and the $\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\phi\ \sigma\upsilon\kappa\ \eta\mu\epsilon\nu$, ought to accept the former, $\tau\alpha\ \epsilon\phi\ \eta\mu\epsilon\nu$, and find some more appropriate term for them, which belongs exclusively to the latter, $\tau\alpha\ \sigma\upsilon\kappa\ \epsilon\phi\ \eta\mu\epsilon\nu$. The things to be thus excepted, and for which “happiness” is an inappropriate term, are all those which we have produced in the first instance from within by the exertion of the Will in obedience to our sense of duty. I should not hesitate to say, “I am happy in a father or mother”; but had I successfully devoted my best efforts to the virtuous education of a child, or had I sought out a man from having received proof of his virtues, and if [f 45] by the likeness of my own character, a likeness produced in me by many struggles, many defeats earnestly bewailed, and some ~~consequences~~ conquests achieved by my own efforts, and lastly by giving and receiving moral support and comfort, I had become this man’s friend, ~~I sh~~ in these cases I should prefer saying, “I am blessed in a virtuous son, I am blessed in a noble friend”. And yet tempering stoic dignity, I should gratefully acknowledge my “happiness” too in these blessings, i.e. I should acknowledge how much even of these things I owed to the favour of providence, $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\alpha\mu\omicron\nu\iota\alpha$. To contemplate the state in which the offspring of ignorant and vicious men are commonly found, to walk through the purlieus of S! Giles’s, and to deduce from the facts there seen grounds of thankfulness for mine own happier lot, and at the same time of pity and allowance for the unhappy, without losing our faith in the amenability of all men to moral judgement—this^m is indeed a giant difficulty, a difficulty the single fact of thousands [f 46] of these ignorant, vicious, and most unhappy men suddenly awakened as they have been to compunction and repentance by a single discourse, a single well-timed appeal to their conscience—this,ⁿ I say, this strong testimony, which the heart gives concerning its own state when the unhappy man loses the sense of regret, which alone is the appropriate feeling for unhappy or calamitous circumstances, in remorse and self-reproach—nay, the struggles of the guilty criminal to find a refuge from the anguish of guilt in the ~~assump-~~
~~tion~~ doctrines of necessity or fatal influence, and the vanity of these efforts, will more avail to overcome than all the mere reasonings which the logician can draw from all the premises which outward experience can supply—and the intellectual solution of this awful enigma does not be-

^m ms: This ⁿ ms: This

For C’s longstanding knowledge of and interest in Epictetus see e.g. *CN* II 2236.

See in general Prolegomena III: The Epicurean and Stoic Background.

long to the present place and subject. Enough has been done if we have shown and elucidated the proper force and extent of the term “happiness”.⁶⁸

To express ourselves accurately and thereby to prevent that confusion [f 47] of thought which the use of equivocal terms cannot fail to engender, we must reduce the aggregate of desideranda⁶⁹—whatever, I mean, a man is bound or permitted to pursue—to four heads, ~~the several relations of which will appear without any further analysis than that which has been given above;~~ Of the of which we take “happiness” as the third. Of the remaining three, the second only presents any difficulty as to the name fittest to express it. The first, or “Pleasure,” comprises all the modes of being which arise from the correspondence of the external stimuli in kind and degree to our sensible life, as variously stimulable and vice versa under the universal law of reciprocity or action and reaction. It is peculiar to this term that considered irrelatively for itself alone, it offers no other criterion of preference but that of quantity in degree or in duration. Where pleasure alone is the object, the choice between different pleasures depends on the question, how much! and how long will it continue? and with what effects on other [f 48] pleasures? But even in this we admit too much, for in extending judgement concerning (the notion) of pleasure from quantity or present amount to comparative duration and causative influence, we already suppose the intervention and union both of power and motives which do not result from the relations between the animal life and the stimulants, organic or external, that call it into sensibility. The doctors of Self-love⁷⁰ are misled by the wrong ap-

⁶⁸ Of the four distinctions of happiness described by C in *Philosophical Lectures*, “The third is a speculative point which arises from the consideration of our extreme dependence on external things. That a man has reason to congratulate himself on having been born in such an hour and climate under such and such circumstances, this the ancients called Εὐτυχία, Εὐδαιμονία”. That is when the Gods were favorable to them, and we call it ‘happiness’ when things happen well” (*P Lects*—1949—141).

⁶⁹ Tr: “things to be desired”.

⁷⁰ Paley’s “prudence” was “Self-love in its application to the sum of pain and pleasure” (*LS—CC—89*). Kant frequently uses the term “self-love” (*Selbst-*

liebe) in his discussions of moral desirability. See e.g. *Kant* iv 406. Elsewhere C attributes the first explicit philosophy of “self-love” to Aristippus, “who took the principle of self-love to himself, and (as a man who felt in himself, in the enjoyment of good health, good fortune, and high connexions, that he was doing no great harm in the world, and thought, as many men of the kind have, that to live well and comfortably was the great end of life) he founded a system” (*P Lects*—1949—154). For C the doctors of self-love were pre-eminently the representatives of modern Epicureanism. See below f 126^v. See the equation of Paley and Epicurean doctrine at f 62^v. See further Prolegomena III–IV.

plication or equivocal use of words. “We love ourselves”, they say. Now^p this is impossible for a finite being in the absolute meaning of the term “Self”. For if [. . .] by the “Self” we mean the principle of individuation—the band or copula which gives a real unity to all the complex products, functions, and faculties of an animal—a real unity, I say, in contradistinction from the mere semblance or total impression produced by an aggregate on the mind of the beholder, and even from that combination of parts which originates and has its whole end and object [*f* 49] in an external agency—a unity different, in short, from a steam engine or other machine, it is manifest that the self in this sense must be anterior to all our sensations, etc., and to all the objects toward which they may be directed. Before Nothing can become an (the) object of consciousness but by reflection, not even the things of perception. Now the Self is ever pre-supposed, and like all other supersensual subjects can be presented (made known) to the mind only by a ^qrepresentative. And^r again, what that representative shall be is by no means unalterably fixed in human nature by nature itself, but on the contrary varies with the growth, bodily, moral, and intellectual, of each individual. Even the combination of the sense of Touch, and more strictly of Double-touch,⁷¹ with the visual image of such parts of our body as we are able or accustomed to behold is so far from being the only possible representative of self that it is not even the first in the earlier periods of infancy: the mother or the nurse is the self of the child. And who has not experienced in dreams the attachment [*f* 50] of our personal identity to forms the most remote from our own?⁷² All actions, therefore, which proceed directly from the individual without reflection, as those of a hungry beast rushing to its food, all those in which the volition acts singly and immediately towards the object to be appropriated, may be classed as selfish,

^{o-p} ms: say: now ^{q-r} ms: representative: and

⁷¹ Keats, in his recountal of the varied contents of Coleridge’s conversation, lists one of the topics as “single and double touch” (Keats *Letters* 11 89). Double touch—a phrase used by Euler before C (Beer *Intelligence* 84)—was a complex and recurring Coleridgean emphasis. It was “the generation of the Sense of Reality and Life out of us, from the Impersonation of double Touch” (CN 1 1827); and C had a “theory of Volition as a mode of double Touch” (*P Lects*—1949—423–4). At the centre of the elusive complex seems to be a conception of double touch as an orientating phenome-

non: “Babies touch by taste at first—then about 5 months old they go from the Palate to the hand—& are fond of feeling what they have taste—/Association of the Hand with the Taste” (CN 1 924).

⁷² The focus on the importance of dreams is a characteristic both of C and of Romanticism as such. See Albert Béguin *L’Ame romantique et le rêve* (Paris 1939). As Henry Nelson Coleridge noted in 1823: “My uncle in great force at John’s. He treated the subject of ghosts and dreams at great length.” And see Woodring’s long note (TT—CC—1 52, 52–3 n 2).

perhaps, but have no pretence to the name of ^sSelf-love. Or^t as far as any reflection is supposed, or as far as the simple perception of the object is taken as a substitute for reflection, we ought to say that the food in the trough is the temporary *self* of the hog,⁷³ i.e. it is that form with which the volition, the thoughts, and the sensations of the animal are ~~een~~ united without any intermediate. In the absolute meaning of “Self” as the perpetual antecedent within us, Self-love, we repeat, is inconceivable; and in its secondary, representative or symbolical meaning “Self” signifies only a less degree of distance, a determination of value by distance, and the comparative narrowness of our moral view. Hence the body becomes our *self* when the reflections [*f 51*] on our sensations, ~~obj~~ desires, and objects have been habitually appropriated to it in too great a proportion. But this is not a necessity of our nature. Even in this life of imperfection there is a state possible in which a man might truly say “my Self loves A or B,”^u freely constituting the object, i.e. the representative or objective ~~love~~ ⟨Self⟩ (as distinguished from the primary originative and subjective self) in whatever it wills to love, commands what it wills, and wills what it commands. ~~w~~Without this power, indeed, the commandment “that we should love our neighbour as our self and God more than either” would be a mockery.⁷⁴ The difference between Self-love and a Self that loves consists in this: that the objects of the former are *given* to it according to the law of the senses and organization, while the latter (a Self that loves freely) determines the objects according to a higher law. The first loves, if we may dare use that term to express so unworthy a relation, because in its abandonment to its animal life it must; the second, because [*f 52*] it ^vshould. And^w we trust that we shall hereafter make it appear that the guilt of the first, in any particular ~~objective~~ thought or deed single deed or series of deeds but pre-existent, by which the Self of the individual, which in this sense is equivalent to the Will, abandoned its power of true agency in that action in and by which the Self willed its own form, or in and by which the Will engendered a false and phantom self. This is indeed a ^xmystery! How^y can it be otherwise?

^{s-t} ms: Self-love or
^{v-w} ms: should and

^u Quotation marks inserted
^{x-y} ms: mystery!—how

⁷³ The subtext here is the identification, stemming from antiquity, of the Epicurean as a hog. For the famous phrase, “a hog from Epicurus’s herd” (*Epicuri de grege porcum*) see Horace *Epistles* i iv 16.

⁷⁴ Cf Mark 12.30–1: “And thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart,

and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind, and with all thy strength. This *is* the first commandment. And the second *is* like, *namely* this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. There is none other commandment greater than these.” See also Matt 22.39, Luke 10.29, Rom 13.9, Gal 5.14, James 2.8.

For if the Will be unconditional, if it either be not at all (except as a superfluous word)^z or properly originitive, it must of necessity be inexplicable and incomprehensible.⁷⁵ For to understand and comprehend a thing is to see what the conditions and causes of it are.⁷⁶ More “we cannot say^b in the present state of our investigation; nor indeed, according to the announced plan of our procedure, is there any need that more be said, for we have begun by proving that the a responsible Will is not only the postulate of all [f 53] religion but the necessary datum incapable from its very nature of any direct proof—the datum,⁷⁷ we say, and ground of all the reasonings and conclusions, which in the particular religion are assumed as already granted. We will merely suggest, as a sort of corollary to the above definition of the objective Self and its dependence on proximity, that the grossness of Self-love is no less diminished by distance in time than by distance in space, and that an individual who is capable of deliberately sacrificing an immediate and certain gratification of the Self to a greater good, of that which his reason enables him to look forward to as a Self fifty years^c hence, perhaps even under the supposition of such relations as imply the cessation of all animal sensations and the gratifications resulting therefrom, exhibits as unselfish a love, as complete a transfer of the idea “Self” from his visual form and the feelings and impulses connected the with it as if the distance had been in space, [f 54] and the transfer had been made towards a contemporary. In both instances the term “Self” is generalized, in both instances the self and the neighbour are rendered visual synonymes, inasmuch as both are taken up into and become One in a higher Love which comprehends both not as the result but as the cause and principle of their union. Not the single soul, as One of a class, is it that contributes to the idea of that which

^z Parentheses inserted ^{a-b} This phrase is written twice in the ms
^c ms: hears [correction supplied in pencil on f 52’]

⁷⁵ This insistence is a crucial source of will’s value for C. Cf a marginal note: “. . . the Will, the ineffable Causa Sui, et Fons Unitatis in tota infinita entis sui plenitudine, is evermore and eternally impassible” (CN iv 5413). See Prolegomena xvii: The Concept of Will.

⁷⁶ C attached importance to the distinguishing of “comprehend” and “apprehend”. Thus, “how can any Spiritual Truth be comprehended? Who can comprehend his own Will or his own Personēty? (i.e. his ‘I’ or his own Mind, i.e. his Person, or his own *Life*? But we can

distinctly apprehend them” (Brinkley 385). Again: “Well may I *believe* what I do not *comprehend*, when there are so many things which I *know* yet do not *comprehend*—my *Life*, for instance, my *Will*, my *rationality*, &c. But let us be on our guard not to confound *comprehending* with *apprehending*. I do not, even because I can not, believe what I do not *apprehend*—i.e. I cannot assent to the meaning of words, to which I attach no meaning, tho’ I may believe in the wisdom of the Utterer” (Ibid. 17–18).

⁷⁷ Tr: “given”.

(continued...)

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Abp = Archbishop

Bp = Bishop

ed = edited

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